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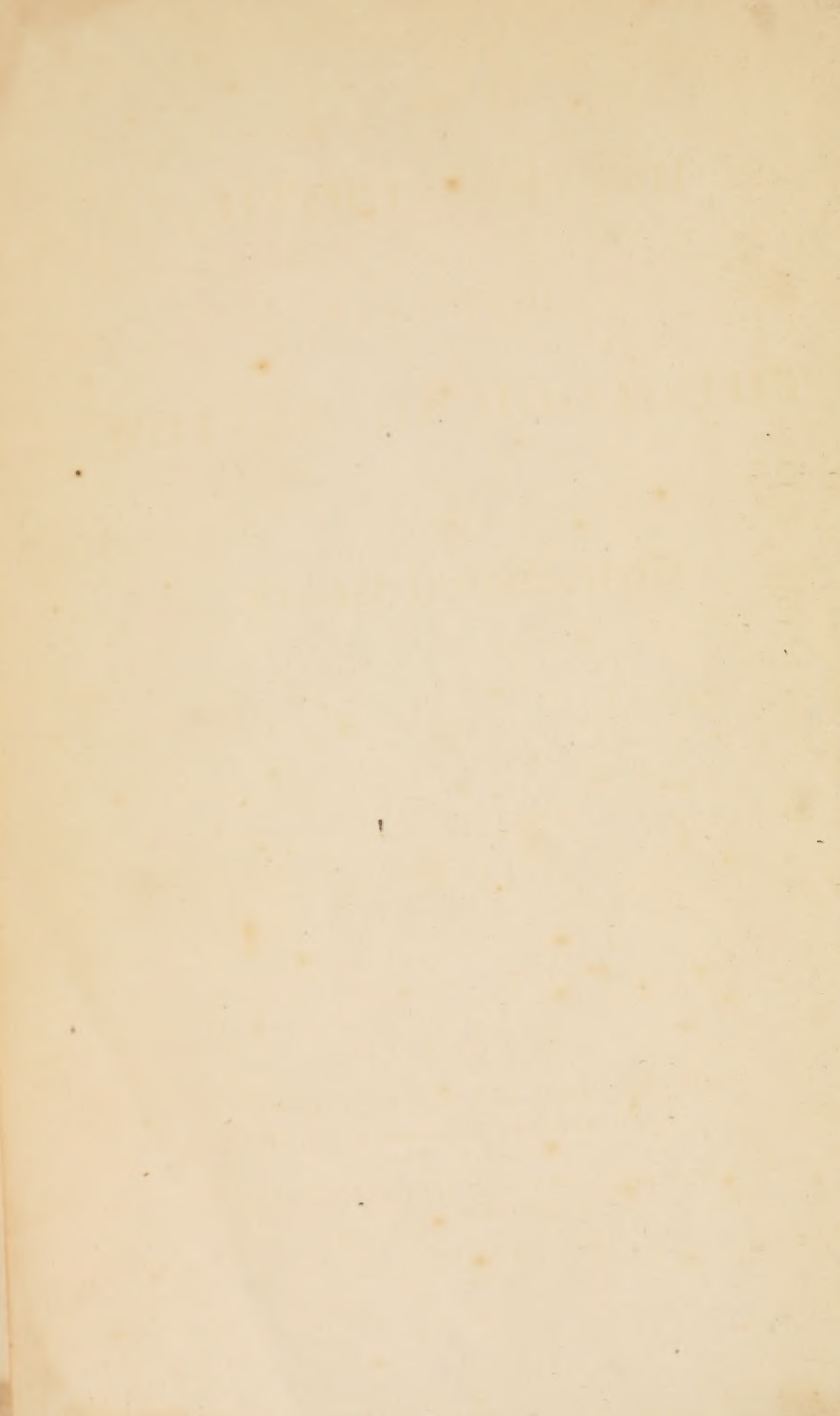


Alexander Dixon.





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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
Quarterly Theological Review,
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ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1830.

ART. I. — *Mahometanism Unveiled: an Inquiry in which that Arch-Heresy, its Diffusion and Continuance, are examined on a New Principle, tending to confirm the Evidences, and aid the Propagation of the Christian Faith.* By the Rev. Charles Forster, B.D. Chancellor of Ardfert, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Limerick. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Duncan, and Cochran. 1829. Price 1*l.* 4*s.*

THE perusal of these volumes has very forcibly recalled to our recollection a conversation once held by one of our fraternity with a distinguished Arabic scholar—who had, possibly, suffered his imagination to be a little seduced by the barbaric splendours and allurements of Islamism—and who gravely declared that, in his opinion, it was infinitely to be regretted that Mahomet had met with so much stubborn opposition in the outset of his project; for that, if he had been left entirely to himself, he most certainly intended to *make a very good religion of it!* We can hardly help suspecting that the very estimable author now before us has been, during the composition of his work, occasionally at least, under the influence of feelings not wholly dissimilar to those which dictated the above declaration. He seems, *at times*, to entertain a secret kindness and complacency towards the Prophet, as one who had been somewhat unfairly and illiberally *run down* by the masters of Christian theology. The main principle of his book appears to imply something of this very charitable feeling: for it considers the Arabic superstition as the spiritual representative of Ishmael, much in the same sense that the true religion is the representative of Isaac; and bespeaks for the illegitimate offspring a much more generous and considerate treatment than it has usually experienced at the hand of the lawful inheritor. The author expresses himself, in some parts of his disqui-

sition, as if he thought that, really, Mahomet not only meant to compile a very tolerable religion; but that, to a certain extent, he had actually succeeded. And he intimates, very broadly, that it is scarcely becoming for Christian men to vent unmeasured obloquy against a system of faith, which undeniably ranks next in order to the undoubted revelations, and which seems remarkably adapted for the important office of ultimately preparing the world for the reception of the Gospel.

We confess that we are not inclined to regard with quite so much severity as some of our contemporaries the fraternal disposition which Mr. Forster seems to have cultivated towards the Moslem; for, though it has tempted him to the pursuit of a motley multitude of visionary fancies, it has likewise prompted him to a task which may possibly be instrumental towards the correction of certain vulgar errors, and may prepare our minds for the position, that ignorance and brutality are not the *universal* and *inevitable* accompaniments of a belief in the Koran.

That our notions respecting the followers of the Prophet are, in general, very far from complimentary, is perfectly notorious. If an Englishman, for instance, were desired to define a Musulman as he is now, and always has been, and ever will be—his answer would probably be, that he is a turbaned and bearded man, who sits all day smoking away his faculties with tobacco, or paralyzing them with opium, and, at night, goes to bed with his breeches on; one who, if his wife's light conversation makes him uneasy, gets rid of his jealousy by sewing it up in a sack, with the frail fair one, and tossing them together into the Bosphorus; one, who tears his provender to pieces with his fingers, and fearlessly plunges, knuckle-deep, into the abominations of the greasiest pillau; one who squats upon his heels five times a day, makes all manner of antics and grimaces, and calls it praying; lastly, one who spits upon the uncircumcised, calls the Christians dogs, and looks upon the body of every Giaour he meets as fit for nothing but a target for the pistol of the true believer.

Such, with tolerable exactness, is the image which starts up in the mind of most good Christians at the mention of a Musulman: and the matter is not much mended when we come to reflect on Mahometanism in the abstract. It generally presents itself to our imaginations as a malignant Power with the praises of Allah in its mouth, and a double-edged slaughter-weapon in its grasp; as a fury with the Koran in one hand, and the scimitar in the other; as a fiend that piles up pyramids of human heads, and casts the torch into the midst of the treasures of science and literature; as a monster that treads out, under its barbarian hoof, every spark of learning and intelligence; as an incubus that

oppresses the faculties of mankind by a stupid predestinarian apathy; as a tempter that lures its victims with a lighted pipe into the midst of the powder-magazine, and teaches its slaves to hug the pestilence, and positively to adore the bowstring; as a minister of vengeance that changes the Garden of Eden into a desert; that actually pronounces an interdict on the accumulation of individual wealth or the establishment of national prosperity; that blasts and withers the hopes of the world; that keeps the intellect of man in outer darkness, triumphs in the degeneracy and degradation of the human race, and sits enthroned on the ruins of our common nature.

We might appeal to any intelligent observer, to say, whether the above is not a tolerably correct representation of the phantasmagoria which passes before the mind's eye of nine people out of ten, at the very thought of *Mahound* and his circumcised infidels? We might ask, whether the very name of Musulman does not usually convey to us the unqualified notion of rudeness, ferocity and stupidity, and exclude the idea of almost every virtuous habit or emotion? And if so, we might further put it to the candour of every sincere Christian, whether charity and wisdom do not demand of us a patient examination of the brighter side of the picture, if there be one; or at least an attempt to discover something which may somewhat qualify the aversion naturally excited by such an assemblage of abominations?

At the same time, it must be allowed that there is nothing very wonderful in the dislike with which the Mahometan character is apt to be regarded in the present age; for, in truth, the glories of Islam appear now to have altogether passed away, and to have left little behind them but the dregs of a brutalizing superstition. The splendours of the Asiatic and Spanish Mahometan dynasties are gone, never to return. The Turk is now the grand representative and patron of the Faith, and the Turk always has been, and perhaps always will be, little better than a coarse, brainless, and sensual barbarian. He is the ass—or the bear—or the buffalo—of Asia. No term of contempt is too low to express the scorn with which he is viewed by the acute and lively and comparatively intellectual Persian: nor would it, perhaps, be easy for rhetoric or satire to calumniate his mental capacity or dignity. Now it so happens that our notions of a good Musulman are taken from the subjects of *our ancient and faithful ally*, the Commander of the Faithful, the Sublime Sultan, the Brother of the Sun and Moon! It can therefore hardly be matter of astonishment if our estimate of the character involves almost every thing but what is calculated to command respect or good will.

In addition to this consideration, it must be observed that, of

late years, not only in Turkey, but throughout the whole Mahometan world, the appalling energies of Islamism have appeared to be gradually expiring, while its grovelling and odious vices remain in all their atrocity. The rooted detestation for Christianity is as unconquerable as ever; but the reckless and frenzied self-devotion is gone. There is consequently nothing left to relieve or to dignify the depravity, the seeds of which were so widely and prodigally scattered by this portentous apostasy. The representations of modern travellers in the East accordingly are unanimous in communicating most revolting impressions relative to the condition of society, throughout the regions in possession of the *Believers*. Take, by way of example, the following statements from Burkhardt.

“The double influence of the Turkish government and the Moslem religion, have produced such universal hypocrisy, that there is scarcely a Mahometan—(whose tranquil air as he smokes his pipe, reclining on his sofa, gives one an idea of the most perfect contentment and apathy,)—that does not suffer under all the agonies of envy, unsatisfied avarice, ambition, or the fear of losing his ill-gotten property.”*

The traveller then proceeds to assure us, that Europeans are often deceived by the dignified and solemn deportment of the Turks, their patriarchal manners, and their solemn and sententious speeches: and he adds—

“For my own part, a long residence among Turks, Syrians, and Egyptians, justifies me in declaring that they are wholly deficient in virtue, honour, and justice; that they have little true piety; and that honesty is to be found only in their paupers and idiots. A Turk believes himself to be a good Moslem, because he does not omit the performance of certain prayers and ablutions, and frequently invokes the forgiveness of God.”†

The very worst elements of the Moslem character appear to be intensely concentrated in the holiest of their cities—a circumstance not, perhaps, altogether without its parallel in Christendom!

“The Meccawys,” says Burkhardt, “are very lax in observing the forms of their religion. They think it enough to be Meccawys, and to utter pious ejaculations, while rigid practice is incumbent only on visitors and pilgrims. Like the Bedouins, they are very irregular in their prayers, or they do not pray at all. On Fridays, even, they sit smoking in their shops, instead of going to Mosque. After the pilgrims are gone, the Mosque is always very thinly attended. They give no alms, saying, they were placed at Mecca to receive charity, and not to bestow it. They quote the Koran and the *hadyth* (traditions) every moment; but they seem to think the Koran made only to be quoted. Intoxicating liquors are sold at the very gate of the Mosques. Cards are played in

* Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia, p. 575.

† Ibid. p. 376.

every coffee-house—(though games of chance are expressly forbidden by their religion). Open protection is afforded by the government to persons, both male and female, of the most profligate character; and, in short, they have the honesty to confess, that the cities in which infidels are forbidden, abound in all other forbidden things.”*

Once more—

“In the East, the Moslem, the most negligent and lax, are the most fanatical against the unbelievers. *The grossest superstition is found among those who trifle with their duties, and lay claim to free-thinking.* If fanaticism has somewhat decreased within the last twenty years, it is probably to be ascribed to the decreasing energy of the people, and to their growing indifference for their religion, and not to the spread of liberal and benevolent principles. Their law inculcates hatred to infidels; but the appearance of hate is laid aside when it suits their interest. More privileges are often allowed to Christians than their law sanctions; but this depends merely on the fiat of the government. The hatred to Christians is nearly universal; but the baseness of the Moslems is such, that they will kiss to-day the hand of him whom they trampled on yesterday. The Moslem can sacrifice feeling, passion, conscience, the will of God, for interest and fear of the ruling power.”†

This, it must be allowed, is a sufficiently revolting picture; but the substantial accuracy of it is, we believe, amply vouched by every traveller who has recently surveyed the original. The Osmanlee, it seems, has nearly ceased to be even a picturesque ruffian. He is often little better than a brutal and sordid miscreant. His very fanaticism, which used to give something of a fearful interest to his character, appears to be deserting him. Every account from the seat of war at this moment shows, that the spirit, which in former ages demolished empires at a sloop, is well nigh extinguished. The standard of the Prophet now “*flouts the air*” in vain; and if the Prophet himself were to revisit the earth, it is doubtful whether his presence would be more efficacious than the exhibition of his nether garment, by the present Commander of the Faithful! The breath of life seems to be almost gone from the system, and the exertions of the reigning sultan have been unable to recall it. With all his ruthless energies, he has been able to do no more than galvanize the corpse, and make it kick.

In order, then, to revive any feeling of interest or complacency towards the religion of Islam, it is absolutely necessary to forget its present condition—to recur to the contemplation of its historic splendours—and to fix upon the brighter departments of its original theory. Estimated by its visible results at this day, it is nothing better than a vulgar, sanguinary, and degrading super-

* Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia, pp. 204, 205.

† Ibid. pp. 205—207.

stitution. Viewed with reference to the effects, incidentally and indirectly produced by it, in a long course of ages, it may *possibly* assume a more respectable and interesting appearance, and present itself to our thoughts as an instrument employed by the Almighty, for the accomplishment of many benevolent and momentous purposes.

This is the method which, accordingly, has been most assiduously followed by Mr. Forster; and his researches have been rewarded with results which, we believe, have excited no moderate degree of astonishment in the public; and which, on their first discovery, must, we should imagine, have electrified the adventurer himself. He has discovered,—not merely that the faith of Mahomet is, in its principles, and often in its operations, much less detestable and absurd than superficial inquirers are apt to suspect—not merely that its establishment throughout so vast a portion of the globe is an instance of the mighty working, where-with Omnipotence is able to subdue all things to its own purposes; but that it is neither more nor less than the fulfilment of Jehovah's covenant with Abraham, on behalf of Ishmael, the son of his bondwoman. It is true, that he is constantly iterating the concession, that Mahometanism is an arch-heresy—a monstrous delusion—an execrable imposture—the most deadly and devastating apostasy with which the justice of heaven has ever visited the sins of men; and yet, with this admission ringing in our ears, we are gravely required by him to believe, that this prodigy of *deceivableness* and iniquity was distinctly in the contemplation of the Almighty, when, at the humble supplication of Abraham the patriarch, he pronounced a blessing on his spurious offspring—and that the foundation of a false and most pernicious religion was the fulfilment of God's gracious engagement with the Father of the Arabian tribes.

Now, by the beard of the Prophet himself, this really is rather too much! That tremendous enormities (as they appear to us,) are permitted to stalk along the high road of God's providential dealings, we all know; and the contemplation of such things is among the most severe, though probably most salutary, exercises of our faith. That the sovereign of the universe is perpetually compelling these powers of evil to labour, in spite of themselves, in advancing the grand scheme of mercy and beneficence, is likewise beyond all question; and the process by which the worst passions of our nature may thus be made to do the work of goodness, is (under sound discretion) one of the most delightful studies which can engage the attention of the Christian philosopher. But that the projects of an impudent, self-indulgent, ambitious, and lustful impostor, should be the consummation of a design

and covenant formed by the God who cannot look upon iniquity—that Belial should, in the Divine counsels, be formally and solemnly appointed to a ministry and agency, one object of which was to exterminate the Church of Christ—that the “fleshliest incubus” which ever oppressed the moral and intellectual energies of man should be revealed in prophetic vision to the Father of the Faithful, as the future glory and consolation of the outcast posterity of Hagar—that these things should be so, is a proposition the digestion of which demands a vigour and hardihood of faith, such as it will probably be difficult to find among the sons of men. The reception of this belief will be found to imply such a tremendous *circumcision* of all our natural feelings, respecting the providence of God, that, we suspect, but few adult, or at least few middle-aged Christians, will ever be persuaded to venture on the experiment.

It appears from his work, that Mr. Forster has accustomed himself to look this enormous hypothesis in the face, by the habit of reflecting on the manifold difficulties which the rise and progress of Islamism have presented to the speculators on its history. He has found, on reviewing the causes usually assigned for the success of this apostasy, that it has two peculiarities, utterly inexplicable by those who confine their views to the agency of merely human means; namely, its permanency, and the completeness of its mental dominion. He contends that these are phenomena of which no adequate solution has ever yet been given; and which, in truth, are incapable of solution without resorting to the special providence of the Almighty. He asserts, that by refusing this distinction to the religion of Mahomet, we virtually disable ourselves for the defence of Christianity against the cavils of unbelievers: for if it be affirmed that secondary causes have been sufficient to fix the empire of Islamism, we shall be in danger of being compelled to allow that similar causes may have done as much for the Gospel; and thus we shall have sacrificed to our hatred of the false religion, the main strength and glory of the true.

“When the infidel,” says Mr. Forster, “has succeeded in removing, to his own satisfaction, the miraculous evidences from the case of Christianity, by the argument from natural causes—and when the Christian advocate, by the adoption of the same argument, has summarily disposed of the case of Mahometanism—Christianity and Mahometanism remain still inexplicable by any theory, which shall exclude the idea and agency of a special Providence.”—vol. i. p. 66.

And by this train of reasoning he labours to prepare for the introduction of his hypothesis, namely, that the triumphant and permanent success of the Arabian superstition must inevitably be

referred to the Scriptural promise made by Jehovah to the forefather of the impostor.

Now, we repeat, that there is something in this supposition against which all our feelings and principles unite in stubborn insurrection. It is a scheme which represents the Deity as positively, and almost articulately, stipulating with an individual, that He will give a special direction to his providential agency, for the express purpose of conferring on the posterity of that individual the enviable distinction of misleading a large proportion of the human race. For it must be remembered, that if this promise is predictive of Mahomet, it does not announce him as a scourge, or a curse, or an instrument of vengeance. It does not introduce him as a minister of Divine wrath, as a person whose connection with his blood would have been deprecated by the patriarch, as the severest infliction with which the displeasure of the Almighty could have visited him. On the contrary, the promise in question is given in answer to a request from Abraham to the Lord, that Ishmael might *live before Him*, and become the object of His favour: and it is given in terms manifestly designed to impart consolation to the Father of the Faithful, and to set his heart at rest respecting the future fortunes of his less favoured descendants. We are, therefore, compelled—if Mr. Forster's system is just—to imagine the Ruler of the world as comforting his honoured servant and *friend*, by declaring, that out of his family should arise the author of the most "*deadly and devastating apostasy*" that ever laid waste the faith and virtue of mankind—that among the posterity of Ishmael should be found a man, who would execute signal vengeance on the corrupt degraded seed of Isaac, both temporal and spiritual—one who, when the children of the truth had perverted their way, should give them, at the sword's point, *statutes that are not good, and judgments whereby they should not live*. If anything could have driven the faithful Abraham to despair, it must have been the knowledge of the species of fulfilment with which (according to this author,) it was in the mind of Jehovah to honour his own precious promises. At all events, had the prospect been fully disclosed to him, it would surely have pierced his heart with a sorrow, second only to that with which he must, at first, have received the command to sacrifice his only son, the child of promise and of miracle!

But there is another serious objection to this hypothesis. If Mahometanism is thus to be advanced almost to the rank of a Divine Dispensation, we must unavoidably go through with this principle, and follow it into all its consequences; and of these consequences it is not, perhaps, the least startling, that the scheme cannot be maintained without extending to nations, which

have no relation to the family of Abraham, the dignities and honours belonging to the race of Ishmael. For the case stands thus. It pleased the Almighty to establish two covenants, one with the son of the free-woman, the other with the son of the bond-woman. The former covenant was designed eventually to comprehend all who should embrace the revelation, of which the family of Isaac were to be the ministers, and who thus became, by spiritual adoption, heirs of the same promise. The covenant with the spurious son, if realized in the religion of Mahomet, must follow the same analogy; it must embrace all who conformed to that religion, and must convert them into spiritual descendants of the Arabian Patriarch. Persians, Afgans, Hindoos, Turks, Tartars and Negroes—all must be reckoned among the children of Hagar's offspring. The same liberal and gracious interpretation which converts all Christian believers into the Israel of God, must, by parity of reason, confer a corresponding privilege on the believers of Islam, from whatever tribe, or tongue, or nation they may be collected. While the true dispensation combines into a single family and household all the followers of the Messiah, the false dispensation is to do a similar and analogous office for all who enlist themselves under the banner of the Prophet. And if this view be correct, it compels us to regard Mahometanism, not as a gigantic positive evil, but as a sort of qualified and secondary good; not as one of the most fatal exhibitions of the spirit of Antichrist, but rather as a species of auxiliary power, destined eventually to prepare for the wider establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom; not as a heresy and a delusion which was to make the posterity of Ishmael the scourge of mankind, but rather as a covenanted blessing, combining the Moslem in of every nation under heaven into one vast brotherhood, who, like their spiritual forefather, were to *live before the Lord*.

To us, these objections appear absolutely insurmountable. It is beyond the power of human ingenuity to overcome or to evade them. Nothing more than a simple statement of them can be necessary, to show how utterly fatal they are to the hypothesis we are examining. Here, therefore, we might reasonably make our stand, and spare ourselves the labour of further investigation; in the confidence, that, whatever may have been the success of former efforts to dispose of the difficulties presented by the wonderful success of Mahomet, the present attempt is altogether inadmissible. It would be better to leave the doubtful points of the subject unsettled to the end of time, rather than to explain them by a supposition, which forces the Almighty on our thoughts as, in some sort, the contriver and the patron of religious imposture.

We are, nevertheless, tempted to proceed with our examination

of the author's work, by a desire of ascertaining whether the exigencies of the question are really such as to drive us into so strange a refuge from its difficulties. The author assures us that the permanency, and the completeness, of the Mahometan delusion are such as no operation of merely human or secondary causes can account for. Let us then consider, in the first place, whether this assertion is unquestionable; and, secondly, whether, even if admitted, it would force us to the conclusion, that the success of Islamism must be referred to the establishment of God's covenant with the Father of the Arabians.

And first, with regard to the permanency of Islamism, it is resolutely affirmed by Mr. Forster, that all former historians and divines have egregiously failed in their endeavours to explain it. The vehement tendency of mankind, he says, is towards the seductions of idolatry, which is constantly appealing to the senses; a naked and abstract theism, like that of Mahomet, contains within itself no principle of durability; we are consequently under the necessity of resorting to the special, if not the miraculous, aid of Omnipotence, as affording the only protection adequate to its preservation. Now to this argument there appears to be one obvious and irresistible reply:—The religion of Mahomet combines all the simplicity of deism, with most of the allurements of idolatry; and we are so far from regarding its permanency as conclusive evidence of an *overpowering* supernatural agency, that we can scarcely imagine a form of superstition more skilfully calculated to establish and to *retain* its dominion over uncivilized and uncultivated minds. Mr. Forster himself is perpetually urging its singular adaptation to the faculties of barbarians, who would be inaccessible to the pure and marvellous light of the Gospel. We can perceive nothing in the lapse of ages which tends to weaken this influence. The Moslem of the present day is taught, like his forefathers, to despise the Nazarenes, to detest and abominate the worshippers of wood and stone, and to believe that the main secret of holiness and salvation lies in the sentence,—that God is One, and that Mahomet is his Prophet. And what, we would ask, has any other religion on earth to offer as a bribe for the desertion of a faith which flatters at once the pride, the indolence, and the passions of its followers. Its theology, it is true, has branched out into endless subtilities; but these metaphysical refinements are the luxuries of the contemplative, not the daily bread of the vulgar. Its morality is, on the whole, most skilfully constructed with a view to secure the attachment of the faithful; for, on the one hand, it enjoins enough of austerity and self-denial to animate its followers by a constant accumulation of merit, without converting their law into a burden too heavy to be borne;

and, on the other hand, it allows a license to the voluptuous passions quite ample enough to reward the believer, and to secure him from the enchantments of any other faith. It further gratifies him with the notion—so dear to human self-importance—that he alone is the favourite of heaven, and that the rest of mankind are outcasts and aliens from the family of God!

But, then, we are reminded, with constant iteration, of the notorious and irresistible magic of an idolatrous faith. Idolatry was, for ages, found too strong even for the Law of Jehovah. The people who received their statutes from the hand of the Almighty himself, and who lived so long as the chosen people of the King of Kings, were nevertheless perpetually violating their allegiance to their heavenly Sovereign, and in spite of seer, or prophet, or signs from heaven, were incessantly polluting themselves by spiritual prostitution to other deities. How then, it is asked, are we to account for the inflexible fidelity of the Moslem to their first espousals? How, without the overpowering aid of Providence, could Mahomet have been able to accomplish that, which was too much even for Moses himself, though backed by a succession of inspired witnesses, and a series of stupendous preternatural agency? Now, in our turn, we might ask, how could such an argument as this ever be advanced by one who was familiar with the total diversity of circumstances which attended the rise and progress of the two religions? When the Lord set apart his people for himself, idolatry was the religion of the world. Look in what direction they would, they saw nothing but tribes who bowed before carved and graven images, and peopled their hills, their forests, and their streams, with tutelary deities. The temptation, therefore, assailed them from every quarter, and in every form, which could seduce a gross, sensual, and half-civilized race. They were surrounded on all sides by prosperous, refined and powerful communities, not one of which affected to make the Unity of God the basis of their popular creed. They were assailed with perpetual denunciations against the guilt and danger of corrupt worship, and yet they saw that neither fire nor tempest came down from heaven to consume or shake to pieces the grandeur of their idolatrous neighbours and adversaries. They, therefore, felt powerfully induced to follow after false deities, much in the same manner as they were prompted to demand a king to judge them,—namely, by the example of all the other nations with whom they were brought into intercourse, either by peace or war. They felt it as a positive disadvantage to be left without the patronage and the protection conferred on other countries by their liberal establishment of divinities; and hence

it was that, during so many ages, the patience of Jehovah was wearied by

————— “ the dark idolatries
Of alienated Judah.”

In the days of Mahomet, on the contrary, the practice of idolatry had become, throughout the most enlightened portions of the globe, comparatively despicable and obsolete. The Arabs, it is true, had a fantastic, multiform, and fluctuating mythology of their own. But it is well known that these superstitions were very loosely worn; that they were held in decided subordination to the traditional belief in one Supreme God; that “ the flexible genius of their faith was ready either to teach or learn;” that “ each Arab was free to elect or to compose his own private religion;” and that “ the rude superstition of his house was mingled with the sublime theology of saints and philosophers.”* The polytheism of Arabia, in short, does not appear to have been, like that of classical heathenism, closely interwoven with the national institutions and polity. Idolatry had, there, incomparably weaker powers of resistance to innovation, than had belonged to it in Egypt, Italy, or Greece. And then, it must further be remembered, that the country, at that period, swarmed with witnesses against it. The Jews and Christians, the people of *the Book*, were in the midst of them. There was an element constantly at work to correct or neutralize their corruptions of the original and patriarchal faith, and to assist in bringing on the crisis which should enable the public mind to throw them off.

Such was the state of religious feeling and habit within the precincts of the Arabian community. If we look beyond those limits, we shall find nothing that could tend to support the cause of idolatry if assailed or undermined by some powerful principle from within. It is true that in that age, Christianity itself may be said to have adopted the costume and the practice, if not the creed, of idolatrous heathenism; but this very circumstance was of all others, perhaps, the best calculated to promote the designs of a revolutionist like Mahomet. Corrupt religion in those days was almost identified with Christianity in the estimation of the surrounding nations; and Christianity was associated in their minds with the images of feebleness and decay, inevitably suggested by the miserable and contemptible condition of the Greek empire. While, therefore, Christianity was virtually testifying *against* idolatry among themselves, it was, in other countries, by the spectacle of its own degeneracy, rendering all idolatrous propensities and habits at once despicable and infamous.

It may then, confidently, be maintained, that in the seventh

* Gibbon, c. 50.

century idolatrous superstition was no longer in a condition to perform the wonders which had rendered its dominion so absolute in periods of remote antiquity, or to baffle the enterprizes of an impostor, who would emulate it in bribing high the passions of his followers. Among the children of the desert themselves it was rude and barbarous, and confronted by the venerable traditions of a better faith, to which the Reformer might always triumphantly appeal. Abroad, it appeared in connection with the "*splendid weakness*" of an empire, which the world had long been looking upon at once with envy and with scorn. Succeeding ages presented absolutely nothing to allure the Moslems back to the corruptions of polytheism or image-worship. The system which they followed continued to afford the amplest gratification to their sensuality and their arrogance. They believed that it made them the reformers of the world. They knew and felt that it made them its conquerors. It provided them, in this life, with the highest excitements of victory and pleasure, and it tasked their imagination to figure the delights laid up for them in the next. If we survey the history of the world, from the days of their Prophet to the present hour, we shall look in vain for any form or variety of superstition, which has anything to offer in exchange for the faith of the fanatical, proud, voluptuous Musulman.

We may surely cease, then, to be surprised at the durability of Islamism, though we may reasonably wonder at the sagacity, or the good fortune, which constructed a system so calculated for permanency. We may likewise spare ourselves the trouble of searching more deeply for the causes of its intense influence over the minds of its disciples. A creed which ministers at once to the lusts and the self-importance of its votaries is, of all others that can be named or imagined, the most likely to bind men to its allegiance with a passionate fidelity. We may, accordingly, expect to find a faith like this equally triumphant among the ignorant savages of Africa, and the luxurious crowds of Cordova or Bagdad. Human motives and frailties alone might furnish a sufficient and intelligible explanation of such phenomena as these, and might relieve us from all temptation to dive, for their solution, into the abyss of God's mysterious providence.

If it be asked, whether we can venture altogether to exclude the Providence of God from all share in the establishment of Mahometanism, we reply, that we exclude his Providence from no one department of human agency. In a certain sense it is true, that all events, from the beginning to the end of time, are the result of his disposing or overruling power. The whole chain of causation is fixed to the throne of Omnipotence. We cannot therefore, without a feeling of impiety, *confine* our view to the operations of

secondary causes, when we are contemplating the history of any province of his creation. He may leave these causes to their natural and appropriate course of action,—or he may secretly and invisibly interfere to effect such occasional deviations from that course as his purposes may demand—or he may throw aside their services altogether, and interpose with an uplifted hand, and an outstretched arm, and with fury poured out. In whichever of these ways his moral government may at any time be carried on, it becomes us, when we meditate on the result, to refer all things to his Sovereign Will. But, nevertheless, it becomes us to preserve a most reverent sobriety of spirit, whenever we are inquiring to which manner of operation any peculiar series of occurrences is to be ascribed—whether to the ordinary—or the especial—or the miraculous agency of Providence. By our imperfect vision, the boundaries which separate these various modes of administration, are often but dimly and indistinctly discernible: and while we imagine that we are piously tracing the finger of God, we may, after all, be rashly following the meteor track of an excited and adventurous fancy.

For the purposes of this argument, however, we might be content that many of the phenomena of the Arabian arch-heresy should be ascribed to the workings of a special, but secret, Providence. Mahomet may, unquestionably, have been an instrument in the hand of God. There is nothing unreasonable or extravagant in the surmise, when humbly and cautiously entertained, that the Deity often compels impostors, and conquerors, and other pests of society, to minister to his designs of vengeance, or even of mercy; and that he effects this object by some direct but inscrutable influence upon the actions of men and the current of affairs. Sesostris and Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon, and a multitude of other selfish oppressors, may have been implements in the grasp of the Almighty. By their evil deeds it may have seemed fit to him to scourge the vices of mankind. From their vast capacities he may, unknown to the agents themselves, have extorted services which may, eventually, have improved the condition of the world. In this sense, it may possibly be true that the Arabian was an agent and minister of the Most High. Whatever may have been his own personal designs, whether beneficent or malicious, he may have been made powerfully instrumental in accomplishing the ends of God's moral government, and may therefore, perhaps, in the ardent language of faith and piety, be said to have been *ordained and raised up* for these very ends.

Again, it might be presumptuous for us to deny that the Mahometan imposture has been wholly without beneficial effects on

the fortunes of the human race. Incidentally and indirectly it may have effected, and may in future effect, more good than any mortal sagacity could ever have anticipated from so monstrous and impudent a delusion. The same, however, may be said of many other mighty movements, and appalling changes, which have occurred in the history of man. The French Revolution, for instance, was a convulsion which let loose all the most furious elements of human society to fight against the peace, the virtue, and the prosperity of Europe, "*e'en till destruction sickened.*" No one could have looked forward to it without unutterable dismay and bitterness of heart; no one can now look back upon it without earnestly deprecating the repetition of so frightful a calamity. But yet no Christian philosopher will ever think of questioning that it *may have* been a tornado by which a fatal corruption and pestilence was cleared from the moral atmosphere of the world. And if any one should choose to express this by saying that the French Revolution was, in a certain very qualified sense, a providential dispensation, it would, perhaps, be neither wise nor becoming to dispute the statement. Whenever we see what appears to be a portentous departure from the ordinary march of Providence, we are naturally impelled to suspect that the Supreme Disposer of human destinies may have put forth his might—that the Lord himself is in the whirlwind, the earthquake, or the fire. And if we close not our ears to the still small voice which follows these commotions, it may be well that we adore the footsteps of the Almighty in the tempest and the hurricane. Viewed in this light the sweep of Mahometan conquest may safely be regarded as the work of the God of battles, and the triumph of Mahometan imposture as the appointment of the God of truth. The establishment of Islamism is undoubtedly to be numbered among those stupendous events which have changed the face of society; and like all such mighty vicissitudes, it irresistibly invites us to solemn meditation on the unsearchable depths of the Divine Wisdom and Power.

But even if all this be granted, what will the concession do for the hypothesis of Mr. Forster? He contends, not only that the march of God's especial Providence is to be traced in the progress of this great revolution, but that it was positively ordained as the fulfilment of a solemn promise and covenant, delivered by the Almighty to one of his most distinguished saints between 2000 and 3000 years before. He is not satisfied with placing it in the same rank with the occasional appearance of vast and overruling minds, or with the rise and overthrow of illustrious dynasties; he insists on advancing it to a level very near to that on which we are accustomed to look for the other religious Dispen-

sations. It is not enough for him to maintain that Mahomet was an appointed instrument of heaven, in that general sense in which the same thing may be affirmed of Constantine or Charlemagne—of Columbus or Martin Luther; his scheme is much more adventurous than this; for, in many respects, it exalts Mahomet to a dignity nearly approaching that of a true prophet, whose mission is authentic, and whose inspiration is undoubted. Mahomet, he asserts, was as clearly and distinctly ordained to proclaim the *spurious* revelation, as Moses or Christ were ordained to promulgate the *genuine*. There is, according to him, no more doubt of a direct and immediate overruling agency in the one case than in the other. The Arabian stands in a relation to the founders of the true Dispensations, precisely similar to that in which Ishmael stood to Isaac; and his fortunes, as a prophet and a sovereign, were distinctly in the contemplation of the Deity, when he was predicting the greatness and prosperity of the two branches of the race of Abraham. Now this is a system of historical interpretation which, to our apprehension, is absolutely incredible. We reject it,—not because it exacts a belief in the irresistible Providence of God,—but because it compels us to think of Jehovah as *comforting* his servant with the promise of an atrocious impostor,—with the prospect of furious enmity between the spiritual posterity of his sons,—with a Covenant, of which one of the conditions was to be, that the bitterest persecutor and adversary of the true religion should be found among the descendants of the Father of the Faithful! To us, this view of the matter appears too monstrous to be gravely entertained for a moment. The triumphs of the Mahometan *Creed* may very possibly be connected with certain secret, mysterious, and gracious counsels of the Almighty; but we are fully persuaded they can have no reference whatever to his engagement with the forefather of the Arabs.

“The justice of God’s Providence,” says Mr. Forster, “in raising up Mahomet, *stands clear of impeachment*,” since the abominable perverseness of the Jews, and the corruption both of faith and manners in Eastern Christendom, “demanded, and deserved, precisely the infliction which the rod of a conquering heresiarch could bestow.” And who, in his right mind, ever dreams of *impeaching the Providence of God*, in raising up this, or any other, minister of heaven’s righteous displeasure? Who ever *impeaches the Providence of God*, in sending forth a Tamerlane, or a Genghiz Khan to desolate the earth? Who ever *impeaches his Providence*, when he suffers the blazing Star of Conquest to fall upon the earth, and to turn a third part of its waters

to bitterness and blood.* That the Sovereign of the World has wise and merciful purposes to accomplish by these dreadful dispensations, no pious or humble mind will ever presume to question. But what earthly aid can this consideration lend to the hypothesis, that the followers of Islam are, *as such*, the representatives of the Arabian patriarch? At the hazard of wearisome iteration, we repeat, again and again, that the Book and the Sword of the Arab *may*, for aught we can know, be compelled, by some secret and mysterious process, to minister to the happiness of mankind, and to render invaluable services to the cause of true religion and virtue. But let their *eventual* usefulness be what it may, it never can be such as to bring one of the deadliest powers of Antichrist into *covenant* with the Living God!

It is curious to observe how completely, in the honest ardour of dissertation, one part of the author's work appears to forget another. We have seen that he has described the Mahometan *superstition*, in no very measured terms, as "a *most deadly and devastating apostasy*;" and yet, in another passage, he gravely warns us against unqualified reprehension of the same superstition, or its author,—

"lest we should be found, in so doing, to cast reflections on the unerring Wisdom which has made their defects and demerits signally instrumental to guard the evidences, and proclaim the unrivalled supremacy, of the only true faith."

Why, this is language which would protect from reprobation all the most ruthless desolators and cheats that ever wearied the patience of man, or the long-suffering of Heaven! The Divine mercy and wisdom have graciously provided, that the blackest monsters of iniquity shall never inflict unmitigated evil on their species, and shall sometimes be the unwilling and unconscious pioneers to the march of general improvement; and, *therefore*, we are bound to speak of their enormities "with bated breath and whispering humbleness," lest, peradventure, we should be irreverently disparaging the chosen instruments of Providence! Surely we need hardly point out to a benevolent and grave divine the danger of bespeaking the forbearance of the world towards atrocity and fraud, in consideration of the beneficial results which Providence may, incidentally, extort from their abominations. Neither will it require much sagacity to perceive how utterly inapplicable all such reasoning is to the present case; for if the "defects and demerits" of this imposture were so signally instrumental in proclaiming, *by contrast*, the unrivalled supremacy of the true faith, why should those *demerits* be timidly or cautiously exposed?

* Rev. viii.

We know not how we can better illustrate our own views on this subject, than by reference to the Papacy—a subject which enters largely into the speculations of Mr. Forster. The Papal dominion is, unquestionably, a phenomenon of overpowering magnitude. It is difficult for us to contemplate it as falling within the trajectory of God's ordinary providence. We can hardly exclude from our conceptions of that gigantic spiritual empire, the notion of providential agency and interference. The Queen and Mother of Churches, we are apt to fancy, was surely *non sine diis animosa*. It may be safely granted, that there is something grand and awful in the spectacle of a mental supremacy, controlling the mutinous elements of society during the darkest period of barbarism, and potently interfering to prevent their rushing into ruinous and exterminating conflict. We envy not that man who can reflect, without emotions approaching to gratitude, on those noble foundations which formed the only retreats of learning, civilization, and charity, in a period of ignorance and brutality. We may acquiesce in the statement, that nothing less powerful than a spiritual autocracy could have saved the Christian world from being buried in the Serbonian bog of utter impiety. It may scarcely be too much to affirm, that the Papal Church, corrupt as it was, may fairly be regarded as the Ark which preserved the moral and spiritual life of Christendom from perishing in the deluge that so long overspread the face of the earth; and when we think of these things, it is, perhaps, natural and warrantable enough to express our *general* sense of them, by saying that the Papacy itself *was ordained* by Heaven for high and providential purposes. But what should we say of one who was not content with this emphatic, but general, reference to the overruling power of God,—of one who should insist on giving to the prophecies relating to it, an interpretation which would represent it, not as a threatened evil, but a promised good,—who should advance it to the dignity of a pre-ordained and *covenanted* blessing, and refer it to a fixed and gracious purpose of the Almighty? Should we not instantly remind such a commentator, that (in spite of its incidental benefactions to society) the Papacy, after all, is usually spoken of as one horn of Antichrist—as neither more or less than *the* Great Apostasy,—the Mystery of Iniquity,—the enchantment which, if it did not destroy the life of Christianity, at least transformed it to a semblance of idolatry and corruption? And should we not ask, how the Lord could be supposed to bind himself by a *covenant* to send such a prodigy into the world, and to give it almost the character and dignity of a Dispensation? Should we not fear to speak of the Eternal God as *stipulating* to establish an Antichristian power, which his own word of pro-

phcey describes as *the Mother of Harlots and abominations of the earth,—as the Woman drunken with the blood of the Saints, and with the blood of the Martyrs of Jesus?*

If, then, we should start from the use of such language, as applied to the Papal tyranny and corruption, how can we venture upon similar language, when we are speaking of another portentous oppression and depravation of the true faith? How can we think of exalting one horn of Antichrist, with an honour, which we should scruple to bestow upon another? To say that each of them have been appointed to bear a distinguished part in the scheme of God's moral government, may be perfectly allowable, provided always that we abstain from attaching to this assertion more determinate notions than our limited insight into God's dealings can reasonably warrant. But what is there in the imposture of Mecca to justify us in referring it to a divine promise and covenant, when we should scruple to bestow a similar distinction on the imposture of Rome?

We have no expectation, indeed, that this view of the matter will have the effect of diminishing Mr. Forster's reliance on the soundness of his system: for he says expressly and confidently, that in Popery and Mahometanism

“Isaac and Ishmael are to be seen at the same time linked with, and enlisted against, one another; while a designed spiritual connection between the *covenants* is thus preserved through a period of 1200 years, in the history of a two-fold Antichristian tyranny, *catholic* and *heretical*—which, branching out at precisely the same point of time from the true Church, has continued to afflict Christendom, in the East and in the West, from the commencement of the seventh century to the present day.”—vol. i. p. 278.

We have here a complete apocalypse of the condition to which the enchantment of an hypothesis has brought the mind of the author. We have, first, the establishment of the true Church of Christ represented, and justly represented, as the fulfilment of the covenant with Isaac. But then, the true Church of *Christ* branches out into two *Antichristian* perversions: and these Antichristian perversions are disposed of, by making one of them the representative of Isaac, and the other the representative of Ishmael. We have, therefore, Isaac before us, *first* in the true and genuine Church; and *secondly*, in the Western Apostasy by which that Church was afflicted: and, lastly, we have Ishmael before us in the arch-heresy and imposture of the East, which is the persecutor and adversary of both: so that from the blessing of the original covenant with *Isaac*, there shoot out, in process of time, two heavy penal dispensations, which bear towards each other the same relation, as the two original branches of the cove-

nant with Abraham! By what process the author can have contrived to represent to his own mind so much perplexity and confusion, under an appearance of symmetry and order, it very far surpasses our capacity to comprehend. We are therefore quite unable to render any assistance to such of our readers as may feel themselves disposed to penetrate into the merits of his system.

But whatever may be our speculation on this matter, the authority of prophecy, Mr. Forster will tell us, is irresistible; and to that authority he confidently appeals. He accordingly begins with an examination of the promises to Abraham, as they relate, respectively, to Isaac and to Ishmael; and these promises suggest to him the following general reasoning:—A covenant is entered into with the patriarch Ishmael; Ishmael, as well as Isaac, is a son of faithful Abraham, the friend of God; and the promise to Ishmael is given in answer to the prayer of Abraham; it must *therefore* have both a *spiritual* and temporal aspect, as well as the promise to Isaac. The latter promise had a *temporal* fulfilment in the establishment of Israel in Canaan; and a *spiritual* fulfilment in the advent of the Messiah, and the establishment of the Gospel. The appearance and success of Mahomet did the same thing for the descendants of Ishmael, by giving them, first, a temporal, and secondly, a spiritual dominion over a vast portion of mankind: so that the *lie* of Mahomet is to occupy, in the map of the providential dispensations, the same position with respect to the *truth* of Christ, that the *spurious* Ishmael does with respect to the *legitimate* Isaac! It never seems to have occurred to Mr. Forster, that, on the very face of his statement, the presumptions which the case affords, are in direct opposition to his hypothesis. The seed of Isaac was, indisputably, the object of the divine favour; it might therefore be naturally supposed, that for this seed the higher blessings would be reserved. In Abraham were all the families of the earth to be blessed; and if any distinction at all were to be made between the sons of Abraham, it might be anticipated that the intended benediction would be conveyed, not through the spurious, but through the legitimate race; that the more exalted and heavenly privileges would more peculiarly be appropriated to the offspring of the free woman, while earthly and temporal advantages *alone* would be the portion allotted to the progeny of the slave. Such appears to us to be the natural and almost irresistible presumption—a presumption which negatives, at once, the propriety of seeking for a spiritual accomplishment of the promise, in the destinies of the inferior family. But though Mr. Forster is blind to this obvious presumption, his vision is singularly keen when he comes to examine the language of the covenant itself, and enables

him to discover in its phraseology a conclusive establishment of his scheme.

In Mr. Forster's view of these promises, the first thing that strikes us is the prodigious and giddy superstructure, which he endeavours to raise upon ground that is ready to open and swallow up the works that rest upon it. Abraham, we are told, in the natural fervour of parental love, said unto God, *O that Ishmael might live before thee*—a prayer to which the consoling answer is—*As for Ishmael I have heard thee*: and then follows the promise concerning him, which is afterwards repeated with this remarkable addition, *And also of the son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he is thy seed*. It appears, therefore, says Mr. Forster, adopting the commentary of Origen on this passage, that the patriarch was not content with asking simply that his son *might live*, but adds the condition of life which he desired for him, *that he might live before God*; and to live before God, says the father of Scripture criticism, is the portion only of the blessed, and of his saints. And what follows from this consolatory interpretation? Why, that, as the covenant with Isaac, though predominantly spiritual, contains the express promise of a temporal blessing, so the covenant with Ishmael, while predominantly temporal, must contain a real, though low and subordinate, spiritual application. And what was the fulfilment of this spiritual promise? Neither more nor less than the establishment of a faith—which Mr. Forster himself shall describe.

"Christ Jesus," he says, in contrasting the two founders and their two religions, "was infinitely holy, pure, and perfect—Mahomet, earthly, sensual, devilish, beyond even the license of his own licentious creed: Christianity, the religion of sanctity, of meekness, and of peace—Mahometanism, the religion of sensuality, of pride, of violence: these most opposite characteristics but suffice to expose and fulfil the opposition, which prophecy, from first to last, had expressly marked out between the two covenants, and the two brethren. Isaac, the child of the Spirit, is here seen to give birth to a spiritual faith; Ishmael, the child of the flesh, to a carnal superstition. The son of the *freewoman*, rightfully and appropriately, introduces into the world a religion of liberty; the son of the *bondwoman*, not less appropriately and rightfully, establishes upon earth a religion of bondage. In a word, Isaac, the legitimate seed, becomes the father of the true faith; Ishmael, the illegitimate, of a spurious imitation of it."—vol. i. pp. 160, 161.

Such is the *consoling* accomplishment of the promise, that Ishmael and his posterity *should live before God*! Such the spiritual distinction which awaited the son of the bondwoman, because he was the seed of Abraham! A bloody and voluptuous superstition

is the crown of rejoicing laid up for him, who was to be honoured with the portion of the blessed and the just!

Again—*In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed*, was the peculiar promise of God to Abraham, concerning his only son Issac; and the terms of the corresponding promise respecting Ishmael are, *He shall dwell in the face of all his brethren*. Now, (says Mr. Forster) let these apparently co-extensive predictions receive their interpretation from the histories of Christianity and Mahometanism, as their respective fulfilments. He then, accordingly, pursues the comparison of the two faiths throughout the range of their respective histories, and he finds that they are frequently confronted as rivals or antagonists; that, sometimes, they stand in violent contrast with each other; and that, at other times, they are distinguished by remarkable analogies and similitudes: but, let what will happen, he never fails to discern a fulfilment of the above prediction. Correspondence or opposition alike contribute, in the author's judgment, to show that Ishmael has always *dwelt in the face of all his brethren*; and to prove, that as the better covenant of Isaac was fulfilled by the advent of Christ, so the lower covenant of Ishmael had its parallel accomplishment in the rise of Mahomet. We hardly know how to dispose of such speculation as this, otherwise than by producing it, and leaving it to the judgment of our readers. Understood with reference to the temporal fortunes of the Arabs, the prophecy is intelligible enough. It may fairly be supposed to indicate that they should be able to maintain their independence in the face of the world, and to set at defiance all attempts to reduce them to permanent subjection. It may, perhaps, be further allowed to point at something beyond this, and to indicate that untameable and enterprising spirit which confronted the Saracens with the most powerful and civilized nations on the face of the globe. But we are utterly at a loss to assign to these words any satisfactory or definite signification, as applied to the history of the Mahometan religion. That religion, it is true, has been brought into perpetual conflict with the religion of Christ; but no circumstance, surely, would be more unlikely than this to form the subject of a gracious and consoling promise to the forefather of the Israel of God. That the descendants of the bondwoman should be free and victorious, might be a legitimate source of exultation to the parents of the outcast lad. But that their country should become the nursery of a superstition which would not only be brought into conflict with Christianity, but almost threaten it with extermination, could excite nothing but anguish and horror. At all events, the words in question are much too narrow to support a fabric of such enormous breadth and elevation: and the scheme

of Mr. Forster—as it appears to us)—is about as hopeful as to attempt erecting the pyramids on the bridge of Al Sirât.

But then, it may be asked, has the spiritual dominion founded by Mahomet never been the subject of prophecy? To which we reply, that we make no question whatever of its having been predicted;—and predicted, too, in terms which are utterly subversive of the hypothesis of Mr. Foster. Turn, for instance, to the ninth chapter of the Apocalypse, which by general consent is allowed to refer to the rise and progress of Islamism, and meditate on the figures by which the Holy Ghost has been pleased to pourtray to us this spiritual prodigy. We find there that the bottomless pit is opened,—that there issues from it a smoke which darkens the air,—and that locusts come forth from the smoke, destructive and venomous as scorpions. And then follows a description of these swarms from the pestilential vapour, which conveys the notion of tremendous power, and is always understood to indicate a spiritual, quite as emphatically, or rather more so, than a temporal desolation. Are we then to believe that these Apocalyptic pests were sent in conformity with the promise to execute the gracious covenant of Jehovah with Abraham? That covenant, be it never forgotten, was conferred as a boon upon the patriarch, and designed to comfort him respecting the fate of his spurious child. Is it credible, then, that such a covenant could receive its fulfilment in the establishment of a spiritual domination so terrific, and so wasteful, that inspiration itself appears almost to labour for images which may adequately represent it?

We feel ourselves relieved from all necessity of following Mr. Forster in his journeyings throughout the regions of prophecy, which he explores for evidence of his favourite position: for if his interpretations of these portions of Scripture were, without exception, accurate, it would not advance him a single step towards the establishment of his scheme. Both Daniel and St. John may have described to the life the temporal and the spiritual achievements of Mahomet, but this will never connect his success, as a *religious impostor*, with the promises of God to the original founder of his tribe. It may have been the result of Providential arrangement, that this “planetary plague” was permitted to hang over the “high-iced” generations of mankind, and to blot out from many portions of the globe the light of the Gospel, of which they were unworthy: but it may very safely be affirmed that the revelation of such a *penal* infliction can never have entered into a transaction marked with mercy and condescension. Had there been no prophetic Scriptures but the narrative of this covenant, we should, most assuredly, have been without any revealed inti-

mation that the Arabian superstition had entered into the system of providential appointments.

With regard to the language of this promise to the son of Hagar, no sober-minded interpreter of Scripture could be at a moment's loss to discern its true interpretation. Ishmael was to be a wild man, that is, (as the original imports) a man of a fierce and headstrong spirit, and untameable as a wild ass. His hand was to be against every man, and every man's hand against him; a phrase admirably descriptive of the warlike and predatory habits of the Bedouin, whose life is a perpetual scene of aggression or defence. He was to dwell in the presence of all his brethren; in other words, he was to laugh at the efforts of all mankind to destroy his independence. He was, moreover, to become the father of twelve princes, and to grow into a great nation: a prediction amply verified in the condition of the Arabian tribes, in the ages previous to the appearance of Mahomet, considered merely as possessors of the Arabian peninsula, and as powerful enough to defy the arms of Persia, Macedonia, and Rome. If, therefore, we were to stop here, history would supply us with ample testimony to the truth of these prophetic scriptures. We are, however, not afraid to accompany Mr. Forster to a point considerably beyond this; and to allow that the prediction, considered as a promise of temporal dominion, may have found a further splendid fulfilment, in the stupendous range of Saracenic conquest, which, in eighty years, embraced a wider extent of territory than Rome had mastered in the course of eight hundred. Neither are we deterred from this concession by the circumstances, that the history of the Califates embraces a considerable period illustriously distinguished for wealth, refinement, and intelligence. In some regions of the globe, and under certain peculiar circumstances, *the wild man* became, for a time, a civilized and luxurious being, the patron of the arts, and the votary of science. But this partial and temporary *cicuration* could do absolutely nothing towards obliterating the general features impressed by prophecy on the Saracenic tribes. The spirit of the Saracen has, under all superficial changes, been essentially and indelibly the same. The impetuous and indomitable temper of the child of the desert was shown in the portentous rapidity of his victories. Whether in the land of Sinaar, or in the vallies of Spain, his history was that of one continued assault on the peace and liberty of mankind. He was armed against the world; and the world—(too often in vain)—was armed against him; till at last the sun of his glory declined, and the descendant of Ishmael has relapsed into the fierce and unreclaimed man of the wilderness, the living and unchangeable witness to the words of the

Almighty. And if it be demanded, how the God of peace and mercy could promise, as a blessing, a career of grandeur attended by calamity and bloodshed?—the reply must be, that such is the inevitable condition of all national greatness and prosperity. In the fallen state of this world, supremacy and dominion are hardly to be achieved but by the iron tread and flaming right hand of conquest. To make a nation great and mighty, *merely* by the arts of peace, would require nothing less than a series of miraculous agency almost unprecedented in the history of man. A prediction of aggrandizement, unavoidably implies the use of those means by which communities become great and powerful: and there is, consequently, nothing inconsistent with the usual dealings of God, in supposing him to make the promise of worldly might and glory to the Saracenic dynasties which were to spring from Ishmael.

In proceeding, however, thus far with Mr. Forster, we have gone to the very utmost limit of concession. We can imagine the God of battles declaring the future success of a race of warriors, and relieving the despair of an anxious parent by proclaiming that his posterity should rank among the illustrious of the earth. But we are wholly unable to reconcile ourselves to the thought of the God of truth sustaining the drooping spirits of Abraham and Hagar by an assurance, which was to be realized by the success of an odious and shameless deception. And we, accordingly, conclude that, whatever may be the position which the faith of Mahomet occupies in the scheme of the divine counsels, it has no pretensions whatever to be considered as the fulfilment of the Ishmaelitic covenant. The Lord may, possibly, stipulate with his servants for an ample measure of secular advantage and distinction; but it is perfectly incredible that he should bind himself by *engagements* that require spiritual fraud and delusion for their accomplishment. “*A spurious travesty of the Mosaic revelation*” never can have been among the blessings and honours which Omnipotence was pledged to bestow upon the father of the Arabs.

But though we are persuaded that the *religion* of Mahomet has no more connection with this celebrated covenant than the religion of Buddh, or the Braminical superstition, we can hardly regret that the belief of some relation between them has for a time got possession of Mr. Forster’s imagination. There is nothing like an hypothesis to make a man master at least of all the information connected with a subject. Mr. Forster accordingly has gallantly mounted his hypothesis, and a weary and perilous excursion it has taken him,

“O’er bog and steep, through strait, rough, dense, and rare.”

It has, however, enabled him to exhibit a great variety of interesting views of the Arabian apostasy, and its effects on human society. It has given him heart and spirit for a more complete survey of it, throughout all its stages and in all its operations, than a more unimpassioned inquirer might have been tempted to execute; and among other services to which it has impelled him, is the very important one of establishing beyond all controversy the fact, which the odious flippancy of Gibbon has affected to dispose of in a few sarcastic sentences, namely, the descent of a large portion of the Arabian tribes from the son of Hagar.

The dissertation which relates to this question is thrown by Mr. Forster into an Appendix, which our space forbids us to insert, and which it is not very easy to abridge. The outline of the argument, however, is as follows:—

1. The Mosaic account records the parentage, birth, and settlement of Ishmael in Arabia, together with the promises that he should become a great nation, and with exact delineations of the character and habits of his descendants. It likewise gives us the births, names, and settlements of his sons as princes (or emirs) in the same country,* not merely as fathers of families, but as founders of powerful tribes.

2. The books of the Old Testament, written as they were at distant intervals of time and place, contain various incidental and evidently unstudied references to the tribes of Arabia as descending from Ishmael, and bearing the names of his several sons—an irresistible proof that this genealogy was for a series of ages a matter of unquestioned and universal notoriety.† If, therefore, this descent is fabulous, we must believe that the authors of the Old Testament have conspired through a succession of centuries, in the transmission of a profitless and unmeaning falsehood.

3. Josephus, in his *Antiquities*,‡ mentions that “the Arabians administer circumcision at the close of the thirteenth year, since *Ishmael, the founder of their nation*, the son of Abraham by a concubine, was circumcised at that time of life.” Now it must be remembered, that this passage is introduced merely as an incidental historical notice, in a manner which bespeaks a total unconsciousness of its being applicable to any controversial use. The fact is referred to as undoubted and notorious; and proves, beyond all dispute, that the practice in question was a national

* Gen. xxv. 12. 16.

† Is. lx. 7; xlii. 11; xxi. 11, 14, 16, 17. Ezek. xxvii. 21. Ps. cxx. 5. Job, vi. 19. Jerem. xxv. 23; xlix. 28, 31.

‡ Lib. I. c. x. § 5, p. 26. Ed. Hudson.

rite, which preserved to them the memory of their descent from Abraham.

A similar indirect and unpremeditated testimony is given by Origen, who states that “ the nations of Judæa generally circumcise their children on the eighth day ; but the *Ishmaelites, who inhabit Arabia*, universally practise circumcision in the thirteenth year ; for this,” he adds, “ history tells us concerning them,” (τοῦτο γὰρ ἰσχυρεῖται περὶ αὐτῶν)* : thus showing that the Arabian tradition respecting the genealogy of the nation was not considered as a questionable matter at the beginning of the third century.

4. In another passage of Josephus, it is plainly intimated, that the Arabian tribes derived from Ishmael were, in his time, severally known and distinguished by the names of those sons of Ishmael who were their respective progenitors ; and the same fact is abundantly authenticated by subsequent authorities.

5. The very idolatry of the Arabs appears to have been connected with the immemorial tradition of their origin ; for when Mahomet took Mecca, in the eighth year of the Hejra, he found in the Caaba an image of Abraham, holding in his hand seven headless arrows for divination, and surrounded by figures of other deities and prophets, among whom, as some of their writers add, was that of Ishmael.

Now we should be glad to learn how we are to reconcile with the above facts the impudent assertion of Gibbon, that the legend of their Ishmaelitish origin was first introduced among the Arabs by the Jewish exiles and early Christian missionaries, who diffused the Hebrew Scriptures over the Peninsula. “ The Bible,” he tells us, “ was already translated into the Arabic language ; and the volume of the Old Testament,” he further tells us, “ was accepted by the concord of these implacable enemies. In the story of the Hebrew patriarch, they were pleased to discover the fathers of their nation ; and they imbibed with equal credulity the prodigies of the Holy Text, and the dreams of the Jewish Rabbis.” So that we are to assume the existence of an Arabic version in those times, of which version not a trace or a fragment is now to be found : we are further to believe that a whole people would instantly and greedily receive a fabulous account of their own original, upon the *sole* authority of a volume till then unknown : that, till the century immediately preceding the Christian æra, they remained wholly unconscious of their Abrahamic genealogy ; but that, from that time to the present hour, their connection with the ancient worthies of the Hebrew Scriptures has been matter of universal and indelible persuasion. They were infinitely de-

* Orig. in Gen. Op. tom. ii. p. 16. Ed. Ben.

lighted and flattered, we are to suppose, with the thoughts of being connected with the father of God's people; and yet they persisted without interruption in a mode of worship condemned by every page of the volume which, for the first time, disclosed to them their boasted and inestimable pedigree. If any one can believe this, all that can be said of him is, that he supplies us with one more instance of the voracious credulity of the sceptic.

But then, it is said, the Bedouins, though very careful of the pedigree of their horses, are extremely negligent of their own. And what then? The Jews have utterly lost their pedigrees: and yet, who ever dreams of questioning their descent from Isaac?

It is impossible to resist the opportunity, which here offers itself, of exposing another instance of effrontery on the part of the historian. He tells us, that the independence of the Arabs has been converted by the arts of controversy into a prophecy and a miracle,* in favour of the posterity of Ishmael; and adds, that "some exceptions, which can neither be dissembled nor eluded, render this mode of reasoning as indiscreet as it is superfluous. The kingdom of Yemen has been successively subdued by the Abyssinians, the Persians, the Sultans of Egypt, and the Turks; Mecca and Medina have repeatedly bowed under a Scythian tyrant; and the Roman province of Arabia embraced the particular wilderness in which Ishmael and his sons must have pitched his tents in the face of their brethren." Having thus contemptuously scattered the seeds of doubt over the subject, he proceeds, with matchless composure, to the qualifying statement, which must sweep them away, in a moment, from every ingenuous mind. "The exceptions—(he confesses)—were temporary or local; the body of the nation has escaped the yoke of the most powerful monarchies; the arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never achieve the conquest of Arabia; the present sovereign of the Turks may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction, but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people, whom it is dangerous to provoke, and fruitless to attack!" Now what *believer* in this prophecy, we demand, would ever look for a more complete and exact fulfilment of it, than that which the *unbeliever* himself has here described to our hand? Had it been the object of Gibbon to illustrate and confirm the authority of Scripture, instead of undermining and destroying it, how could he have produced a more powerful statement of the case? By what infatuation could it have entered his head, that by this representation he was pouring contempt on the prediction? Here are centuries upon centuries of freedom, varied only by insignificant and partial interruptions, just sufficient to show the impossibility of any

permanent impression on the independence of the country. How, then, could the word of prophecy receive a more triumphant accomplishment? And how utterly disgraceful must be that perversion of mind, which could hope to extort, from such a course of events, a testimony to the dishonour of Revelation!

We are, however, reminded in the next sentence, that “the obvious causes of their freedom are inscribed on the character and country of the Arabs;” “that the patient and active virtues of a soldier are insensibly nourished in the habits and discipline of a pastoral life;” &c. &c. And what, if this be so? What, if we concede that neither oracle nor prophet were needed to foretell, that the inhabitant of the desert would be lawless and untamed as the wild ass? We then ask, who was to point out, without the spirit of prophecy, the family destined to possess the desert, or at least to become great and powerful there? That a land like Arabia would be safe from permanent subjection might, possibly, fall within the reach of human conjecture; but who was to divine that Ishmael and his tribes were to inherit this nursery of wildness and of liberty? It might, perhaps, have indicated no absolutely superhuman sagacity, if St. Dunstan or Thomas à Becket had pronounced, that England would become, in the course of ages, the greatest naval power in the history of the world. But we should have thought them both prophets indeed, had the one foretold the Norman Conquest, or the other the accession of the House of Brunswick.

The case with regard to Ishmael stands thus: the Supreme Disposer of all human fortunes pronounced that his should be a wild and independent race: and He placed them in a land most eminently fitted to produce and perpetuate that character. And yet none but that same Disposer could ever have presumed to declare, that the family of Ishmael would so predominate and flourish in that soil, as to testify to all future ages, that they were there by the appointment of a sovereign and overruling Providence; by the ordinance of Him who condescended to enter into covenant with the common father of the Hebrews and the Saracens.

One cannot contemplate without disgust and indignation, the insidious levity with which the sneering Sadducee has, in these instances, trifled with the evidences of history. Nothing can well be imagined more contemptible,—unless, perhaps, it be his partiality for the imposture of Mahomet; compounded as that partiality is of godless pride and prurient imagination. Everything good in the system of the Arabs, arms the historian with means of craftily disparaging the Gospel; everything sensual in it, bribes his impure and vicious fancy. He seems to chuckle over the

thought, that if the enterprise of Abderahme had succeeded, "the pulpits of Oxford might demonstrate to a *circumcised* people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet:" though he is pleased to doubt whether the Oxford Mosch would have produced a volume of controversy so elegant and ingenious as the Bampton Lectures of Dr. White. One thing the *Oxford Mosch* most assuredly would not have produced; and that is, an avowedly infidel historian of the Roman Empire! The true believers, as Mr. Forster justly remarks, have no bowels of mercy for scepticism, however refined or philosophic.* The discipline of Islam denounces for destruction all who deny the doctrines of a resurrection and a Providence. The Ulema have an awkward maxim, which might have been too much even for the courage of the Captain of the Hampshire militia;—namely—*occidatur Sadduceus neque acceptetur ab eo penitentia*. Instead, therefore, of the shameless and self-sufficient scorner, we might probably have had an orthodox, decorous, and perhaps intolerant Mussulman philosopher; every hair of whose beard would have been up in holy insurrection, at blasphemies against the Prophet, and his "*perspicuous and uncreated*" book.

There is no region of inquiry connected with his subject which appears to have more powerful charms for the author, than the religious wars of the middle ages. We rejoice that this interesting subject has fallen within the range of his disquisition, since it affords him, once more, an opportunity of exposing and chastising the contemptuous scepticism of the infidel historian. Every one remembers the perverse delight with which that scoffer labours to disparage, not only the motives and the policy in which those enterprises begun, but the signal benefits which they *eventually* conferred upon Europe. We cannot present to our readers the detail of reasoning and investigation by which Mr. Forster arrives at a conclusion more creditable to these prodigious eruptions of human energy. We are unable, indeed, to adopt, in its fullest

* The way in which the Mussulman divines are in the habit of dealing with scepticism, may be curiously illustrated by their rule of proceeding with a certain sect of infidels or heretics known by the name of Lâdri (a term which signifies *Nescio*). Their process with such persons is remarkably simple. They prepare a gridiron with a brisk fire under it; they then propound to the doubtful man the question, *whether fire will burn?* If he says, "*I don't know,*" they seat him on the gridiron, and repeat the question. If he answers, that it *does*, they immediately withdraw him from the flames, somewhat damaged, perhaps, in the epidermis, but entirely cured of his pyrrhonism, and therefore, on the whole, much the better for the experiment. If, however, he persists in saying "*I don't know,*" they suffer him to remain. For how can he complain of being broiled alive, who protests that he is by no means certain whether or not the process is disagreeable? A similar expedient might have saved the world a prodigious amount of nonsense from the schools of classical stoicism!

extent, his persuasion, that the leaders of these enterprises were prompted to their exertions wholly by a wise foresight,—by a distinct prospect of the ruin impending over Christendom,—or by an intelligent conviction that Europe must be precipitated into Asia, as the only means of driving back the approaching tide of devastation. We are afraid that a wild and ignorant fanaticism was more instrumental, than Mr. Forster is willing to allow, in communicating to the public mind its portentous and incontrollable momentum. On the other hand, however, we apprehend, that, humanly speaking, the deliverance of the Christian world may, in a considerable measure, be ascribed to those colossal efforts. It is difficult to imagine that anything less than an upheaving of the social system from its very depths, could have brought into action the powers and resources which the crisis demanded. It can scarcely be doubted, that by these religious *coalitions*, the fate of the Greek empire was suspended for three centuries, and Europe preserved from the loss of freedom and religion. But for the enthusiasm of the crusaders, the empire of Turkish brutality and barbarism might, at this moment, be oppressing the faculties and the liberty of mankind from the Euphrates to the northern seas. It would therefore be absolutely ungrateful to turn a scornful eye on the almost miraculous self-devotion which turned back so frightful an inundation. The value of the respite thus obtained—as Mr. Forster observes—has indeed been long and generally felt.

“As Europe was situated in the eleventh and two succeeding centuries, human means could have availed her nothing, had Constantinople and the Hellespont been overpast: as Europe was constituted in the fifteenth century, the event has shown that she had nothing to fear from the arms of Mahomet II.”—vol. ii. p. 160.

In his progress to this conclusion, the author has been evidently animated, at every step, by the evidences with which the inquiry seemed to furnish him in support of his system. From the battle of Yermuk to that of Dorylæum, and thenceforward, through the whole period of the crusades to the end of the thirteenth century, he seems to fancy himself in the midst of a cloud of testimony to the truth of his speculations. Everywhere he beholds Isaac and Ishmael engaged in mortal conflict, and fulfilling the prediction, that the hand of the wild man should be against every man, and every man's hand against him. In every step, too, of the march of these stupendous events, he is able most distinctly to trace the hand of Omnipotence. From the *providential* character of the holy wars, he perceives a direct and obvious transition to the grand providential connection between the true religion and

the false, or—(to state the inference still more fully in his own words)—

“ following the progress of these great events, contemplated as parts of the great providential administration of the world, we ascend, in the natural order of things, from the Saracenic and Latin holy wars, to Christianity and Mahometanism, the two religious systems from whose collision they arose;—from Christianity and Mahometanism, again, to their respective sources, the descendants of Isaac and Ishmael, and to the prophetic opposition between these brethren;—from Isaac and Ishmael, lastly, to the original twofold covenant of God with Abraham his servant.”—vol. ii. p. 171.

Here, again, we have a marvellous exhibition of the seven-leagued strides with which the magic of an hypothesis often carries its rider over the ground! Christianity and Islamism are in desperate conflict with each other for three centuries: the founders of these two faiths belong to the posterity of Isaac and of Ishmael; and therefore we must refer their deadly strife to the *covenant* of God with the sire of these two patriarchs! It is needless to reiterate the fatal objection to this most fantastic reasoning, if reasoning it can be called. Nothing further can be necessary than once more to remind the reader that, in the first place, there can be no sufficient warrant for extending the application of the promise beyond the temporal fortunes of the two families and their descendants; and secondly, that such an interpretation requires that all the various nations who embraced the faith of the prophet should be spiritually identified with the race of Ishmael; a fancy which, for reasons stated above, we conceive to be wholly inadmissible.

But this is not the full extent of Mr. Forster's perspicacity. He not only connects the struggle between the Gospel and the Koran with the Divine promises, but he sees in the very perversions of the Gospel a positively providential arrangement. He has succeeded in persuading himself, that these perversions were most critically seasonable; since, for the time, they so completely obliterated the peaceful character of Christ's religion, as to convert it into a religion of the sword; and this purely in order that it might be in readiness to contend with an adversary, the weapons of whose warfare were carnal and sanguinary. Isaac, the man of peace, in short, must be changed into a warrior, in order that he may be in a condition to grapple with his wild and ferocious brother. The author seems to derive so much honest gratification from this train of thought, that we feel almost reluctant to interrupt or molest him in the prosecution of it. Yet, we must ask him, whether he can think it safe or becoming, to venture upon a labyrinth of speculation in which all human sagacity

must soon be bewildered and lost? If views of this description be warrantable, there is no calamity that can befall mankind—no extremity of physical suffering, or moral degradation—that may not be placed as it were under the special patronage of Providence. Abuses, it may be said, become providential, when they cry so loudly as to awaken the slumbering energies of the world. Tyranny is providential when it provokes revolution. Revolution is providential, when its excesses drive men back again to order and submission. Even religious perversion is providential, when it exchanges the armour of light for the sword and shield of a fleshly warfare, and goes forth to repel the assault of some apostasy still more abominable and destructive than itself. Such are the prodigies we must expect to encounter when we wander into regions forbidden to mortal enterprize or wisdom.

That the ruin of Christendom may have been averted by the Crusades is, as we have conceded, highly probable, if not absolutely certain. But Mr. Forster is not satisfied with contending, in general terms, for this result. He fancies that he can distinctly trace the working of Providence throughout the whole series of phenomena involved in those astonishing and convulsive efforts; and here it is that he appears to us to rush in, where we are not sure that even angels are allowed to tread. One formidable objection to this license of speculation—this almost officious forwardness to vindicate the ways of Providence—is, that it may expose to the attacks of the caviller and the scorner an indefensible length of line, or may place us in a position in which our flank is liable to be turned. There is no imaginable sequence of occurrences, in which a powerful imagination, exalted by an ardent religious temperament, may not discern a providential march and procession. To illustrate this, let us revert, once more, to the Crusades, which Mr. Forster is assured were providentially ordained for the preservation of Christendom, by the only means adequate to that effect, namely, the prodigal, and apparently insane, outpouring of European strength into the heart of Asia. Now let us imagine the case to have been different. Let us suppose that Peter the Hermit had failed—that the Christians had resisted the infection of his enthusiasm—that they had been persuaded by some better disciplined mind, carefully to accumulate their powers, and to prepare themselves in their own country to meet and roll back the torrent of invasion—and that this policy had been eventually successful. We should then, no doubt, have been told, that the gracious providence of God had manifestly overruled the rashness and fanaticism of man; that the force of Europe was, happily, consolidated and concentrated at home, instead of being wasted and dissipated in distant, fruitless, and

indecisive undertakings; and that the Christian world was thus, almost by miracle, rescued from the ruinous impulses of an ungovernable zeal!

Again and again, we earnestly desire not to be misunderstood. The eye of Providence is, beyond all question, constantly over the whole course of this world; the hand of Providence is, no less indisputably, in frequent, direct, and beneficial, but *invisible* operation, to give the current of events that precise direction which tends to the safety of the whole system and the accomplishment of the greatest good. But here we feel that it becomes human blindness and feebleness to stop. We cannot but remember that the Lord, though mighty in operation, is verily a God that hideth himself. He rideth on the wings of the wind; but what mortal eye can presume to follow and to track his *goings forth*? Who among the sons of men can look upon the seemingly pathless expanse of his administration, and say, that upon this spot, and upon that, have been the footsteps of the Almighty? What is there, except the most *direct* and intense illumination of prophecy, that can enable us to point out the exact *localities* in the orbit of his moral government, at which the arm of the Lord hath been manifestly and specially revealed?

We may possibly render our views more intelligible by a brief reference to the harmony and order of the physical creation. We are taught by science that the forces which rule our system are so wonderfully and critically adjusted, that all its irregularities are limited and periodical, and that thus they are, eventually, *self-corrected*. But it is very easy to imagine the case to have been otherwise. Let us, then, make that supposition; and conceive that the power of gravitation had followed a different law from that which has actually been ordained: it is demonstrable that, in such a case, the complicated actions of the various disturbing forces would have been such as to require an occasional re-adjustment of the system. The mechanism would then have been without any self-correcting power; and the action of Omnipotence would have been repeatedly required to preserve the whole from confusion and ultimate ruin. It might, perhaps, be far beyond the resources of science, to point the exact stations at which such *special* interference had been employed in times past, or would be absolutely needed in time to come; and therefore it would be vain and presumptuous for us to say precisely where the second causes had been left to themselves, and where they had been aided or partially overruled. We should content ourselves with the persuasion, that, between the ordinary superintendence and the special interposition, the combination would be, as it had ever been, kept from fatal discord and disorder. Such, in

the case we have imagined, would be our views respecting the *Divine Providence*, in the preservation of the planetary system. But even in that state of things, if the sun were to stand still in Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Ajalon, then should we be quite certain, that the invisible hand of God had been laid upon the movements, and had controlled them for the purpose of displaying his sovereignty and glory.

Now this supposition relative to the *physical* universe, may, perhaps, in some degree illustrate the *moral* dealings of Providence. The course of this world may, in general, be left to obey the ordinary impulse of second causes, (always under the survey of that eye which neither slumbereth nor sleepeth.) The Sovereign Disposer may have made it a part of his original scheme to interpose, wherever those unaided second causes are insufficient for the completion of his purposes; but then, our *science* is unable to fix, with any certainty, upon the points or stages, in the career of events, at which such interference has taken place. And therefore it is, that we cannot contemplate, without certain misgivings, the researches of what may be called the *religious philosophy of history*; whose object is to determine and to mark out, by a broad and visible line, the very path of that special agency. Unless the light of prophecy shines with a burning splendour upon the spot, or the hand of the Almighty has been displayed in signs and wonders that overpower all mistrust, we never can precisely fix upon the scene of a *special* providence; and therefore our best wisdom is, to content ourselves with the general conviction, that *all things work together for good*.

Mr. Forster devotes two ample chapters to a consideration of the services rendered by *Mahometanism*, or at least by *Mahometans*, to the cause of civilization and of literature. We have room to do no more than to recommend these chapters to the attentive study of our readers, as forming, together with those on the Crusades, the most valuable, interesting, and instructive portion of his volumes. The picture, perhaps, is rather gorgeously coloured; and the dimensions may be somewhat larger than life. But nevertheless it is a representation which cannot be contemplated without enriching our understanding and enlarging our charity. We are too apt, in forming our notions of the Moslemin, to forget that they had their peaceable as well as their warlike triumphs. We think of their annals only as records of bloodshed, havoc, and sensuality. We lose sight of the long interval of intellectual glory which has numbered the Arabs among the preservers of humanity and of science. We have no eyes to see the influences of their rule, during that period, upon all the arts which confer both grace and comfort on human existence. We are

prone to contemplate the Mahometan dominion solely as a deadly blight, which has visited no region of the earth without leaving behind it the marks of desolation and sterility. A more effectual or entertaining corrective of these prejudices will not easily be found than this portion of Mr. Forster's disquisition. We are, nevertheless, under the necessity of qualifying this praise with the same censure which attaches, more or less, to the whole of his performance. Isaac and Ishmael haunt us throughout the discussion. They are, really, quite omnipresent. They are of all places, and of all times. The author finds as clear an analogy between the religion of Christ and that of Mahomet, in the literature of the Saracens as in their wars and their fanaticism. Whether in the struggle of the battle-field—or in the nobler rivalry of intellectual ambition—or in the work of religious mimicry and imposture—always, and every where, the son of Hagar fulfils his *prophetic* relation towards the son of Sarah! Whether they are mortally quarrelling with each other—or whether they are engaged in something like a contest of generous emulation—still the two brothers are perpetually before us. Absolutely, there is no escaping from these eternal apparitions. Stand where you will, they stare you in the face, with an importunity somewhat resembling that with which the eye of a portrait often pursues you to every corner of the room; till at last we get weary and incredulous, and the delusion vanishes.

We have further to remark, that in his estimate of the beneficial influences of the religion of the Koran, Mr. Forster appears by no means to have kept sufficiently in mind, that the Mahometans have, generally, been intelligent, civilized, and scientific, precisely in proportion to their departure from the true spirit of their faith. Their early history is humourously, but truly enough, abridged by George Huddesford:

“Mahomet, marching at the head
Of his victorious rabble,
His apostolic mission proved
With sword irrefragable:
A heaven of wine and women preached
To make men more devout;
And, if *he* could not turn their brains,
His Saracens beat them out.”

But then, with conquest came grandeur, and prosperity, and wealth; and these did their usual work with the brain-ejecting barbarians, as they have done with the rest of mankind; they brought with them in their train, repose, refinement, and luxury; they gave men leisure to reflect and to comment on the more pacific and indulgent texts and traditions of their religion—if not

to forget both text and tradition together. And thus it was that the conquering Mussulmans, like many other conquerors, were softened and melted down by their own successes, and were prepared to receive impressions more favourable to the refinement of the human character. The desperate and daring features of Moloch were gradually mitigated, till the men became, like Belial, "in art more graceful and humane" than their fiery and rufian forefathers. And then there followed, naturally, the reign of mental activity, and even of religious liberality and toleration; of every thing, in short, which indicates the supremacy of mind over brute force, or grovelling sense, or slavish superstition. And thus it was that the Saracenic kingdoms were honoured, for three centuries, by the distinguished office of keeping alive the sacred fires of intelligence and civility, while, throughout the greater part of Europe, the flame was dimly smouldering, and almost on the point of hopeless extinction.

All these glories, however, are now gone by. The Turk is at present the *principal* representation of Islamism; and his nature, being incapable of receiving its delicate accompaniments, exhibits the superstition of Mahomet in its original and coarse simplicity. If the Mussulman is to be reckoned among the federal posterity of Ishmael, he at present resembles him chiefly in his aboriginal rudeness, whether we seek him at Constantinople in the person of the portly Osmanli, or follow him to the desert in that of the spare, abstemious, and half-naked Bedouin.

Our main objections to the work of Mr. Forster are now pretty fully and distinctly before our readers. They will perceive that, in our judgment, it has been composed in a state of mental calenture, which exalts the colours, and exaggerates the proportions of every object that presents itself. His faculties appear to have been raised, by the interest of his task, to a degree of morbid and feverish sensibility, which enables him to discern resemblances and contrasts that escape all ordinary and healthful perception. He finds that the true believers have sometimes hated one another with an *odium theologicum* that has never been surpassed in the annals of Christendom; that they have persecuted one another with a merciless fury that might well nigh have enamoured St. Dominic of their creed; that they have worried each other with disputes, the subtlety of which might almost have made the seraphic and irrefragable doctors of our schools expire with envy; that the doctrines of fatalism have been agitated among them at a prodigal expense and waste of charity, that might rival the glories of the Calvinistic controversy itself; that their very sects almost affect a numerical approximation to those of Judaism and Christianity. In these, and various other circumstances, he dis-

cetus more agreements and correspondencies between the two systems than we have time or patience to enumerate; in these lines of family likeness he discerns infallible indications of a connection, which leads him up at once to the history of the two patriarchs. Even the accidental deformities of the true religion furnish him with conclusive evidence of a close relationship between it and the spurious one! To vary, for a moment, our illustration of the matter,—he sees two rivers flowing before him, and there is salmon in both—and in both, perhaps, there are, casually, many other things to be found, much less agreeable and desirable,—and these phenomena tempt him very gravely to surmise, that each stream is, in all human probability, distinctly traceable to one common source!

A great deal of all this, the cool and impartial spectator will easily perceive to be visionary and unsubstantial. He will probably be tempted to pronounce a similar judgment on certain of the author's speculations on prophecy—a region which holds out so many irresistible allurements to the spirit of fervid and contemplative piety. One instance of his keenness in discovering analogies and similitudes will sufficiently exemplify the dangers to which this temper is constantly exposing the adventurer. After expatiating at large in the ample range of Daniel and the Revelations, he suddenly turns aside into a less frequented path, in search of additional testimony to his system. The sacred Scriptures, he says, must be supposed to contain what a great philosopher (Boyle) has termed “unheeded prophecies, overlooked mysteries, and strange harmonies;” and on the strength of this hint, he fixes on the 24th chapter of St. Matthew, which appears to him to teem with hitherto unnoticed references to the Arabian Antichrist. The oracles there uttered by our Lord, he contends, belong to a class of predictions which he is fond of describing as *germinant* prophecies. They extend from the apostasies which were to precede the downfall of Jerusalem, to those which should follow to the end of time: and the occurrences, in such a context, of expressions *applicable* to Mahomet, furnishes Mr. Forster with a strong presumption that we are fully warranted in so applying them. He then invites the reader to consider for himself the passage in question, and to form his own judgment as to the proposed application:

“SAINT MATTHEW, xxiv.

“23. Then, if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not. 24. For there shall arise *false Christs* and *false prophets*, and shall show great signs and wonders; insomuch, that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect. 25. Behold, I have told you before. 26. Wherefore, if they shall say unto you, Behold, HE

IS IN THE DESERT; go not forth: Behold, HE IS IN THE SECRET CHAMBERS; believe it not.”—p. 242.

To this passage Mr. Forster subjoins his own interpretation: and having urged that, in the main particulars, it has a manifest application to Mahomet,—(who offered himself to the Jews as their *Messiah*,—who was, most eminently, a *false prophet*,—who founded his pretensions on that greatest of all *signs and wonders* the Koran,—and who allured numberless apostates from the ranks of the elect,)—he proceeds with his explanation thus:

“ ‘Behold, he is in the desert:’] Christ, it will be had in remembrance, pronounced the prophecy in a country immediately adjoining the Arabian desert; can it, then, be matter of reasonable doubt, when we take into account the conspicuous place which the Arabian heresiarch and his apostasy hold elsewhere in the prophetic Scriptures, that the finger of God is here laid on the birth-place of Mahomet and Mahometanism ?” —p. 242.

“ ‘Behold, he is in the secret chambers:’] In the inner apartments of the house, in its most private recesses: both the Greek term in the New Testament, and its Hebrew equivalent in the Old, have a significancy not to be misunderstood;* the prophecy here pourtrays Mahomet to the life, in his proper character; and pursues him to those hidden scenes of ‘chambering and wantonness,’ which set the seal of antichrist on himself and his religion.” —p. 244, 245.

Now if the success of Mr. Forster’s book were a matter in which we felt the deepest personal interest, the first thing we should do would be to request, that he would expunge the whole of this application of St. Matthew from the next edition of it. Or, if we could not prevail thus far, we should, at least, beseech of him to sacrifice the two paragraphs which we have quoted above. No man, whose brain is sufficiently removed from the torrid zone of an hypothesis, will ever be induced to believe that our Saviour, when he pronounces to his followers this warning against false Christs and false prophets, had his eye fixed upon any remoter period than that at which the caution would be eminently useful to those who heard him. Whatever may be the apparent confusion between the more immediate and the more distant application of his words in other portions of this chapter, in the passage before us, at least, there is no ambiguity. It is vain to search here for “overlooked mysteries,” or strange “harmonies,” or latent predictions. A moment’s glance must satisfy us, that, in these verses, the object of our Lord was to furnish directions to the Christians (or the Elect), for their conduct in those awful

* “For the signification of *ταμεῖον*, see Schleusner in voc.: for that of *דָּוָר*, which, in the Septuagint version, is uniformly rendered by *ταμεῖον*, comp. Parkhurst’s Hebrew Lexicon.”

times, when the Sacred City was verging to her destruction. Nothing, therefore, can be more fantastic than to extend *these* particular admonitions to a period of several centuries beyond that fatal crisis. At all events, the last two sentences of this interpretation are utterly indefensible. Our Saviour guards his disciples against the pretensions of false Messiahs, whether they invite their followers to join them in the neighbouring wilderness, or whether they assemble them in secret apartments, to prepare for more public operations. But then Mr. Forster discovers, that the wilderness in question is, in geographical strictness, a portion of Arabia, and ταμῆϊον may sometimes signify a *bed-chamber*; and that, *therefore*, the words of our Saviour contain an allusion to the *chambering*, and wantonness, and voluptuous retirements of the Prophet of the Desert, the Impostor of Arabia!! Such fanciful and capricious interpretation as this, is, really, almost sufficient, of itself, to stultify the whole work; and for that reason we are heartily desirous to see this specimen of it discarded altogether.

We should, however, be very deeply concerned, if our unreserved exposition of Mr. Forster's aberrations from sobriety and caution, should repel our readers from a patient examination of his labours. His performance, it should be understood, has this peculiar merit—that we might toss his main hypothesis overboard, and yet accompany him in safety over a large extent of prosperous and instructive navigation. Whether or not Christianity and Islamism preserve, towards each other, the relation of the legitimate to the spurious son, it must always be of immense importance, that its merits and its demerits should be impartially estimated. Each system of faith is a phenomenon of prodigious interest and moment, in the history of our species. It is therefore in the highest degree absurd and culpable to suffer their relative positions to be settled solely by ‘superficial, unweighing, and ignorant’ prejudice. They are subjects that deserve the careful study of all who delight to search, patiently and reverently, into the ways of Providence; and such inquirers will find, in Mr. Forster, a very useful and enlightened companion, even though it may scarcely be safe to trust implicitly to him as a guide. To one praise he is most signally entitled,—he brings with him to his task a truly candid, generous and Christian spirit. He cannot endure to contemplate, in the countless millions who have followed the delusions of Mahomet, nothing more than a mass of workmanship fitted solely for dishonour, and ordained to hopeless destruction. He is willing to believe, that the deception they have followed may be overruled eventually to some vast and beneficent purpose; and he is therefore disposed to extend to the misbelievers themselves a generous, and almost a brotherly good-will.

He reminds us, that if we contemplate the main theory of Islam, we shall find it entitled to be regarded as a sort of middle term between truth and error; as occupying a post decidedly superior to that of the heathen superstitions, though at an immeasurable distance below the faith delivered to the saints. He further reminds us, that in proportion as the Mahometans recede from their strong holds of fanatical bigotry, they are found to approximate to the principles of the Gospel; and that *their* heterodoxy often advances nearly to the confines of the Catholic verity; in some instances, more nearly than the system of many among ourselves, who still retain the Christian name and profession; nay, that the Mahometan sects may be said to have furnished their confessors, and even their martyrs, to the truths of the Gospel. He further calls upon us to recollect, that Islamism can boast of many worthies illustrious for piety, self-denial, and munificence; and that, even in the present decay of Mahometan enthusiasm, there is still frequently to be found among the followers of the Prophet a warmth of devotion, and a temper of self-prostration, which might well put to shame the faithless apathy of many a professing Christian. All these circumstances together strengthen him in the persuasion, that there is a large extent of common ground on which the two religions may meet, in God's good time, and wrestle, kindly and amicably, with each other, till Islamism shall retire from the contest defeated, and sinew-shrunken; but shall nevertheless carry away a blessing incomparably richer than the brightest victory.

All these considerations would, at any time, be worthy at least of dispassionate attention: but in this age of missionary enterprise, the neglect of them would be almost criminal. We are now seeking for the most hopeful and judicious methods of approaching the hearts and consciences of heathens and infidels, of every class and denomination. Surely, then, it becomes us to listen respectfully to the charitable suggestions of a kind-hearted pious, and learned man, who is labouring to level the obstructions of ungenerous prepossession, and to prepare, upon their ruins, a highway for our God. Hitherto, indeed, it seems to have been the 'mere despair' of human zeal and wisdom, to discover the direction in which the superstition of Mahomet may be best assailed. But, whatever may be the most promising mode of advancing towards this intent, one thing is absolutely certain, namely, that nothing can more effectually or more disastrously retard that consummation, than an imperfect knowledge of the system itself, and a feeling either of settled aversion, or of contemptuous disregard for those who profess it. However we may *end*, it is quite clear that we must *begin* by acquainting ourselves with whatever good that system may contain, and by allowing it

a liberal value in the account. Any other principle or temper can tend to nothing but to a fatal alienation, and to the defeat of every exertion which zeal and benevolence can devise.

But although we are ready to hail the spirit which has impelled him to this undertaking, we are unable to catch even a glimpse of that sunshine which seems, at times, to burst with such full effulgence upon Mr. Forster. He has succeeded in persuading himself that Mahometanism is, in its own nature, by no means a savage and incorrigible adversary to the religion of Christ. He rather regards it as a shaggy pioneer, who will be found, at last, to have been labouring most sturdily and effectively, to prepare the way for the Gospel,—as a sort of ‘drudging goblin,’ whose ‘hairy strength’ has long been employed to make the rough places level, and the crooked things straight. He conceives the Koran to be incomparably better adapted to gross and semibarbarous natures than the purity of the Gospel; that the rugged energies of the Mahometan faith, by preserving among a vast portion of the human race the doctrines of the divine unity, may have secured, till the time of consummation, a large extent of territory for the final and victorious occupation of the whole truth as it is in Jesus. And when once the road is effectually opened, the march of the spiritual conquest, he is convinced, must be inconceivably rapid! All this while, it unfortunately happens, that the genius of Mahomet has hitherto assumed no other visible aspect than that of the bitterest opposition to the spirit of Christ. Up to this moment, as we all know, the Nazarene is no where an object of such unmitigated scorn as in the realms of Islamism. To the Son of Mary, it is true, the Arabian Messiah has consigned the offices of intercession and of judgment: but even at his second advent he is to appear only as the last of the caliphs; and the supremacy of the Prophet is to remain in undiminished lustre to the end of time. The infidels who question all this, and yet dare to call themselves Christians, are, to this day, regarded, throughout the regions of Islam, as the most abject and hateful of mankind; as the most impious and reprobate of heretics: and there are few meditations so animating and consolatory to the true believer, as that, which represents to his imagination the burning soil which the giaour is to tread, and the boiling water which he is to drink, throughout the ages of eternity! By what imaginable process an approximation is to be effected between these two persuasions, it greatly surpasses all our ingenuity to comprehend. To the argument from miracles, the Moslemin are utterly inaccessible. The argument from prophecy they contrive to turn to their own account. And as for the tenet of the divine unity, it seems, at present, to be only a cause of insuperable alienation;

since the Nazarenes are charged by the Faithful with a most impudent and profane violation of it.

If, however, Mr. Forster shall, upon mature consideration, retain his belief that the Christian cause has been, or is likely to be, debtor to this mystery of deception, it is undoubtedly incumbent upon him to retract, without delay, certain vehement denunciations against it, wherewith he has disburdened his spirit, in its moments of fierce and zealous indignation. We find considerable difficulty in comprehending how a scheme of faith, which stands in the gap between Christianity and heathenism—which, according to Mr. Forster, has done so much for the improvement of the human mind, that it appears as if “Isaac without Ishmael could not have been made perfect”^{*}—and which forms the bridge or causeway over which Christianity may possibly have to march to the conquest of the world—we cannot quite comprehend how a belief, which merits these descriptions, can fairly or properly be designated as the most devastating of all apostasies, and as nothing better than an *Antichristian* perversion of divine truth. Either Mr. Forster must have formed an extravagant estimate of the services which the delusions of Mahomet are likely to render to the truth of Christ, or else we must accustom ourselves to contemplate as a blessing, rather than a curse, the dispersion of “*the perspicuous book*” throughout the more uncivilized regions of the globe. Should the views of this writer become universally popular, we should hardly be surprised by the circulation of proposals for the formation of a *Society for the Propagation of Islam!* As, however, we are not yet quite prepared to look, with much complacency, on a project of this nature, we must, for the present, rest satisfied with what we believe to be a *far more excellent way* of bringing barbarians into the path of salvation, namely, by introducing among them civilization and Christianity hand in hand together, rather than by relying upon falsehood as the herald and forerunner of truth. If this method be pursued, with a due combination of energy and prudence, there will, assuredly, be no necessity for a passage through Mahometanism, from the darkness of Pagan superstition to the marvellous light of the Gospel. We may, then, reasonably hope, that the nations that sit in the deadly shadows of idolatry may be brought forth into the open day, without being entertained or bribed by the way with visions of “black eyes and lemonade”—the eternal ingredients of Musulman felicity!

We are compelled to suppress a variety of reflections and remarks, which we had accumulated in the course of our progress through this work; but the insertion of which would, it is to be

^{*} Vol. ii. p. 277.

feared, render the impatience of our readers positively outrageous, notwithstanding the vivid interest which attaches to the subject ;—an interest made additionally vivid by events which, while we are writing, are rapidly *deploying* before our eyes. The occurrences of the last few months seem to indicate the no very distant accomplishment of a traditional notion, which has long been current among the true believers, that the infidel dogs are destined, at last, to worry and chase them out of Europe. The pack has of late been cheered on, with tremendous effect, by the mighty hunter of Muscovy. The Thracian barrier itself has presented no impediment to his career. The circle appears to be closing in upon the Scythian buffalo. Notwithstanding the breathing time which is now, reluctantly, allowed him, the hounds may before long be once more let slip—they will then soon be upon his haunches ; and, after perilous laceration, will drive him, bleeding and mutilated, back into his Asiatic domains. All this seems more than probable : and with whatever emotion the politician may look upon the prospect, the Christian can hardly contemplate it without feeling his heart burn within him. There is something animating in the thought, that perhaps the present generation may not have wholly passed away, before the abomination which maketh desolate, shall be removed from the Temple of St. Sophia, and its dome echo once more with the anthems of Christian adoration. We forbear, however, to pursue, in imagination, the march of these awful vicissitudes into the regions which are hidden from human gaze. We have hardly caught from Mr. Forster the tone of sanguine confidence, which is needful to carry us forward into the depths of that wilderness of speculation. To him, these events may, possibly, supply a multitude of signs and indications, which speak of a decisive confirmation to his system. To us, they at present furnish nothing more than an additional and powerful motive for observing, with reverent attention, the developement of God's gracious purposes towards the Church, which his own word has pronounced to be indestructible.

ART. II.—*The History of the Church of England.* By J. B. S. Carwithen, B. D. of St. Mary Hall, Oxford; Bampton Lecturer for 1809; and Vicar of Sandhurst, Berks. London. Baldwin and Cradock. 8vo. 2 vols. 1829.

It cannot, assuredly, be considered any disparagement to one of the most pleasing and, yet more, one of the most useful works which has appeared in our times, if we state our opinion, that Mr. Southey's *Book of the Church* has by no means precluded other writers from directing their steps in a similar course. On the contrary, his most interesting volumes have created an appetite and awakened a taste which require farther gratification, and which, indeed, demand yet more substantial nutriment than is to be found in the *bocca dolce* which he has afforded them. If this were all the good which Mr. Southey had effected by his choice of subject, he would sufficiently demand the gratitude of every well-wisher of our Establishment—how much he has done beyond this, it is scarcely necessary that we should here express to any of those who are likely to open our pages.

The sketch of our Church History, which Mr. Southey has so happily dashed off, is rapid, brilliant, spirited, and attractive. The figures, for the most part, are of the heroic cast, and they stand out from his canvass in bold relief. All that he purposed to himself he has executed, most skilfully and successfully; and if beauty of colouring and correctness of outline were every thing which the pencil can furnish, it were idle to seek for these elsewhere. To quit our metaphor, it is obvious that a Work intended for what is called popular circulation; which is to allure those whom business or indolence, activity or sloth, may prevent from more laborious reading; and whose chief hope of success is rested on its power *delectandi pariterque monendi*, must be framed on principles excluding much which the Historical Student will reasonably expect and demand, in a composition more immediately addressed to *his* use. *The Book of the Church*, viewed in this light, stands in the same relation to the volumes now before us, as that which is occupied by *Memoirs*,* in comparison with History. Each in its peculiar line may attain the highest excellences of its kind; but as their kinds are distinct, so also are their excellences.

There is no want of materials for a History of our Church; and one of the great merits, among the many great merits, which

* Such ought to have been Mr. Southey's title, *Memoirs of the Church of England*. It is to be regretted that it did not occur to him that TO BIBAION is exclusively reserved for a Book not written by Man.

Mr. Carwithen has exhibited in his present publication, is to be found in his nicety of selection. Burnet and Strype, not to mention numerous other authorities less immediately at hand, doubtless must be read and mastered by every one who seeks to acquaint himself profoundly with the rise and progress of our national Religious discipline and doctrine. They hold the keys of the English Reformers' armoury; and they furnish a choice of weapons of proof, without borrowing from which the Theologian must not presume to enter the fight, nor to gird himself against any of the Philistines who challenge us to come out and set our battle in array. It is to the pages of the Bishop of Sarum, and of the Minister of Low Leyton, that the Divine, the Statesman, the Philosopher, the Antiquary, and the patient inquirer after every species of Truth, must, in the first place, direct his researches, if he would accurately learn the springs and causes, the birth, growth, adolescence, and maturity of our present Ecclesiastical Polity. But when the memory has once become deep-dyed, imbued, and impregnated by these writers; when we are *in-cōcti honesto*; when the thirst has been slaked at the fountain-head, and we begin to sip for the indulgence of a fastidious taste, rather than for the relief of an insufferable drought; it cannot be denied that, although no other waters may be more salubrious, many may be brighter to the eye and sweeter to the palate. Strype's pretensions scarcely exceed those of a painful annalist and a laborious compiler; and we have little doubt that he took much credit to himself for the cumbrousness of his unwieldy honesty. So Burnet, (putting aside certain peculiarities of opinion,) though for the most part perspicuous, distinct, nervous, and masculine, is assuredly rough, sometimes even to coarseness, and never oversolicitous of elegance. Even if the *pleasure* of reading be considered (as doubtless it ought to be) but a secondary object, there is no little *profit* to be obtained by a concentration of the widely scattered and discursive narratives of the authors whom we have just named. Strype, indeed, avowedly throws all his facts into loose packages and separate bundles; and sometimes, when we have been surrounded by the compact and closely-printed octavos, for which we are so much indebted to the liberality of the Clarendon Press, and have felt, perhaps, a little confused and perplexed by the countless atoms and unnumbered molecules of information which were emanating from every letter of every line,—we have fancied ourselves not wholly unlike the Princess in the Faerie Tale, who was instructed to assort, and assign to their respective owners, in a given time, the feathers of every bird known under heaven, which had been heaped and mixed together in the uttermost entanglement of disorder. We would willingly, also, have received

assistance from the wand which, at a touch, distributed this plumage, and reduced it to its natural arrangement.* In like manner, with Burnet, there is a perpetual reduplication and retrogyration, a second treading in former steps, over which Ovid would have quibbled through a score of antithetical hexameters :

. . . *ambiguo lapsu refluitque fluitque*
Occurrensque sibi venturas aspicit undas.

We have no sooner arrived fairly at the settlement of the Reformation under Elizabeth, and congratulated ourselves upon our emancipation from the thralldom of the Scarlet Lady, than we are wafted back far beyond the very beginning, out of sight of Henry VIIIth and his Blue Chamber, to the Great Schism of Rome and Avignon, the Council of Basil, and the Pragmatic Sanction; and having concluded this supplementary prologue, we are led on through a whole volume of new matter, upon the reigns which we supposed that we had long since exhausted. In point of fact, Burnet has quite as many “more last words” as Baxter himself.

We are glad, therefore, to find the hand of a master-artist employed in remoulding the huge mass of undigested materials, —some of them yet unfused and rough from the mine, others already cast into strange shapes and uncouth images,—which lie so abundantly before him. One or two attempts of a similar kind, some of them of recent date, have appeared to us to be failures; and we are by no means surprised to find them so; for the task requires a nice combination of qualities which do not often meet together in the same intellect. There must be diligence to collect facts, sagacity to compare them, dexterity to combine them; a spirit which flags neither under the toil of compilation nor of composition; accuracy, judgment, taste, scholarship, impartiality, soundness of Religious opinions, attachment to established institutions, firmness, and fidelity;—let the reader arrange these qualities in that order which best pleases him, and then let him place under their guidance the pen of a ready and practised writer. All these endowments must be brought to the trial, if it is to be prosecuted happily; and all these, we feel justified in averring, are exhibited in the volumes before us by Mr. Carwithen.

A preliminary chapter, of little more than forty pages, carries the reader, in very rapid progress, from the early visit of Augustine to our islands, down to the opening of the XVIth century. Mr. Carwithen is fully aware that the ground over which he has

* We must acknowledge that such assistance is now afforded by the copious and elaborate Index which appeared in 1828.

to tread is well beaten before him—*sapius ante Trita pede*—and he stops, therefore, only on such spots as afford commanding views of the tracts below; whence the traveller may become acquainted with the details of the country over which he is passing, without being driven to the irksome and ungrateful pains of exploring each bye-path separately, and unravelling, with great expense of time, toil, and trouble, many a long passage, which after all may lead to nothing. We have rarely met with a writer who is at once so compendious and so perspicuous; who has so keen an eye for the discovery of a strong position, and so quick a step for its occupation. Like the steam-engine, he condenses in order to obtain an increase of power; and he differs chiefly from that stupendous machine, inasmuch as he produces his effect without any accompaniment of noise, smoke, and bustle.

It has been the mistake of more than one late writer on the dawning of the English Reformation, to confound the instruments selected by Providence for the execution of that mighty work, with the work itself; and rashly to imagine that the fortress which we seek to defend cannot remain impregnable, unless, at the same time, every individual in its garrison is shown to be a *preux chevalier* and *sans reproche*. Mr. Sharon Turner has been so anxious to remove what he terms “denigration” from the character of Henry VIII., that we might suppose it was rather of the gentle Titus than of the ferocious Tudor that the Historian was writing; of him who counted every day lost on which he had not been employed in increasing the happiness of Mankind, rather than of him who never devised a single act, unless from the most unmitigated selfishness. Not content with palliation, Mr. Turner boldly enters upon panegyric; and little satisfied with such benefit as might be obtained for his hero by the insinuation of paradoxical Historic doubts, he directly asserts his virtues—blazoning his name among those of the few good Kings which Lipsius thought might be engraven in the narrow compass of a signet-ring. Mr. Soames has been equally, or, perhaps, more tender of this bloody and licentious Tyrant's reputation; and he has summed up his review of a period sullied by more cruelties than disgrace our annals from the Conquest to the Revolution, by a gentle admission that “it is not to be denied that in this reign were committed several *highly reprehensible* acts.” It is difficult to repress indignation at the weakness which thus fails to distinguish between the Evil of the agent and the Good produced by his deeds;—good which he neither contemplated nor desired, and which, if he had regulated the course of the stream, instead of having been carried down with its tide, would never have been effected. The self-same reasoning which advantageously con-

nects the name of Henry VIII. with the blessings of the Reformation, might link that of Pilate, in a similar manner, with those of our Redemption; and it would be as wise to hesitate upon a condemnation of the unrighteous Judge who permitted the shedding of innocent blood, lest thereby we should impugn our Religion, as it is to paint and varnish the enormities of the English Nero, lest the foundation of our National Church should appear to be unsightly.

Mr. Carwithen has viewed these matters in a more correct light, and commented upon them with better taste and sounder judgment. He is speaking of the golden days of Leo X.—

“And this period comprises the early part of the reign of Henry the Eighth, the only part on which it is possible for the mind to rest with complacency. He now sustained his place in that triumvirate of sovereigns which guided the affairs of the civilized world, alternately the friend and the enemy of Francis and of Charles, but a competitor in the lists of fame with both. As yet his vices were those of prosperity and youth. He had not yet made the common transition from careless voluptuousness to callous ferocity; he had not yet reached that point of uncontrolled indulgence when ‘he spared neither man in his hate, nor woman in his lust.’ The professor of any Christian sect can view him with indulgence, when, in the pride of scholastic theology, he presented his treatise on the Sacraments to the accomplished Leo, and, as the meed of his labours, bore away the envied title of ‘Defender of the Faith.’ But humanity as well as religion recoils at the enormities of his latter days, when he incurred the disgrace of apostasy without the merit of conversion; when he was alike disclaimed by Protestant and Papist, for both were the objects of his unrelenting persecution.”—vol. i. p. 46.

A writer less conscious of strength—or not at all conscious of weakness, would scarcely be content to abandon the opportunity of display seemingly afforded him by the first appearance of Wolsey, so frankly and so willingly as it is surrendered by Mr. Carwithen. These splendid common-places are so many traps for second-rate authorlings; and, like other traps, they are usually set in spots which are only entered with intentions of plunder. Mr. Carwithen has seen the danger, and the difficulty, of playing with other people’s property at moments when the Tempter is especially at hand to provoke the appropriation of it to our own uses. After pointing to the accurate and finished character of the Great Cardinal, which Shakspeare has so happily dug out and refined from the rough ore of our Chronicles, he declines any attempt at rivalry, with equal gracefulness and discretion.—“Of thought and diction so universally admired, it is useless to be a faithful copyist,—it is irksome to be a tolerable imitator,—it is impossible to be an undetected plagiary.” And this, indeed, is one of the characteristic excellences of his volumes. Wherever events have been told

already in the best possible manner by others, he neither weakens their effect by an ostentatious competition, nor defrauds their rightful owners by the gipsy process of disfiguring, in order that he may steal with a greater chance of security. While he seeks to add vigour to his own narrative, he never gains it by the sacrifice of a predecessor. He neither mutilates nor exhausts the subject from which he transfuses life-blood into his own veins; and if ever he borrows, it is not from poverty in himself, but that he may display the acknowledged possessions of others to the greatest advantage.*

The character and history of Cranmer is another of those touchstones of discretion, to which few writers have applied themselves without some portion of detriment. And it would not, perhaps, be too much to affirm, that not less injury has been occasioned by an injudicious defence of this great name (for great, and lovely, and venerable it must be in a high degree, after every possible qualification,) in *all* particulars, than by the fierce and unrelenting hostility which strives to scatter the martyr's ashes to the foul blasts of scorn and dishonour. There are some few points upon which an honest and a candid spirit can scarcely hesitate to admit that Cranmer acted weakly and wrongly; there are none of these which charity can fail to cover; there are many others, a countless majority, which class him among the holy list of those who, we are assured, by their meekness, "shall inherit the earth," the "work of whose righteousness shall be peace;" and who, by having "done well" and "suffered for it," and "taken it patiently," have become "acceptable with God." But praise such as this, transcendentally great as it is, does not satisfy that overweening zeal which seeks to make its heroes *all*-perfect, and which is dissatisfied if but one vulnerable spot be shown to remind them of their mortality. *Their* Achilles must dip even his heel in the waters which make him sword-proof; nay, more than this, besides bearing a "charmed life," he must be clothed in armour fabricated by a God, and not to be pierced. Such extravagant pretensions defeat their own purpose; and sooner or later must be overthrown. Far better is it to adopt the moderate tone of the following language, in which an increase of strength is gained by the very avowals of concession.

"The character of Cranmer cannot be entirely passed over without comment, even at this point of the narrative, because its crimination has

* It might perhaps, however, be more satisfactory if direct citations were always distinguished by inverted commas. Our meaning will be explained by turning to Vol. ii. p. 225, where a long passage is transcribed, in the very *words* of Bishop Gray, which might be supposed to contain only his *sentiments*. The fault probably lies with the printer.

been a favourite mode of aggression with the advocates of the Romish church. The Protestant may undoubtedly repel the aggression, by replying, that truth is equally 'mighty,' by whatever lips it may be uttered, that error is not altered, because it may be attacked from unworthy motives, and that argument is equally incontrovertible by whatever hand it may be wielded. Thus he may fearlessly meet his opponents, but with respect even to the point of general character he has no reason to decline the challenge. The English reformers, although encompassed with the failings of humanity, were raised far above its ordinary standard, and Cranmer, with many imperfections, is not unworthy of the place which he holds in the veneration of the church of England."—vol. i. p. 86.

And again, on a transaction of which we wish the remembrance could be abolished:—

"The commissioners appointed to examine and to reclaim the Anabaptists and Sectarious performed the duty with forbearance as well as fidelity. The attempt was made by public controversy, and by private conference, and speaking generally; the reformers were averse from propagating even truth by violence. That there are exceptions to this assertion, it is impossible to deny; exceptions the more conspicuous, because they are rare; and they have been studiously displayed, in order to show that the Protestants, when the sword was placed in their hands, were not less inclined to persecute than the Papists. One of these exceptions was the execution of Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent; a proceeding which is not only a blot on the reformation, but on the personal character of Cranmer. To obliterate it is impossible, and to extenuate it is injudicious, unless by the candid acknowledgment that the principles of religious toleration were not then fully understood."—vol. i. pp. 309, 310.

The Archbishop's well-known conduct on the receipt of the Papal Bulls at the time of his advancement to the Primacy, and his adoption of the shallow expedient of a Protestation, is represented with similar fairness. It is a portion of his story which we view with very deep regret; and we consider his subsequent failure, while suffering under the bitterness of the fear of death,—even if that failure had not been so nobly atoned for, in death's yet more fearful realities,—as a much lighter blot on his fame. Some extenuation may, perhaps, be derived from the unhappy Ethics of his times. Infallibility was then as much an attribute of the Casuist as of the Pope; and Cranmer, not yet having wholly emancipated himself from the sovereignty which those subtle teachers exercised over conscience, willingly yielded to a suggestion which furthered his own inclination. We offer this solution not by any means in his defence; for he who were to do so would, in degree at least, become *particeps criminis*. We doubt even whether he was in his heart deceived by the sophistry of his advisers, and we had far rather allow that he knew its ill, and yet

gave way to human infirmity, than that his natural instinct for Good was blunted and deadened by evil counsels. He had been taught to look at an object in one particular light which concealed its deformity, and he had not courage enough to remove it to that point of view in which he knew that its ugliness would have been clearly displayed. But such a perverse direction of the sight does not imply any defect in the powers of vision themselves; and, except in this one unhappy obliquity, they might retain all their keenness and accuracy.

"Some of these instruments were directed to the archbishop elect; and these Cranmer delivered to the king for examination. Among them was a mandate for his consecration, on condition of his taking the oath prescribed by the pontifical. The dislike of this oath was probably one of the motives which at first induced him to refuse the primacy, and he retained his scruples of taking it as the time of his consecration approached. He unreservedly declared that many parts of the canon law ought to be reformed, and that the obligation imposed by this oath would prevent him from engaging in such a reformation. When this objection was communicated to some of the canonists and casuists, they devised an expedient which agreed better with their own maxims than with the sincerity of Cranmer, but which he was persuaded to adopt. Before he took the prescribed oath, he made a formal protestation, that he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any measure to which he was bound by his duty, either to God, or to the king, or to the country; and that he renounced every part of the oath that was contrary to either of these obligations. This protestation he made in the chapel of Saint Stephen, at Westminster, before his consecration, and he repeated it when the consecration was performed, immediately before he took the oath of obedience to the pope."—vol. i. pp. 117, 118.

There are two matters of slight importance respecting Cranmer in which Mr. Carwithen has been betrayed into error; perhaps from reliance on authorities which he has not had it in his power, or which he has not thought it necessary, to verify. The first of these excuses may readily be admitted, and, probably, is that which will be pleaded. The second we altogether reject; for no man can have inquired so extensively, so diligently, and so effectually as Mr. Carwithen, without perceiving that there is not *any* literary authority sufficiently sound to be received implicitly, and without verification. Burnet, in speaking of Cromwell's fate, has stated that—

"The Bill of Attainder was brought into the House of Lords, Cranmer being absent that day, as appears by the Journal, on the 17th of June, and read the first time, and on the 19th was read the second and third time, and sent down to the Commons; by which it appears how few friends he had in that House, when a Bill of that nature went on so hastily."*

* Vol. i. book iii. p. 502. Ed. 1816.

Mr. Carwithen has accepted this notice of Cranmer's absence on the *first* reading of the Bill as if it extended to the *second* and *third* also. "The Bill," he says, "hastily passed the House of Lords," and then he adds in a note, "Cranmer was not present, as appears by the Journals." The Journals, on the contrary, prove that he *was* present on the last two readings. Again, in relating the closing ferocious act of Henry's tyranny; the flagrant crime by which, when almost in the agonies of death—not content with having brought to an unnatural and unjust doom the gallant and accomplished Surrey, the pride of Chivalry, the glory of the Muses, of Courts, and of Camps, the Lover, the Soldier, and the Poet;—he sought also the life of his father the aged Norfolk; as if the blood of his noblest subjects were to be quaffed for his own *viaticum*;—In relating this atrocity, Burnet has hastily asserted that—"Cranmer's carriage in this matter was suitable to the other parts of his life; for he withdrew to Croydon, and would not so much as be present in Parliament when so unjust an Act was passed; and his absence at this time was the more considerable, since the King was so dangerously ill that it must be concluded it could be no slight cause that made him withdraw at such a time. But the Duke of Norfolk had been his constant enemy, therefore he would not so much as be near the public councils when so strange an Act was passing."*

The Bishop appears to have trusted Fox in this matter, who is referred to in the margin; and Mr. Carwithen, in turn, has trusted the Bishop, whose words he has followed closely.

"On this occasion Cranmer acted with a magnanimity suitable to his character. It was a rule of his conduct never to desert a friend, or to insult an enemy in distress; and when the bill of attainder was brought into the House of Lords, he retired to Croydon, and refused to participate in a measure so abhorrent from justice: he refused to join in prostrating the well-earned hereditary honours of the house of Norfolk before the insatiable ambition of the family of Seymour."—vol. i. p. 260.

It is very possible that Cranmer might be at Croydon rather than at Lambeth, during the enactment of this Tragedy; but he cannot claim the praise of abstaining from participation in it. The Journals testify that he was present at every stage of the progress of this most iniquitous Bill; and as Dr. Lingard has fastened himself upon Burnet's mistake with more than usual virulence and venom, we especially hope that Mr. Carwithen will perceive the advantage of correcting it in his next impression. It is solely with this object that we point out such unimportant blemishes.

Every body is acquainted with the rather uncivil expressions which Cardinal Pole addressed to his Royal Kinsman, in very

* Vol. i. book iii. p. 630.

rotund but most vituperative Latin,—how he told him that he wanted common sense, that he was worse than Dathan and Abiram, that he was like Lucifer, that he was imbued with the arts of Satan, that he perpetrated acts befitting Cerberus, and worthy of such a Judge as the Devil; that he resembled Ahab, Nero and Domitian, that he was blacker than an Algerine Pirate, and more impudent than Beelzebub! This and other such language, which the “sad and learned” Tunstall “much disallowed,” and whereat Starky was so “amazed and astonished” that he judged it a “frantic oration,” and imagined that he had been reading “Gregory against Julian Apostata,” must be sufficiently familiar to every one who has opened the blustering *Tract de Unitate Ecclesiasticâ*; and we only allude to these choice phrases now, for the sake of showing how valuable may be a single word when properly applied; what melody may be derived even from a harsh key-note, if it strikes upon a correct and well-tuned ear; and how lavishly and with what profuseness a seemingly barren spot may be enriched and adorned by taste. In another part of this Treatise, Pole, stooping from declamation to plain fact, has said in straightforward terms, what no one will venture to deny, that Sir Thomas More was condemned as iniquitously as Socrates. The suggestion has not been thrown away upon Mr. Carwithen, who must be well versed in the Cardinal's labours; and we feel no doubt that we are indebted to it for the following very exquisite passage; which we extract the more readily because it is in complete accordance with our own opinion of the illustrious character to which it relates; a character too often stupidly misrepresented by some austere and gloomy spirits, which cannot understand how strongly knit is the bond between a sober lightness of heart and a sound and sincere piety; which fail to appreciate the beauty of that union wherein Holiness and Cheerfulness walk hand in hand together.

“His trial on this arraignment took place in the Court of King's Bench, not only before the judges, but also before other commissioners appointed for that purpose, of whom the Lord Chancellor was the principal. Though his bodily frame was feeble, his mind had lost nothing of its vigour. Throughout his trial he displayed a solicitude to maintain his integrity and honour, rather than to preserve his life; and if he had been tried by unprejudiced judges, his life would have been as safe as his character. But unavailing were his arguments and his eloquence, in averting a sentence already predetermined. He was condemned to suffer death as a traitor, and after his sentence, when the commissioners offered to hear any thing in his defence, his reply was such as Christian piety could alone inspire. If it should remind the reader of the concluding part of the apology of Socrates, it must at the same time convince him of the superiority of the Christian over the pagan philosopher. It would

have been worthy of Socrates, if Socrates had been enlightened by Divine revelation. The concluding words of his address were these: 'My Lords, more I have not to say, but that, like as the blessed apostle Saint Paul, as we read in the Acts, was present and consented to the death of Saint Stephen, and kept the clothes of them that stoned him, and yet they be both twain compeers and holy saints in heaven, and shall continue there friends together for ever; so I verily trust, and heartily pray, though your lordships have on earth been my judges to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter meet in heaven, to our everlasting salvation.'

"Such was the end of Sir Thomas More; a name which will be ever associated with the revival of learning. His erudition, even when compared with that of his contemporaries, was surpassed; it was neither varied nor profound; but he had other and better qualities, in which he has not, in any age, been exceeded. His fervent piety prevented his uncommon cheerfulness from degenerating into levity, and his wit from any alliance with profaneness. His strong attachment to the church of Rome contributed to narrow his intellect, to warp his judgment, and, though it did not diminish his vivacity, to infuse somewhat of causticity into the natural sweetness of his temper. Yet, in the happiest effort of his imaginative faculty, he soared above all superstitious prejudices. Papal tyranny and the Romish religion find no place in his Utopia: on the contrary, his Utopians have Christianity without a priesthood.

"What this distinguished character might have been in an age of more general knowledge and of higher refinement, is an unprofitable speculation. As he now stands exhibited to the notice of posterity, he has been selected by the English Romanists as the bulwark of their cause. Such a choice is not discreditable to their judgment; and it is honourable to their feelings, that their favourite champion is Sir THOMAS MORE."—vol. i. pp. 147—149.

The Chapter on the Dissolution of Monasteries (V.) is admirably drawn up; it contains a rapid but very perspicuous sketch of the Religious Orders existing in England at the time of their suppression, and it very honestly discharges Henry and his agents from any love of pure Religion, any hatred of Popery and its superstitions, in the exercise of that rapacity which swept from its lawful owners the fairest portions of Ecclesiastical inheritance. Other motives are assigned for the act. In the King, his habits of expense, his carelessness, his prodigality, his facile compliance with the importunity of those who amused his idle hours, and ministered to his pleasure or his pride; in the Courtiers, who shared the booty, avarice, and the highwayman's lust for gain, acquired by any means, however nefarious.

We should willingly have listened to more concerning Cromwell than Mr. Carwithen has afforded us. That great Minister, for such he was in pre-eminence, has been dealt with hardly of late. To Dr. Lingard, as might be expected, he has been a prominent mark for obloquy; and Mr. Ellis also, from whom

better things might have been augured, took an odd fancy to shoot a rover in the same direction. Each shaft, we think, has fallen *sine ictu*, and we should gladly have received Mr. Carwithen's sanction of the opinion to that effect which was offered in our pages but a short time since.*

Cranmer's *Catechism* was attacked by Gardiner at the time of its appearance, and Dr. Lingard has renewed the Bishop of Winchester's accusation. "It is remarkable," he says, "that in this *Catechism* the Archbishop *leans more than usual to the ancient doctrines*;" in other words, that he deserts, more than he was accustomed to do, the principles which it was the leading object of his life to promote; "he comprises the prohibition of false Gods and of Images under one Commandment, and teaches that in the communion we received with the bodily mouth the body and blood of Christ."† Mr. Carwithen, without alluding to these charges, has sufficiently rebutted the insinuation conveyed in the statement that the first and second Commandment were run into each other. "In this *Catechism* the two first Commandments are consolidated; yet with an acknowledgment that they were anciently divided; but the use of Images is strongly censured as leading to the imputation, if not to the practice, of Idolatry."—(vol. i. p. 286.)

The second calumny was fully answered by the Archbishop himself, in the merited reproof which he administered to his contemporary. That Cranmer's opinions respecting the Corporal Presence‡ were progressive, and that he did not attain conviction on this important point at a single step, cannot be a matter of surprise: but it can be equally little a matter of doubt, that when he superintended the publication of this *Catechism*, he was sufficiently advanced in the Truth not to intend to assert the Romish doctrine. Gardiner, however, insisted that such was the Archbishop's belief, and he maintained his assertion on two grounds; first, that in a frontispiece to the volume, a communicant was represented kneeling before an altar, upon which stood lighted candles, and receiving in his mouth a wafer from the hands of a Priest appareled after the old sort. It would not be unfair to argue,—and it may be thought that any one short of a Cameronian must admit,—that not the candles, nor the altar, nor the Priest, nor his vestments, nor even the wafer itself, prove any

* *British Critic and Theological Review*, July, 1828.

† Vol. iv. p. 395, note, 4to.

‡ It might be more correct to write Corporal *Absence*, according to a suggestion by Mr. Hallam, but use has sanctioned the phrase which we employ above, although in adopting it we feel as if we partook of the blunder recorded of the Prolocutor at Oxford, who, meaning to advocate the *Presence*, commenced his speech, to the great amusement of his auditors, *Convenistis hodie, fratres, profligaturi detestandum illam hæresin de veritate corporis Christi in Sacramento*.—Carwithen, vol. i. p. 409.

belief in Transubstantiation; and that each and all of these indifferent adjuncts might be employed, in honesty of heart, by the sincerest abjurer of that most astounding figment. Cranmer, however, took another course, from which it fully appears how wholly unimportant he considered the circumstance which had led to the accusation; that "as for the picture, it was that set before the Dutch Edition of the Book (the original Nuremberg Catechism, which was here translated) and so none of his doing; but that he afterwards caused the Popish picture to be altered into a picture representing Christ eating His last supper with His disciples." To Gardiner's second objection, against the expressions "that with our bodily mouths we receive truly the body and blood of Christ, and this we must believe if we will be counted Christian men:"—he replied with plainness and brevity, that he taught that "we in the Sacrament do receive the body and blood of Christ spiritually, and that the words *really* and *substantially* were not used, but *truly*." We are not here contending that the expressions adopted by Cranmer were unexceptionable, and the best which might have been employed. Perhaps they are not so, and it may be wished that he had been more cautious; but he was treading in a new path, on ashes thinly strewed over a hidden and insidious flame; and he had yet to learn how widely *any* form of words may be wrung and distorted from its intended bearing by a subtle misinterpretation. Thus much however we unhesitatingly affirm, that he did *not* mean, in using the phrase which he selected, to "lean more than usual to the ancient doctrine;" that Gardiner was fully conscious of the falsehood of his charge; and that Dr. Lingard cannot honestly have revived it, provided he has read, as it was his duty that he should have read, the Archbishop's answer.

There is another oblique attack upon Cranmer contained in one of Dr. Lingard's notes, upon which we wish Mr. Carwithen had thought it worth while to expend a line or two. In his account of the rising of the Papists in Devonshire and Cornwall under Humphrey Arundel, in 1549, Mr. Carwithen characterizes the answer which Cranmer was instructed to draw up to their demands, with much truth, but in very general terms: "He enlarges on each (Article) with his accustomed perspicuity, and with great strength of argument defended the separation of the Church of England from the superstitious and idolatrous Church of Rome."—(vol. i. p. 313.) The answer is indeed a master-piece of reasoning; it contains "in a narrow compass" most of the leading arguments which have since been expanded and variously diversified by later Divines; and it may be considered as the very essence of Protestantism. Yet Dr. Lingard (doubtless on this very account)

has fallen foul of it *after his own manner*. "One of the Articles," he says, "seems to have embarrassed him (Cranmer). The Cornish men complained that they did not understand the English service: he replied, that they did not understand the Latin. But this was an evasion. Certainly, on the same principle on which he contended that the English ought to have an English Liturgy, the Irish, Welch, and Cornish had a right to a service in their own language."—(vol. iv. p. 413, note.) Now who would not imagine from this statement, that the pious Cornish insurgents were denied a very fitting request; namely, that they might have a service which would enable such as did not comprehend English to "pray with the spirit and pray with the understanding also;"—in other words, that they were anxious for a version of the Scriptures and the Liturgy into Armoric? Far from this: it was their *mumpsimus* to which they clung; and their devotion evaporated if it was not to be paid in Latin, of which they were as profoundly ignorant as John Pfefferkorn himself. "*Vos habetis fateri*," writes Otho Hemerlin to the most erudite Ortuinus Graes, "*quod Pfefferkorn non scit Alphabetum Latinum: et si non scit Alphabetum, multò minus scit legere: et si non scit legere, multò minus scit intelligere: et si non scit intelligere multò minus scribere et componere: et si non scit legere, neque intelligere, neque scribere, multò minus scit disputare de iis questionibus quas nemo potest sapere nisi sit profundissimus literatus.*" This resemblance is close in all points: the Cornish rebels, like Pfefferkorn, knew not one letter in Latin, and *therefore*, like that excellent and learned regenerate Hebrew, they delighted in puzzling themselves on dark questions of Theology.

Dr. Lingard's *accuracy* will be rendered yet more evident if we cite the demands of the Rebels in their own words. There are two Articles which bear upon the matter under consideration. In the III^d they say, "We will have the Mass in Latine, as was before, and celebrated by the Priest, without any man or woman communicating." To this Cranmer replied, throughout with acute reasoning, and occasionally with fervid eloquence.

"Standeth it with reason that the priest should speak for ye and in your name, and you answer him again in your own persons; and yet you understand never a word, neither what he saith nor what ye say yourselves. The priest prayeth to God for you, and you answer *Amen*, you wot not whereto. Is there any reason herein? Will you not understand what the priest prayeth for you? What thanks he giveth for you? What he asketh for you? Will you neither understand what he saith, nor let your own hearts understand what your own tongues answer? Had you rather be like pyes and parrots, that be taught to speak, and yet understand not one word what they say, than be true Christian men that pray

unto God in heart and faith? The priest is your proctor and attorney to plead your cause and to speak for you all; and had you rather not know than know what he saith for you? I have heard suitors murmur at the bar, because their attorneys have pleaded their cases in the French tongue, which they understood not. Why then be you offended that the priests which plead your cause before God should speak such language as you may understand? If you were before the king's highness, and should chuse one to speak for you all, I am sure you would not chuse one that should speak Greek or Hebrew, French or Italian; no, nor one that should speak Latine neither. But you would be glad to provide one that should speak your own language, and speak so loud that ye might both hear him and understand him: that you might allow or disallow that that he said in your names. Why do you then refuse to do the like unto God?"

We have cited this passage at length, in order that it may plainly appear that Cranmer does not contend for the substitution of an *English* Liturgy service in the place of one in *Latin*, as Dr. Lingard would persuade us; but for a service which may be understood instead of one which is unintelligible. For this purpose he quotes Isaiah and St. Paul, to show that God willeth to speak to every people in their own language. "So have the Greeks the Mass in the Greek tongue, the Syrians in the Syry tongue, the Armenians in their tongue, and the Indians in their own tongue." And so would Cranmer have given the little flock of Cornish rebels, who could chatter nothing save the dialect of their own choughs, a liturgy abounding with *Tre* and *Tru* and *Pen* and *Cothick*, if he had known where to find it.

Not being able to do thus much, he yet did all that was in his power. It is, however, not so much the III^d as the VIIIth Article by which Dr. Lingard would have us believe that the Primate was "*embarrassed*." Let us read this, together with his answer. "We will not receive the New Service," say the insurgents, "because it is but like a Christmas Game; but we will have the Old Service of Mattins, Mass, Even-song, and Procession in Latine, as it was before. And so we the Cornish men, whereof certain of us understand no English, utterly refuse this New English." Mark now how a plain speech shall put down not only the Rebels, but their modern advocate also. Cranmer replies as follows:—

"As concerning the having of the Service in the Latine tongue is sufficiently spoken of in the answer to the Third Article. But I would gladly know the reason why the Cornish men refuse utterly the *New English* as you call it, because *certain* of you understand it not: and yet you will have the Service in Latine which almost *none* of you understand. If this be a sufficient cause for Cornwall to refuse the English Service, because some of you understand none English, a much greater cause have they both of Cornwall and Devonshire to refuse utterly the late

Service, for as much as fewer of them know the Latine Tongue than they of Cornwall the English Tongue."

Is there any *evasion* in this reasoning? or rather, is it not a conclusive *à-fortiori* argument? Does it seem as if Cranmer would have refused them a Cornish Liturgy if it could have been provided? or rather, does he not throughout contend for the principle which Dr. Lingard more than insinuates he violated, that every people should have a service in their own language? It is no doubt a fortunate circumstance that no such translation existed at the time, or it might have served to perpetuate a barbarous jargon which tended to separate one province from the remainder of the kingdom, and made its inhabitants rather Cornish than English. Even so late as the year 1640, the Sacrament was administered to the elder people in some of these western parishes in their own tongue, from their inability to comprehend that of the major part of the Island. But half a century has now passed since its reluctant gutturals gurgled from the throat of any native, to the delight of an open-eared antiquary. That the reader may not think we exaggerate the harshness of this dialect, we shall subjoin a specimen. It is the Epitaph of Dolly Pentreath, the last spokeswoman of her County, who was visited at Mousehole by Mr. Daines Barrington, in 1768, for the sole purpose of hearing her talk syllables which he could not comprehend. She was then in her eighty-second year, and she survived twenty years longer. More particulars concerning her may be found in the IIIrd volume of the *Archæologia*, but we shall content ourselves with her monumental lines, which we commit for translation to the diligence of our readers.

Coth Dol Pentreath canz ha Deaw,
Marir en Bedans en Powl pleu:
Na en an Eglar ganna Poble bráz,
Bet en Eglar Hay Coth Dolly es.

To proceed to another portion of Cranmer's History. If there be any point in it on which the malevolence of contemporary persecution forbore to assail him, (and it could do so only because he was not there to be wounded,) it was the part taken by him relative to the Will which Edward VI. when dying, so unhappily and so illegally framed for the descent of the Crown. We will begin with the account given by Mr. Carwithen:—

"Awed by the haughty demeanour of Northumberland, or swayed by hopes of his future favour, most of the councillors, without scruple, testified their approbation by signing the instrument; but Cecil and Cranmer boldly opposed an act of such illegality and injustice. The latter solicited a private interview with his sovereign; but having experienced a refusal, the archbishop gave his opinion openly to the king, in the

presence of the Marquis of Northampton, and the Lord Chamberlain Darcy. He said that he would never consent to disinherit the daughters of his old master and early benefactor; that he had voluntarily sworn to the observance of the late king's will; and that, by subscribing the instrument before the council, he must incur the guilt of perjury. In the conclusion, both Cecil and Cranmer were urged with an importunity almost amounting to compulsion, and affixed their names, the first, according to his own relation, merely as a witness, the last, with a reluctance which even his enemies were constrained to admit as a sufficient justification."—vol. i. pp. 371, 372.

Alas! his later enemies have not been so easily satisfied. Dr. Lingard's narrative of this transaction condenses in a very few lines, almost all the characteristics of that eminent Historian; and since from its brevity it may frequently be passed by without attracting the attention which it deserves, we may be permitted to cite it:—

"Among the privy councillors there were *some*, who though apprised of the illegality and apprehensive of the consequences of the measure, suffered themselves to be seduced from their duty by the threats and promises of Northumberland, and their objection to the succession of a princess, who would probably re-establish the ancient faith, and compel them to restore the property which they had torn from the Church. The Archbishop"—(We beg the point may be noticed at which this name is introduced, in immediate consecution to the motives which are assigned to *some* of the actors.) "The Archbishop, *if we may believe his own statement*, had requested a private interview with the King, but he was accompanied" (Does Dr. Lingard mean to imply that it was by his own desire he was so accompanied?) "by the Marquess of Northampton and the Lord Darcy, in whose presence Edward solicited him to subscribe the new settlement, expressed a hope that he would not refuse his sovereign a favour which had been granted by every other Councillor, and assured him that, according to the decision of the Judges, a King in actual possession had a power to limit the descent of the Crown after his decease. Cranmer confesses that he had the weakness to yield against his own conviction, and that having once yielded he resolved to support the cause with all the influence of his station."*

Now whether we choose to believe Cranmer's own statement or not, be it remembered that there is no other original authority in existence upon which our knowledge can be founded: and that it is to this statement Dr. Lingard refers for his voucher. Is he borne out by it in the above representation? Let the reader decide for himself from the Archbishop's Letter to Queen Mary.

"If by any means it had been in me to have letted the making of that Wil, I would have done it. And what I said therein, as well to the Counsel as to himself, divers of your Majesties Counsel can re-

* Vol. iv. p. 471. 4to.

port: but none so well as the Marquis of Northampton, and the Lord Darcy, then Lord Chamberlain to the King's Majesty. Which two were present at the communication between the King's Majesty and me. I desired to talk with the King's Majesty alone, *but I could not be suffered*; and so I failed of my purpose. For if I might have communed with the King alone, and at good leisure, my trust was that I should have altered him from his purpose; but they being present my labour was vain. Then when I could not dissuade him from the said Wil, and both he and his Privy Council also informed me that the Judges and his learned counsel said that the Act of entayling the Crown by his Father could not be prejudicial to him, but that he being in possession of the Crown might make his wil thereof; this seemed very strange to me. But being the sentence of the Judges and other his learned Council in the Lawes of this Realm, (as both he and his counsel informed me,) *methought it became not me, being unlearned in the Law*, to stand against my Prince therein. And so at length I was required by the King's Majesty himself to set my hand to his Wil; saying, that he trusted that I alone would not be more repugnant to his Wil than the rest of the Council were. Which words surely grieved my heart very sore: and so I granted him to subscribe his Wil, and to follow the same. *Which when I had set my hand unto, I did it unfeignedly and without dissimulation.* And whereas it is contained in two Acts of Parliament, as I understand, that I with the Duke of Northumberland should devise and compass the deprivation of your Majesty from your Royal Crown, surely it is untrue. *For the Duke of Northumberland never opened his mouth to me to move me any such matter.* Nor his heart was not such toward me (seeking long time my destruction,) that he would ever trust me in such a matter, or think that I would be persuaded by him. It was others of the Council that moved me, and the King himself, the Duke of Northumberland not being present. *Neither before, neither after, had I ever any privy communication with the Duke of that matter*, saving that openly at the Council table the Duke said unto me, that it became not me to say to the King as I did, when I went about to dissuade him from his said Wil."

No one who has studied Cranmer's character, with a fair and unprejudiced temper, will doubt the credibility of this statement: and even exclusive of such evidence as his character will afford, it may be "believed" on other grounds which cannot be impugned. It related to transactions notorious as the sun at noon-day; it appealed to living witnesses; not to friends, but to avowed and bitter enemies; it might have been contradicted by numberless indifferent persons; and its author was found guilty of the offence which he admits in it, and for which he solicits pardon. But that the circumstances attending the committal of that offence were such as his statement averred them to be, was never denied in any stage of the proceedings by any of the parties concerned; and it was left to Dr. Lingard to impeach its veracity. From

this statement we learn that he was not “seduced from his duty by the threats of Northumberland;” for the only threat which Northumberland uttered against him was offered after he had vainly endeavoured to perform his duty; nor by his promises, for Northumberland sought his destruction. We learn also, that strongly impressed with the impolicy, perhaps with the injustice of the proposition, he by no means yielded to the King’s importunities, till he was assured on authority, which he must have been arrogant indeed to mistrust, that it was strictly *legal*; he did not act therefore “against his conviction,” nor was he “apprised of the illegality of the measure.” And to the same purpose we understand his words “unfeignedly and without dissimulation,” that is, that he gave his full assent, without the least reserve, to a measure which he disapproved personally, but which after it had received the assent of his sovereign, of the highest legal advisers of the Crown, and of the Privy Council, he did not think himself justified in continuing to oppose individually. If our view of this transaction be correct, Dr. Lingard has a just right to one at least of the merits which he claims to himself in his Preface; he has “elucidated much that has been thought obscure, and discovered much that has been hitherto unknown”—for if we open any Dictionary of Synonymes, we shall learn that to *elucidate* means no more than to place an object in a strong light, it matters not of what colour, and that *discovery* is but another word for *invention*.

Even when he has dragged his great victim to the stake, Dr. Lingard’s vindictiveness is unsatisfied; he would diminish the extent of his agonies, not out of commiseration, but that the glory of that heroic act, which has wrung praise from the very Coryphæus of infidels,* may be lessened in proportion: and this robbery is attempted most unblushingly, in the very teeth of the authority to which he refers. “When the fire was kindled, to the surprise of the spectators, he thrust his hand into the flame exclaiming, ‘this has offended!’ *His sufferings were short, the flames rapidly ascended above his head, and he expired in a few moments.*”† The eye-witness of this barbarous execution, whose deeply-touching narrative Strype has printed from Fox’s MS. and to which Dr. Lingard directs us, speaks in terms which prove that Cranmer’s sufferings were far from short. But Dr. Lingard has availed himself of a very useful Figure in composition, by which the first and last members of a paragraph having been duly incorporated, produce a third, directly contradicting

* Voltaire, as Mr. Carwithen reminds us, panegyricized the dying act of Cranmer as more intrepid and magnanimous than the similar act of Mutius Scævola.

† Vol. v. p. 97, 4to edit.

the meaning of its two constituents. The eye-witness, himself a Papist, writes as follows:—"Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand and thrust it into the flame, *and held it there a GOOD SPACE before the fire came to any other part of his body, where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning*, crying with a loud voice 'This hand has offended!' *As soon as the fire got up*, he was very soon dead, never stirring or crying all the while." The seven little words which Dr. Lingard has passed by, contain the whole secret of the metamorphosis which he has effected. *As soon as the fire got up* the martyr was quickly dead; but can it be believed, that his "sufferings were short," *while* the fire was getting up; a process which afforded him sufficient time to burn his right hand "sensibly" in the sight of every man!

We gladly pass on from this season of blood and flame; but in justice to Mr. Carwithen we must not quit it without showing that he knows how to speak with firmness as well as with gentleness; that the temperance wherewith he approaches such portions of his subject as most demand the exercise of that quality, (though unhappily it is on these very subjects that this quality has least frequently been remembered) springs from knowledge rather than from ignorance—from power rather than from weakness: for he partakes in no degree of that puling Liberalism, which, through want of ability to apply any accurate scale of measurement to the comparative height of the objects before us, adopts the short and easy method of reducing them all to the same flat, dull, undistinguished level. The Marian Persecution is introduced by the following manly paragraph:—

"If a recital of the following events serve no other purpose than to exasperate and inflame, to revive animosities which ought to be forgotten, and to cherish a remembrance which ought to be obliterated, the abridgment or even the suppression of the narrative could require no apology. Different, however, is the spirit in which the Christian recalls to his memory those illustrious confessors of their faith, 'of whom the world was not worthy.' Let his feelings be analysed; and though, like every human feeling, every human motive, and every human action, it is not unalloyed, yet it is salutary; for it is pious and it is charitable. Gratitude to God, the giver of every good gift; reverence for his chosen servants, on whom He bestowed such an abundant measure of holy fortitude; steadfastness in that religion, for which they were contented to resign 'life itself;' these are the sentiments which predominate in his mind, and the abhorrence of the persecutor is completely extinguished in admiration of the martyr.

"In detailing the Marian persecution of the reformers, far be it from any Protestant to aggravate its severity or its guilt; let him convert it to a more noble end, to strengthen his conviction, and to animate his cou-

rage. But, at the same time, let him not shrink from vindicating the martyrology of the Church of England, through fear of incurring the scoffs of the infidel, or the rage of the bigot; let him show that the characters of those who are recorded in its pages are deserving of that veneration with which he regards them; and that, though their qualities were different, and their talents unequal, yet they were all placed far above the suspicion of folly or fanaticism.”—vol. i. pp. 430, 431.

But the sufferings of these holy men were not the only evils which resulted to the New Doctrine from the relentless bigotry of Mary and her advisers. The blood of the Martyrs, as has been truly said, is the seed of the Church; and that seed so profusely sown at home, would have ripened early into rich harvest, if it had not been for an admixture of tares imported from a foreign soil. The English Reformed Clergy who had taken refuge in Germany, brought back with them, on their return, the unhappy and unintelligible refinements of the high Calvinistic School. Questions of a dark and dangerous nature, which the discretion of the first Reformers had wisely refused to debate or to determine, were now mooted in every pulpit: and the narrow principles concerning Church government and Ceremonies, which the exiles had imbibed in the petty States and Republics abroad, were fondly recommended as models whereon to frame a more extended Church, established in a great and magnificent nation, which required an uniform System of Ecclesiastical Polity, a regular subordination of Ministers, a solemnity of public worship, and an observance of exterior institutions.* The temper of Elizabeth, in many points, acted as a salutary check upon these favourers of Puritanical enthusiasm. “Though a determined foe,” says Mr. Carwithen, “of Papal jurisdiction, she was attached to the ancient Ritual, she thought that a too great deference had been shown to Foreign Reformers in regard of (to) discipline, and that, through their suggestion, divine worship had been divested of many of its decencies.” Her sagacity in the appointment of Parker to the Primacy, saved the Church of England from being levelled in its very infancy to the platform of Geneva. The silly calumny of the *Nag’s Head Consecration* has been abandoned even by Neal and Dr. Lingard; the latter of whom, nevertheless, unwilling to surrender it altogether, has clung to an equally silly explanation; by which he has drawn down upon himself a salutary comment from Mr. Hallam;—“this means,” says the latter writer, (who seldom puts on the gloves when he aims a blow,) alluding to Dr. Lingard’s suggestion that there *may* have been a previous Tavern meeting, “that any absurdity may be presumed rather than acknowledge good Catholics to have propagated a lie.” It

* Thomas Warton.

may appear superfluous to slay the ghosts of the slain; but if a shadow of a scruple were remaining as to the validity, solemnity, regularity, and legitimacy of Parker's consecration, it must be utterly dissipated by the conclusive evidence which Mr. Carwithen has brought forward concerning it.

Bishop Burnet has an odd passage in his account of the arrangement of the *Articles* in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, in which he considers that the Abridgment of Edward VIth's Article on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was intended for the sake of "uniting all into the communion of the Church;" in other words, that the Convocation abandoned a fundamental truth under an idle hope of proselytism. Burnet proceeds further, and maintains, that although the doctrine of the Church "was at that time contrary to the belief of a real or corporal presence in the Sacrament, it was not thought necessary or expedient to publish it."* It is perhaps this passage, in itself a very faulty one, which has betrayed Mr. Southey into one of still greater inadvertency. "It was," he says, "a most important object for Government to bring about the great change in the quietest manner, with as little injury as possible to individuals. For this reason, the Supplication saying, 'from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord deliver us!' which was part of the Litany in the Liturgy of Edward's reign, was expunged now." Mr. Carwithen has given a better, and, we doubt not, a truer reason for this omission. The words were "justly thought inconsistent with the charitable spirit which should ever accompany Prayer. However strongly error may be impugned in Articles and Canons, in our addresses to Heaven, it should ever be remembered that we are all fallible as well as sinful."—(vol. ii. p. 17.) Mr. Southey proceeds—"for the same reason it was enjoined, that the Sacramental bread should be continued in the form of wafers"—a custom of entire indifference, and a return to which even now, were it not for the repugnance which men feel to renounce long-established habits, and from an apprehension of misinterpretation, might perhaps contribute to decency—"and the language of the Article which *affirmed* a real presence, was so framed as to allow latitude of belief for those who were persuaded of an exclusive one."

Now we may remark first of all, that a *real* corporal presence, such for which the Romanists contended, and such as we have shown above that Cranmer understood it to be, is not *affirmed* in the Article, but positively *denied*: for the remainder Mr. Carwithen shall speak.

* Vol. ii. Part ii. B. iii. p. 728, Ed 1816.

“The only article which has been selected to show that the reformers, on their revival of Edward’s Articles, abated the terms of communion in favour of the Papists, is that on the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. It has been alleged that the article was mutilated to bring the Romanists into the communion of the Church; that an express definition against the real presence was thought to be offensive to many of that persuasion; and therefore it was deemed sufficient to condemn Transubstantiation, and to affirm that Christ was present after a spiritual manner, and received by faith.

“If the reformers of Elizabeth, in their abridgment of this article, were actuated by such an intention, they were not guided by their usual soundness of judgment: but that they had any such intention may be safely denied. The metaphysical argument of the impossibility that a human body should ‘be at one and the same time in many places,’ is by no means the strongest argument against Transubstantiation. Metaphysical arguments might be applied with equal success to disprove any of the mysterious doctrines of Christianity. Why is Transubstantiation rejected, and the Trinity retained by the Church of England? Not because the doctrine of the Trinity is within the reach of human comprehension, but because it is deducible ‘from the plain words of Scripture;’ because it has been the belief of the primitive Church, and because it is consistent with the scheme of human redemption. All these arguments Transubstantiation wants. It is ‘repugnant to the plain words of Scripture;’ it ‘overthroweth the nature of a sacrament;’ it cannot be proved to have been the belief of the Christian Church for the first nine centuries, and it ‘hath given occasion to many superstitions.’ These arguments the article retains; to have urged more would have been undoubtedly superfluous; and to have omitted the weakest cannot be interpreted into a disposition to temporize. If this omission were one of those things which drove the ancient Puritans out of the Established Church, it only proves their want of judgment, or their want of charity.

“That no undue concession to the Romanists was intended is evident, from the circumstance that all the other Articles of Edward were retained which are inconsistent with Transubstantiation. To affirm that the wicked do not receive Christ’s body and blood, is the same thing with denying that Christ is corporally present in the sacrament. To affirm that both parts of the sacraments are ‘to be administered to all Christian men alike,’ is to deny the Romish doctrine of concomitance, which is built on that of the corporal presence. To affirm that the one oblation of Christ is a perfect satisfaction for sin, is to deny the sacrifice in the mass, and the use of private masses, which cannot subsist without Transubstantiation.”—vol. ii. pp. 50—52.

Neal has told us, that “all the Puritans of these times would have remained within the Church, might they have been indulged in the habits and a few ceremonies;” nevertheless, he adds, “they had other objections besides those for which they were deprived.” These, when specified, fall under no less than nine goodly heads, the last of which is again subdivided into seven branches. We

really do not see how, after such an admission, they are to escape the following deduction which honestly results from it.

"It has been more than once asserted, by the advocates of Puritanical separation, that the Puritans would have continued within the Church, if they could have obtained indulgence for their scruples concerning the habits and some other ceremonies. But when the separation had been effected, it was discovered that they entertained other and graver objections against the Ecclesiastical Establishment. This amounts to an acknowledgment that they would have sacrificed their conscientious and substantial reasons of dissent, if they could have been indulged in matters which they repeatedly affirmed were indifferent, or at least unessential."—vol. ii. p. 81.

The History of Elizabethan Puritanism necessarily leads to an account of Hooker, and a rapid analysis of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*. That great man has already found a glowing eulogist in Mr. Hallam, who has been warmed by his subject into eloquence: but Mr. Carwithen need not shrink from comparison with that which we consider among the best written passages of the *Constitutional History*. His summary of Hooker's immortal Work, though brief, is of course too long for extraction here; and we must content ourselves with some detached paragraphs on his style and character.

"Saravia, in the age of Elizabeth, was cherished by the Church of England for his own sake; by posterity his memory will be venerated chiefly because he was the chosen friend of one whose writings have survived the lapse of time, accompanied by changes in opinion and in language. Of Saravia it is enough to say, that he was the friend of Hooker.

"If Hooker had not lived, it would have been incumbent on an historian of the English Church to have set forward the arguments of the other adversaries of Puritanism in full display and dilatation: but the energy of Whitgift, the eloquence of Bancroft, and the mildness of Saravia, are combined in that immortal work, 'The Ecclesiastical Polity.'

"That this work is still considered as the standard to which the Church of England may confidently appeal, as exhibiting the true, settled, and Catholic principles of the English Reformation, is an unanswerable proof of its excellence. It derives no adventitious weight from the character or circumstances of its author, nor from its accommodation to the prejudices of a particular age. Never was any work less indicative of its author's character: Hooker was of a temper artless, retiring, and contemplative, remarkable for his ignorance of the world, and his unsuspecting simplicity: but the *Ecclesiastical Polity* is the performance of a man who had attentively studied, and therefore could accurately develop the motives of human actions; it is the performance of a keen and penetrating observer of popular opinions and of passing events; and the style possesses the graphic distinctness of one who has mingled in the business of life. His description of the Puritans is one of the most vivid

and masterly portraits which was ever drawn by a human pen."—vol. ii. pp. 153, 154.

"It is not the erudition of Hooker, for in erudition he has been surpassed; it is that comprehensive intellect, which was not warped or fettered by prejudice; it is the intense piety by which that powerful intellect was chastened and refined, which has given perpetuity to his writings. His Ecclesiastical Polity was suggested by the theological controversies of his own times; but it is still read when those controversies are forgotten, and its perusal is not confined to mere theologians. Though all his writings are controversial, yet they have the point of controversy without its venom. The vein of animated piety, which insinuates itself into the body of his argument, has not transmuted his materials, but has conferred on them consistence and durability. Calumny, whether directed against his person, or his opinions, could never provoke his Christian meekness into anger, and still less into recrimination. The spirit which dictated the following sentence, in reply to one of his opponents, was ever present:—'Your next argument consists of railing and reasons: to your railing I say nothing, to your reasons I say what follows.'

"Whatever treatment Hooker might have experienced from the malice and the envy of his contemporaries, yet his posthumous fame was not slow, though imperceptible, in its progress. Though no writer combated the Romanists with greater success, yet, to their honour, they have liberally celebrated his praise. The encomium of a Roman Pontiff* might have been inscribed on his tomb:—'There is no learning that this man hath not searched into, nothing too hard for his understanding: this man indeed deserves the name of an author; his books will get reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that they shall remain till the last fire shall consume all learning.'

"From the subject-matter of the Ecclesiastical Polity, a transition is naturally made to its style. Camden, in praising the modesty and the other eminent qualities of Hooker, has expressed a wish, that, for the honour of this kingdom, and the advantage of other nations, his work had been composed in the Latin language, on account of its universality. The English scholar and the English divine will prefer its present garb, because it has conferred immortality on their native tongue. The Ecclesiastical Polity, independently of its subject, and considered merely as a composition, is, beyond comparison, the greatest work of the Elizabethan age. It is not from any predilection for the opinions of Hooker that his style will be preferred—not to his contemporaries, but to one who lived more than a generation after him—to Milton. The style of Hooker, when compared with that of Milton, possesses equal harmony, more dignity, and, which is strange to say, more courtliness. Hooker, though he had not enjoyed, like Milton, the advantages of foreign travel, was well acquainted with 'seemly arts and affairs:' he had a taste for painting, he had an exquisite sense of music, and in the rhythm of his periods may be detected the latent seeds of poetry.

"It is impossible to conclude these reflections without expressing the

* Clement VIII.

gratifying thought, that a work, whose existence must be coeval with the national language, is consecrated to the defence of the Church of England."—vol. ii. pp. 164—166.

It is not often that Mr. Hallam's views of Ecclesiastical History are likely to accord with those of a staunch and sound advocate of our Church Establishment; and accordingly we are not surprised to find Mr. Carwithen, a few pages onward, at direct variance with him in an assertion respecting the *Millenary Petition*. It is indeed an assertion, so extraordinary, and so far removed from fact, that it is not possible to refer it to *ignorance*—it must be attributed to *indifference* regarding the matters which it concerns. "This petition," says Mr. Hallam, "contained no demand inconsistent with the established hierarchy, nor, as far as I am aware, what might not have been granted without inconvenience." Now we need scarcely say, that most of the leading distinctions, both in ceremonies and discipline, which had been contended for during the long reign of his predecessor, would have been swept away at once, if James had inadvertently consented to this *not inconvenient* Petition. The rites used in the administration of Baptism, and the Solemnization of Matrimony, Confirmation, Vestments, Church Music, the reverend bowing at the name of Jesus, which it is for the most part forgotten is authorized by St. Paul—some of them were to be taken away, others to be "moderated to better edification." An examination was to be instituted before admission to Communion. The Lord's day was to be observed in the austere Presbyterian model. The Service (that is the Prayers) was to be abridged, in order that the Sermon might be lengthened; for all ministers who had not the gift of preaching were to be removed, and the impropriations annexed to the Bishoprics and Colleges were to be given to preaching incumbents only; an enactment, which, as Fuller has stated in one of his homely but effective metaphors, "would cut off more than the nipples of the breasts of both Universities in point of maintenance." Lastly, the Petitioners objected to the existing form of Subscription, and required a radical alteration in the Ecclesiastical Courts. The Universities expressed their opposition strongly, and James, in order to remove all reasonable cause of grievance, and justly confident of the issue, for he knew the respective intellectual strength of the parties opposed, granted the well-known Conference at Hampton Court. In this Conference, the demands of the Puritans extended far beyond ceremonies and discipline; and Reynolds boldly asked for a change in doctrine. The Lambeth Articles were to be added to the existing Thirty-nine; and Predestination, absolute decrees,

and final Perseverance, were to be asserted in the broadest Calvinistic form. Of the coarse, gross, and unmannerly demeanour of James during these proceedings, we are not about to become defenders. It is but seldom that on these points he can be closely inspected to his advantage; and never with so little hope as when he is chuckling over Theological controversy, and moderating a Scholastic disputation, by the intervention of some broad and bare-worded buffoonery. But upon the result of this Conference we may congratulate every son of the English Church. It terminated the hopes which the Puritans had founded upon a change in the succession.

Whatever might be the want of kingly bearing which James manifested on this occasion, it is hardly fair to tax him with apostasy. He had, perhaps, temporized with the Presbyterians while he was in their power, and while these *Tribuni Plebis*, as he termed them, could "calumniate him in their populare Sermons." Occasionally, no doubt, also, he had professed a somewhat strict adherence to Kirk; who, without such profession, most probably would have "overbaited" herself upon his "wracke," as she had already done upon that of his mother and his grandmother. But in his more inward thoughts, it is not likely that he was ever a friend to the "pople," which Browne, Penry, and others, had sown without hindrance in Scotland; nor that he ever intended to assist in sowing like evil seed in furrows wherein as yet it had not been permitted to take root. Mr. Hallam observes, that the Puritans might have anticipated his objections to them from a decisive passage in the *Basilicon Doron*, printed and privately distributed three years before his accession to the English Throne. We may go much beyond a single passage. Every line of that Work, in which he touches upon the Puritanic habits and opinions, shows how deeply he had been wounded, how bitterly the harassment which he had suffered from the Clergy of that School, is remembered by him. It is not only in the Preface (which indeed was written afterwards) that he characterizes their Preachers as rash-headed, that think it an honour to contend with Kings and perturb whole kingdoms; as brain-sick and heady, contemning the Civil Magistrate, and leaning too much to their own humours; as accounting all men profane that swear not to all their phantasies; as making the Scripture to be ruled by their conscience, and not their conscience by the Scripture; as judging him that denies the least jot of their grounds to be *tanquam ethnicus et publicanus*, not worthy to enjoy the benefit of breathing, much less to participate with them in the same Sacraments—which men he wishes his Son to punish in case they refuse to

obey the Law, and will not cease to stir up a Rebellion. Besides all this, in the 1st Book he expressly enjoins Prince Henry in his rule for Prayer, not to be "overhomely with God like some of the vaine Pharisaic Puritanes, that thinke they rule him upon their fingers:"—he instructs him to avoid, equally with the belief in the infallibility of the Church, a leaning to his "owne conceits and dreamed revelations." In the 11d Book he gives him sound advice respecting the management of his Divines, in words which show how severely he himself is smarting under the recollection of their overweening carriage. He urges him to be well seen in the Scriptures, in order that he may contain his Church in their calling, "For the ruling them well is no small point of your office, taking specially heed that they vague not from their text in the Pulpit, and if ever you would have peace in your land, suffer them not to meddle in that place with the estate or policie, but punish severely the first that presumeth to do it. Doe nothing towards them without a good ground and warrant, but reason not much with them; for I have over-much surfeited them with that, and it is not their fashion to yeeld. And suffer no conventions nor meetings among Churchmen, but by your knowledge and permission."

We might extract many other passages in the same strain; but we shall content ourselves with the one to which we imagine that Mr. Hallam alludes, because none can express in stronger or in more direct terms the King's fixed rejection and abhorrence of Puritanism. We make no apology for its extraction. It reflects much light upon the Ecclesiastical History of those times; and it is not likely to occur to many of our readers in the ordinary course of study; for the Works of this Royal Author are by no means to be counted among the popular writings of our day; and we doubt much whether even Messrs. Colburn and Bentley, with all their mastery of Bibliopoli-craft, or their lordship over the light puffs of praise, could sell half-a-dozen copies of this same *Basilicon Doron*, even if they threw in, as a bonus, the *Damono-logy*, and the *Counterblast to Tobacco*, to boot.

"Take heed, therefore, my sonne, to such Puritanes, verie pestes in the church and common weale, whom no deserts can oblige, neither oathes or promises binde: breathing nothing but seditions and calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their own imagination (without any warrant of the word) the square of their conscience. I protest before the great God, and since I am here as upon the Testament, it is no place for me to lie in, that ye shall never find with any Hie-land or Border theeves greater ingratitude and more lies and vile perjuries than with these phanaticke spirits. And suffer not the principles of them to brooke your land, if ye like to sit at rest; except yee would keep them for trying

your patience, as Socrates did an evil wife. And for preservative against their poison, entertaine and advance the godly, learned, and modest men of the ministerie, whom-of, God be praised, there lacketh not a sufficient number: and by that provision to *bishoppricks* and benefices (*annulling that vile acte of annexation, if ye find it not done to your hande,*) yee shall not only banish their conceited paritie, whereof I have spoken, and their other imaginarie grievances, which can neither stand with the order of the church, nor the peace of a common weale and well ruled monarchie; but ye shall also re-establish the olde institutions of the three estates in parliament, which can no otherwise be done: but in this I hope (*if God spare me days*) to make yce a faire entrie; alwayes where I leave, follow ye my steps."

After this plain language, it is impossible not to be diverted by the ludicrous and most unblushing effrontery of Alexander Henderson, who, in his correspondence with Charles I. at Newcastle, (a correspondence which cost the unhappy Scot dear, for he died broken-hearted at having been beaten by the King with his own weapons,) boldly appealed to the *Basilicon Doron* as a proof of the love which James entertained for Presbyterianism.

"Your Majesty knows that King James never admitted Episcopacy upon Divine right: that his Majesty did swear and subscribe to the doctrine, worship, and discipline, of the Church of Scotland; that in the Preface of the Latin edition of *Basilicon Doron*, his Majesty gives an honourable testimony to those that loved better the simplicity of the Gospel, than the pomp and ceremonies of the Church of England, and that he conceives the Prelates to savour of the Popish Hierarchy."—*First Paper for his Majesty*, sect. 8.

Well might Charles indignantly reply—

"To your last, concerning the King my Father, of happy and famous memory, both for his piety and learning, I must tell you that I had the happiness to know him much better than you; wherefore I desire you not to be too confident in the knowledge of his opinions; for I dare say, should his Ghost now speak, he would tell you, 'That a bloody Reformation was never lawful, as not warranted by God's word,' and that *preces et lachrymæ sunt arma Ecclesiæ*."—*Reply*, sect. 8.

The failure of James as an author is not to be denied; but the developement of the Powder Plot has been usually and very untruly attributed to his sagacity as a statesman. Mr. Carwithen has noticed some other assertions respecting that most Providential discovery, namely, that the first intimation of the bloody treason came from Henry IV. of France, who had heard of it from the Jesuits: or that the anonymous Letter addressed to Lord Mounteagle was an artifice of Cecil himself, who was previously acquainted with the motions of the conspirators, and suffered them to proceed to a certain extent. This hypothesis is by no means improbable; but whether it be true or not, there is ample evidence that the common version upon which is founded a belief in

the penetration of the Royal Solomon, is positively false. Cecil, either knowing the intentions of the Papists, or shrewdly conjecturing them, was the person, or one of the persons, who first made mention of *gunpowder*; and afterwards, with the sound discretion of a veteran courtier, he allowed the credit of this lucky bit (if it were such) to slide gently upon his master's shoulders. The proofs of this fact remain under his own hand-writing, among the Cottonian MSS., out of which one of his Letters to Sir Charles Cornwallis, (Dr. Lingard, we know not why, calls it *a Circular*.) dated November 9, 1605, has been printed in Winwood's *Memorials*, (vol. ii. p. 170,) and contains the following account of the mysterious communication to Lord Mounteagle.

"I imparted the Letter to the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, to the end I might receive his opinion, which upon perusing the words of the Letter, and observing the wording, ('that the blow should come without knowledge who hurt them,') we both conceived that it could not be more proper than the time of Parliament, *nor by any other way likely to be attempted than with powder* whilst the King was sitting in that Assembly; of which the Lord Chamberlain conceived more probability, because there was a great vault under the said chamber, which was never used for any thing but for some wood and cole, belonging to the keeper of the Old Palace."

It may be worthy of remark, that the conspiracy of Marino Faliero against the Government of Venice was discovered by a similar train of circumstances. Beltramo Bergamasco, one of the sworn band of insurgents, anxious to save the life of his benefactor, the Patrician Niccolo Lione, warned him not to go forth on the morning of the intended rising. Lord Byron has made the Doge's name a "household word" to English ears, but we do not recollect that the historical coincidence has been pointed out before.

The excellencies of Bishop Andrewes, one of the purest and most Apostolical names by which our Church Annals are adorned, are duly estimated by Mr. Carwithen. The piety, the pulpit-eloquence, the gentle affections, and the domestic virtues of that eminent Prelate, appear to have descended with his name, to one, not long since belonging to our own times; the remembrance of whom will live with life in the hearts of those who knew him, and who, but for his unambitious humility, might have attained temporal dignities similar to those which were possessed by his great namesake. We subjoin Mr. Carwithen's brief character of the intended Primate.

"The acknowledged merit of Andrewes, bishop of Ely, pointed him out as the fit metropolitan of the English church; and the other bishops were so deeply impressed by this conviction, that they formally recom-

mended him to the King. On the character of Andrewes, thus distinguished by the general suffrage of his brethren, who can forbear to dwell?

“By those who had the best opportunities of appreciating its excellence, and who were qualified to bestow on it a discriminative commendation, this eminent man has been called Doctor Andrewes in the schools, Bishop Andrewes in the church, and Saint Andrewes in the closet. In all these capacities, though long since “dead, he yet speaketh.” His theological knowledge, and particularly his skill in the sacred languages, qualified him for taking a prominent part in the last translation of the Bible; his eloquence in the pulpit may be estimated from his sermons, which, though vitiated by the quaintness and pedantry of his age, contain passages worthy of admiration, and even of imitation; his devotions are still one of the best manuals for private use, and their merit will be impressed on the mind more strongly by recurring to the apostrophe of their latest editor: ‘Pray with Bishop Andrewes for one week, and he will be thy companion for the residue of thy years: he will be pleasant in thy life, and at the hour of death he will not forsake thee.’

“Though sanctity and devotion were the most conspicuous features in his character, yet he was remarkable for skill and address in business. His principles of church government were those of Bancroft, but he asserted them without bitterness. The doctrinal Calvinists have never presumed to claim him as their own, and they have been constrained to speak of him with respect. His principles on civil government are a complete refutation of the popular assertion that the Arminians under the House of Stuart were the friends of despotism; for Andrews was moderate, and even liberal, in his political opinions.

“That such a man should have been designated as the most proper head of the Church, is an honour to the judgment of the English prelates. They had reason to believe that the opinion of the King agreed with their own; and under this persuasion, they retired to their respective dioceses. But by desisting from their solicitations they failed in their object. The Earl of Dunbar, taking advantage of his frequent intercourse with James, and of his recent services in the establishment of a Scottish episcopacy, effectually recommended Abbot, Bishop of London, to preside over the Church of England. When James complied, he told Abbot that he had conferred on him the Primacy, not for his own sake, but for the sake of the Earl of Dunbar.”—vol. ii. pp. 232—234.

To the appointment of Abbot may be traced much of the unhappiness which succeeded, and upon which we have little wish to dwell. Indeed, we have so lately entered at large upon the troublous history of the Church in the times of Charles I. that, although our materials are far from being exhausted, it may be seasonable to postpone their employment. Before we even touch upon this period we must in justice recommend to the reader's due attention, Mr. Carwithen's XXIIId Chapter, which contains an account of the Synod of Dort, and of Montague's subsequent controversy. The intemperance, the want of charity, the intolerant and perse-

cuting spirit of—what shall we call them?—the Remonstrant-Gomarist-Calvinists—are admirably pourtrayed.

“ *Dordrechtii synodus, nodus ; chorus integer, æger ;
Conventus, ventus ; sessio stramen, Amen.*”

The lines are worthy of their theme. For Montague, it is enough to say in his own words (and we earnestly press those words upon the notice of such as enquire the foundation of the doctrine of the Church of England :) “ I am not, nor would be accounted willingly, Arminian, Calvinist, or Lutheran, but a Christian. Again, for Arminianism, I trust and do protest before God and his Angels, that the time is yet to come that ever I read a word of Arminius. The course of my studies was never addressed to modern epitomizers. I betook myself to Scripture, the rule of Faith, interpreted by antiquity, its best exposition.”*

Respecting Laud, we should be better satisfied with more cautiousness of expression than Mr. Carwithen has always employed. “ Bigotry ” is a hard word, and should be reserved for the lips of an enemy. By “ absence of all *pretensions* to sanctity,” we have little doubt that Mr. Carwithen means that the Archbishop despised the formalism of the Puritans, but the phrase may be perverted. Mr. Carwithen, however, certainly does not estimate this great man as highly as we do. He follows Warburton in asserting that Laud “ accelerated the downfall of the Church which he loved, and which under happier circumstances he would have adorned.” We very much doubt the fact. Had he been of a different temper, the Church would have been equally and perhaps earlier overthrown. The axe was laid to the root ; and though a temporizer, by shifting his position, might have saved his own head in the fall, the goodly tree itself could not have escaped on account of the abandonment of its guardian.

Securibus

Cæsa cecidisset ad terram abiecta trabes.

Pursuing the thread of the sad story of the Great Rebellion, Mr. Carwithen has a paragraph relative to the winter of 1646, which we are not able to reconcile with his authority.

“ Thus the winter was consumed, while the King passed his anxious hours at Oxford, forsaken by his best friends, and rudely treated by his few discontented followers. The neglect and the insults which he experienced rendered it a difficult because an equal choice, whether he would be the captive of his victorious enemies, or the slave of his own vanquished party. The noble historian draws a veil over this part of the scene, frankly acknowledging that it is impossible to describe it with proper clearness, unless by opening a door to such reflections on the King

* *Appello Casarem.*

himself, as seem to call both his wisdom and his steadiness in question."—vol. ii. p. 449.

It is very possible that there may be a passage in Clarendon fully bearing out this statement; but the only one which occurs to our recollection respecting *the winter of 1646*, is of directly opposite tendency, and describes Charles's residence at Oxford as a period of comparative sunshine.

"We left the King at Oxford, free from the trouble and uneasiness of these perpetual and wandering marches, in which he had been so many months exercised; and quiet from all rude and insolent provocations. He was now amongst his true and faithful counsellors and servants, whose affection and loyalty had first engaged them in his services and which stuck to them to the end, and who, if they were not able to give him assistance to stem that mighty torrent that overbore both him and them, paid him still the duty that was due to him, and gave him no vexation when they could not give him comfort."—Book ix. vol. v. p. 335. Ed. 1826.

It might have been unfashionable to cite the authority of Charles I. during the controversy on the recent great Ecclesiastical Question by which we have been agitated: and the strong ground of the Coronation Oath was early abandoned, not less to our surprise than to our sorrow. Nevertheless, one of the King's Papers in reply to Henderson (*Vide His Majesty's III^d Paper*, § 7.) appears to us to contain the pith of the argument, and well deserves to have been revived. Mr. Carwithen has stated it, perhaps, yet more clearly than it stands in the original.

"To disengage the King from his Coronation Oath, as far as it related to the Church, Henderson observed, that when an oath has a special regard to the benefit of those to whom the engagement is made, if the parties interested relax upon the point, and dispense with the advantage, the obligation is at an end. Thus, if the two Houses of Parliament agree to repeal a law, the King may conscientiously assent, notwithstanding his personal oath. The King, while he admitted Henderson's principle, denied its application. For if it be inquired for whose benefit the clause in the Coronation Oath was made, the answer must be, it was made to the Church of England. Thus it is not in the power of the two Houses of Parliament to discharge the obligation of the oath. It is only the Church of England, for whose benefit he took it, which can release him from it; and, therefore, when the Church of England, lawfully assembled, shall declare him discharged, then, and not till then, shall he reckon himself at liberty."—vol. ii. pp. 454, 455.

If this reasoning be admitted against the Presbyterians, why is it not equally available against the Roman Catholics?

On the mysterious authorship of the *Fikon Basilike* we confess that we have never been able to advance farther than a suspension of opinion, in which we gladly perceive that we agree with Mr. Carwithen. On one point, perhaps, we differ from him; we

do not consider it in the present day "as a touchstone of party:" that is, although, doubtless, opposite opinions respecting it have for the most part been espoused by men of opposite parties, it is very possible, it is quite certain in our own case, that without yielding to any one in orthodoxy and in loyalty—without being ashamed of avowing ourselves *Church and King* to the very heart's core—nevertheless we might not be able to give our verdict upon the evidence before us, in favour of Charles's claim to Copyright.

"The general resentment of the nation was both deep and loud, and it was heightened by a work published in the King's name, within a few days after his execution. The *Εικων Βασιλικη*, by its appearance at such a crisis, raised the character of the King so highly, that many have ascribed to this book alone the subsequent restoration of his family. Milton has compared its effects, in exciting the compassion of the people towards the unfortunate Charles, to the feelings of the tumultuous Romans, when Anthony read to them the will of Cæsar.

"At the time of its publication, Milton himself made a feeble attempt to impugn its genuineness: after the Restoration, the claims of Charles to the authorship of this work were controverted with more success; and, in the present day, who wrote the *Εικων Βασιλικη*? is one of those questions which may justly be considered as a touchstone of party.

"The sum of the researches into this controverted question shall be briefly stated. Gauden, afterwards successively Bishop of Exeter and Worcester, is the claimant who has been opposed to Charles for the authorship of this work. The external evidence is nicely balanced; so nicely, that an historian, friendly to the Stuarts, has acknowledged, that it is not easy to fix any opinion which will be entirely satisfactory; and an eminent prelate, not favourable to the Stuarts, has, with the same frankness, confessed, that it is the most uncertain matter which he ever undertook to examine. On that external evidence, which two inquirers of great acuteness, and of an opposite bias, have left in suspense, the historian may decline to give a decisive opinion. As to the internal evidence, it preponderates greatly in favour of the King. If Gauden wrote the *Εικων Βασιλικη*, he rose above himself. In whatever way the question may be determined, it will detract nothing from the literary reputation of Charles, or from the moral infamy of Gauden."—vol. ii. pp. 493—495.

The concluding chapter of these Volumes, the XXIXth, describes the state of our Church during Cromwell's usurpation; and Mr. Carwithen appears to have been anxious to disengage himself from this ungrateful review with as much speed as possible. We await the remainder of his Work with very eager expectation; for we feel confident that he will guide us with a firm step, a steady hand, and a searching eye, through a path of no small difficulty and intricacy. That he will satisfy *all* parties is little to be expected: nor, indeed, is it to be wished, for when did this happen to any one who has dared to speak fearlessly, faith-

fully, and truly? but we are mistaken in his temper and his spirit, if he is to be diverted from his fixed course by any apprehension *ne irritentur crabrones*. We have only to urge him to proceed as he has commenced, and he will then be certain of winning attention, applause, and gratitude, from those for whose suffrages alone, unless we are much deceived, he is solicitous; and he will contribute not a little to the benefit of others, while he at the same time increases his own well-merited reputation.

ART. III.—*Of Christian Sincerity*. By John Penrose, M. A. formerly of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London: Rivingtons. Oxford: Parker. 8vo. 1829. pp. 182. 5s.

WE have in this work a portable, compact, and commodious manual, for the use of those very uncomfortable persons who may be troubled with fidgetty and fretful consciences—whose path is overgrown with an entangling and thorny scrupulosity—who are constantly picking their way as if they were in fear of puddle or pollution at every step—who, like Panurge, “walk gingerly, as if they trod upon eggs”—whose road through the world seems, at times, to be as perilous and uneasy, as if they had been condemned “to course their own shadows over four-inch bridges.” The class in question, it may be presumed, is not remarkably numerous. Scruples and misgivings, and all the various symptoms of a qualmish and dyspeptic conscience, form, we suspect, upon the whole, but a moderate item in the catalogue of human disquietudes. We are “troubled indeed about many things,” and are perpetually “disquieting ourselves in vain;” but the blunders of our moral arithmetic are seldom, it is to be feared, among the most serious of our disturbances. In this world of turmoil we are apt to estimate lightly, or altogether to overlook, not merely the errors of the *working*, but the false principles that are constantly insinuating themselves into the computation. Some, however, there unquestionably are, who are strangers to this self-complacent equanimity; some, whose course seems beset with constant difficulty; whose faith and virtue appear to be incessantly engaged in a wearisome and harassing navigation through an archipelago of perplexities; who see on the right a quicksand, on the left a rock, and who dream of nothing but disaster and shipwreck. But, although the number of these nervous moralists may be comparatively trifling, their apprehensions are in the

highest degree entitled to respect and tenderness. One is therefore naturally glad to help them to a method of treatment, at once soothing and tonic, and divested of all the formidable ostentation of a regular course of casuistic discipline.

There is another description of persons—probably more numerous than that which we have just been contemplating—who, having arranged matters very much to their satisfaction with reference to their own principles of action, have leisure for profound and solemn speculation respecting the condition of their neighbours. It is sometimes, however, unfortunately found, that this benevolent exercise is not, eventually, quite so favourable as could be desired to the temper of those who indulge in it. It inevitably leads to comparisons; and comparisons, we all know, are proverbially odious. It is further apt to throw the mind into a state somewhat resembling that of acetous fermentation; and to generate certain acrid and deleterious principles, which indicate that the milk of human kindness has lost its natural predominance in their system. Strange as it may seem, this result has been often observed to follow from an immoderate activity of *secretion* in the critical faculty, when stimulated by a mixture of zeal and curiosity. The elements thus evolved, are found to be very destructive to the bland and gentle qualities of our moral composition, and to give it, in the end, a harsh and corrosive property: and when that is the case, it is high time to think of some application analogous to those remedies which are occasionally resorted to for sweetening the blood. Now, for this purpose, we may safely recommend the preparation here offered us by Mr. Penrose. It is a simple, mild, and rational compound; and, we should imagine, could hardly fail to *sweeten the blood*, when its temperament has suffered from immoderate agitation on account of the moral and spiritual obliquities of our brethren!

There is so much admirable good sense and good feeling in the little volume now before us, that we cannot but regret very deeply the admission into it, of one peculiarity, which may considerably impair its perspicuity, and consequently its usefulness; and against which it may therefore be advisable at once to caution the reader. Mr. Penrose has, we know not why, deemed it expedient to depart from the ordinary usage of speech, and to give to the word *sincerity* a much more comprehensive acceptance than, we believe, has ever hitherto been assigned to it. He pronounces broadly, in the outset of his inquiry, that all conduct, which runs counter to *any virtue whatever*, may, with perfect justice, be termed *insincere*.* And he proceeds to fortify this

* P. 5.

position, by reference to the case of Baxter, who, in his latter days, (when age had somewhat mellowed his fervid temper, and precipitated the tartar which had long been floating in his system,) desired forgiveness of God and man for the rash and offensive bluntness, with which he had been long accustomed to speak of things "*just as they were.*" To this example Mr. Penrose appeals, for the purpose of illustrating his general position, and of showing, that, to use language, which, though conformable to truth, is yet wanting in respect and tenderness for other people, is not only to violate prudence and charity, but to forfeit the character of an irreproachable and entire sincerity.*

Now, if the meaning of the author be simply this—that the deliberate and habitual violation of any one virtue is inconsistent with a sincere profession of morality or religion, the assertion is, of course, safe from all opposition; it reposes in that security which is the legitimate and undisturbed inheritance of the whole family of truisms. But truisms are a *feeble folk*, with whom Mr. Penrose is little in the habit of dealing. We are therefore compelled to presume that every departure from the line of moral rectitude—whether from carelessness, or infirmity, or ignorance, or unsteadiness, or from whatever cause—is, in his estimate, a violation of the *specific* virtue of sincerity; that all moral obliquities, without exception, involve a direct transgression of this one principle; and that a man cannot violate the smallest tittle of the law of God without being, to that extent, a hypocrite. Supposing this to be the proposition of Mr. Penrose, all that can be said of it is, that, if it be his pleasure to invest this word, sincerity, with such a vast compass of meaning, and to identify it with all moral and religious perfection, there can be no question of his right to do so: but we suspect that he will find but little comfort and advantage in the experiment, which can, in the end, be productive of nothing but indistinctness and confusion.

The very example produced by Mr. Penrose, in support of his proposition, appears to us absolutely fatal to it. When Baxter, instructed by age and reflection, had acquired the wisdom to abstain from all needless asperity of language, he was, doubtless, a much more prudent and more amiable man, than when he was perpetually arming the prejudices of people against the truth, by an importunate and injudicious assertion of her minutest claims: but we cannot understand how it can be said that he was a more sincere or honest man. His unaccommodating plainness of speech may, perhaps, have been connected, more or less intimately, with the sinful principle of pride or self-will; but this connection was probably hidden from the man himself, in the heat of controversy,

* P. 7.

or the impetuosity of his more fervid and youthful days. A long course of troublesome experience may have been needful to teach him, that the practice, which he once regarded as a service due to truth, was, in reality, hostile to the genuine scriptural meekness of wisdom. Every one, who has studied the character of Baxter, must surely perceive, that both the inconsiderate freedom of utterance, and the more useful habit of forbearance and moderation, were equally removed from the guilt of hollowness or dishonesty.

The error of loading the word *sincerity* with such a weight of signification, is one which pervades the whole treatise before us. In a subsequent part of it,* the author observes, very justly, that captious scruples are not to be dignified with the title of sincerity. But then he adds, that an impartial sincerity would teach us to sacrifice the mint and cummin rather than the weightier matters of the Law. Now here again we contend that it is not the function of sincerity to make this distinction. It is rather the province of sound judgment and discretion; though, doubtless, sincerity of heart may greatly quicken the application and exercise of this faculty.

It is further affirmed in another place, that it is “better and more sincere to defer in some things both our opinions and our practice to a just and natural authority, than to disunite any of the links of Christian charity.”† That such deference is *better* than a fastidious and obstinate adherence to traditional or hereditary prepossessions, it would be insane to question; but it is exceedingly questionable whether it would be more sincere; for it is not sincerity that suggests the submission or the compromise. It may be true that sincerity would not be wounded by it, and therefore might not remonstrate against it: but it is not the *work* of sincerity; it is the *work* of wisdom, of good sense, of an enlightened conscience, declaring how far the concession can be carried without a sacrifice of Christian simplicity. St. Paul was all things to all men in a way quite consistent with sincerity, and his entire single-heartedness may have helped most effectively to relieve his judgment from embarrassment and difficulty. But yet we should scarcely venture to pronounce that he was less sincere when he was making havoc of the church, and haling men and women to prison, than when he was winning souls to his Saviour by an unparalleled combination of zeal, sagacity, and benevolence.

We may perhaps make our views on this matter more intelligible by reference to a picturesque and interesting portion of

* P. 78.

† P. 96.

classical history. In the ninth book of Herodotus, we have a very graphic description of the movements which preceded the battle between the Greeks and Persians near Plataea, from which it appears that the allied armies had agreed, for various unquestionable reasons, to retreat from the ground they then occupied to a position more advantageous for encountering the enemy. This wise resolution was embarrassed by the commander of a column of the Lacedemonian force, named Amompharetus, who appears to have been a lion-hearted and, withal, an exceedingly pig-headed Spartan. He positively refused to stir an inch! He had no notion, not he, of retrograde movements in the face of an enemy; and that he might suit the action to the word, he seized a great stone with both his hands, and casting it on the ground before the feet of his general, Pausanias, exclaimed, "There's my vote against running away from these barbarians."* And it was not till the rest of the army began to march away to their new position, that he slowly and sullenly followed, in order to save his division from utter destruction. Now in all this there was abundance of sincerity, together with such a plentiful lack of common sense, as well warranted the epithet of madman which was instantly lavished upon him by his astonished and enraged commander. And if the story had been reversed, if this monster of obstinacy had yielded, like the rest of his brethren, to the authority of his general, no one could deny that he would have exercised a much sounder discretion, and that he would have better consulted the good of his country by this timely submission, than by his stiff adherence to what he esteemed as the "ancient laws and prerogatives of the wars:" but surely it never can be said that he would have acted more like an honest man. He would have shown much less of incorrigible wrong-headedness, but certainly not more of true-hearted devotion to the honour and discipline of Sparta.

There seems to be no end of the confusion which must arise from a scheme which brings the correction of prejudice and the cure of moral fastidiousness within the immediate province of sincerity. We have all heard of devotees who have preferred risking their lives to the violation of a fast. In such cases, if the starving religionist were to consent to swallow a morsel for the preservation of life or health, we might pronounce him sounder of under-

* Ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρην ἀμφοτέρῃσι τῇσι χερσίν· καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τοῦ Πausανίω, ταύτῃ τῇ ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι, ἔφη, μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους· (λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους.) Ὁ δὲ (Πausανίας) μαινόμενος καὶ οὐ φρενέρεα καλέων ἐκεῖνον—κ. τ. λ. Herodot. ix. 54. It will of course be recollected by our readers, that in those times, a stone, or pebble, (ψῆφος), was generally used as a balloting ball.

standing, but certainly not more observant of the law of sincerity. We have read of an Indian prince* who professed that he accounted the minutest ceremony of his religion as of more worth than a hundred thousand such lives as his own. Suppose him brought to a better mind, and enabled to see the immense absurdity of his superstitious scruples, could it be reasonably said that sincerity was peculiarly honoured by his conversion? How can a human being render a more profound homage to that power, than by his readiness to perish for the merest atom of the law under which he lives? The truth is, that the man who rids himself of silly scruples or prepossessions achieves a triumph over erroneous judgment or narrowness of mind, but not over insincerity. He has corrected his folly, not his hypocrisy. He has swept away thorns and brambles from his path, not rectified its obliquity. To deliver us from vexatious and absurd precision is the achievement of patience, candour, and sagacity; and sincerity may be allowed to “attend the triumph, and partake the gale;” but we cannot perceive that she has any positive right to a share in the honour of the victory.

In another part of his Essay, Mr. Penrose insists strongly and irresistibly upon the necessity of preserving the law of charity, even towards those who differ from us in something of an illiberal and injurious spirit: and in order to give additional cogency to his statements, he adds, “thus only is it possible for us to be, in the full sense, *sincere*:—*sincere*, as is said by the Apostle, *and without offence*.”† This is another instance in which a much greater *fullness of sense* is ascribed to this word than it has hitherto been usual to give it. The words of the Apostle furnish no support to this innovation. He intimates that Christians should be pure in heart, and, in their lives, void of scandal and offence. But how is it to be inferred from this, that, in his estimation, every violation of charity involves a breach of sincerity also?

To us,—we confess,—a multitude of the strange scruples and repulsive prejudices, and odd notions, and grotesque whims, which adhere to the most solemn subjects, as they present themselves to many understandings, have some resemblance to the various superfluities, and incommodious appendages, and wasteful applications of force, which often belong to ancient mechanism or contrivance. We come at last to see that they may be dispensed with, and that we can do better without them; but the resistance offered to the process of improvement or simplification is frequently quite prodigious. And when this resistance has

* La Croze, vol. ii. p. 70.

† P. 101, ἐκλίμενός καὶ ἀπρόσκοποι, Phil. i. 10.

been overcome, we may fairly congratulate ourselves on the triumph of our docility or our intelligence. It might then be said, that at last our eyes were opened to our true advantage or comfort; but it would be very strange to say that we were on that account devoted to our interest with more cordial singleness of purpose than before. The modern mechanist or manufacturer is not a whit more earnest in his pursuit of wealth than his predecessor, who, generations ago, may have adhered, with stupid obstinacy, to established and immemorial awkwardnesses and inconveniences. Our ancestors murdered each other with just as hearty good-will when they had nothing but clumsy matchlocks, as we now do with all the *inestimable* advantages of firelock, rifle, and bayonet. They wove and spun, ages ago, as lustily, though not so effectively, as we now do with power-looms and spinning-jennies. The rejection of our mental incumbrances, and the improvement of our moral reasoning, seem to proceed in something of a similar manner. They require the application of a mind open to conviction, but they do not *necessarily* imply a more intense exercise of the virtue of sincerity.

In p. 102, the author speaks of a sincerity which takes in all our duties without favoritism or partiality, as if it were the *special* office of sincerity to exclude all partiality. Undoubtedly, a writer may give to the quality which does this what name he pleases. He may call it candour, equity, righteousness; he may, if he thinks proper, entitle it sincerity, but in so doing he will assuredly deviate from the usage of his mother-tongue, which hitherto has confined this word to the duty of indicating, that our professions are unfeigned, and in strict conformity with our feelings and convictions. A sincere desire to deliver our minds from any undue influence, and to divest any particular duty or virtue of an overpowering dominion, may, indeed, wonderfully quicken us in the discovery and application of a proper moral discipline. It may give us steadiness of hand, and enable us to hold the balance without trembling; but it does not itself hold the balance.

We are further told by Mr. Penrose, that scepticism is as injurious to *sincerity* of character, as to the final acquisition of truth. To the final acquisition of truth it is indeed most fatally adverse; because, to the sceptic, doubt is often like the basilisk—it places him under a sort of malignant and irresistible fascination, so that he cannot take up the truth when it actually lies before his feet. But we apprehend that it *may* reduce a man to this miserable condition without inevitably making havoc with his honesty of intention. He may have brought himself by insensible degrees into a habit of doubting upon every subject, just as a man by a course of quackery may destroy the tone of his constitution. He

undoubtedly will have to answer for the pernicious process by which he has so far abused his faculties as to bring them to such a state. But yet we can imagine that he may all the while have been quite unconscious of any approach to insincerity. The victim of empiricism may have been earnestly in pursuit of health—the victim of Pyrrhonism *may* have been as earnestly in pursuit of truth.

It is said very justly, (p. 103,) that a certain degree of *moral inertia* is desirable, in order that our movements may be as free as possible from irregularity and unsteadiness, and that we may not be at the mercy of slight and casual impulses. But yet we cannot discern that the absence of this property is unavoidably fatal to sincerity. The quality may be infinitely valuable in saving us from constant “anxiety and flutter of mind.” It is a principle which may keep us from that sort of mental paralysis, which disables us for the exertion of seizing upon the truth. It may powerfully help to preserve the solidity and robustness of the understanding. But it can hardly be affirmed that the want of this sluggishness, and averseness to change, is *necessarily* followed by an impaired integrity of heart. Nothing good, it is true, can be said for that levity of mind which may make men credulous, even while they are strutting and fretting in all the poor and petty arrogance of a pretended freedom from the trammels of the nurse and the priest; which may make them dupes while they are laughing at the gullibility of the rest of mankind; which may convert them into the sport of every passing breath of doubt, while they fancy themselves athletic enough to rend asunder the knottiest prejudices. Nothing good can be said for this unhappy weakness; and we merely assert, that it will be difficult to show how sincerity is the virtue that must inevitably and peculiarly suffer from this pernicious defect. It is true that this habit of uncertainty, being *generally* hostile to the intellectual and moral health, may at last, perhaps, undermine our sincerity itself, in common with all other valuable qualities. There may be a universal sapping of the solid substratum of character. But it is not eminently or directly that sincerity suffers by this destruction of foundations, but only incidentally—only as it is a part of the moral fabric. The sceptical tendency may indeed be sternly resisted without danger or disadvantage to the integrity of the mind or heart: a man may repel the temptation to eternal doubt and misgiving, without the slightest approximation to hypocrisy; and by this very resistance, the whole moral constitution may be signally improved and invigorated; and so, sincerity, among other virtues, may, inclusively, partake of the general benefit: but it is not very easy to conceive any other way in which sincerity is

peculiarly protected by this moral inertness, and resistance to impulse.

There is one mode, indeed, in which scepticism may be dangerous to integrity, when brought into contact with the practical concerns of life. The man who is beset by doubts, is, of all others, most formidably environed by a peculiar class of temptations. The interests and the engagements of this world may constantly require of him certain compliances, to which the voice of the inward man affords no sanction, if it offers no positive contradiction. The doubter may be called upon, for instance, to make declarations, or to give pledges, which his conscience, if it does not solemnly condemn, cannot confidently approve; and which it may be impossible for him to decline without the most calamitous sacrifice of his interests; and the current of danger which steadily sets in from this quarter may threaten heavy damage, if not total destruction, to sincerity. There may be yet a more dreadful effect of this want of mental tenacity. The mind which was "unstable as water," may, at last, congeal into a cold and rigid insensibility. The demon of Pyrrhonism, which at first inflicted unsteadiness of sight, may, after long possession, give to the moral vision a fixed and icy glare, which can gaze on sacred and divine things without perception of their form, or comeliness, or grandeur. There is "no speculation in the eye" of the confirmed and resolute sceptic. To him virtue and vice, religion and impiety, are mere lifeless abstractions;

Atque ideo intrepidus quæcumque altaria tangit.

And when this is the case, of course there is an end of all sincerity. A cold and creeping poison has been the death of it; a mortal drug which, beginning at the extremities, at last invades and freezes the heart. A man whose moral nature is brought to this unnatural pass, however sedate may be his demeanour, is no more to be trusted than a tiger or a rattlesnake. He may properly be numbered among the

"Courteous destroyers, affable wolves, meek bears."

And if this be the meaning of the author, his position is beyond all question. But if he means more than this—if he means that the scrupulously inquisitive habit has a tendency naturally, directly, and unavoidably adverse to honesty of heart—we apprehend that he will find it an affair of almost desperate difficulty to establish this assertion. We have no doubt that the reverse is frequently exemplified; that there have been, and that there are, individuals ardently devoted to truth, who seek after it more than after hidden treasure, and who yet are kept perpetually on the rack by

an unsteadiness of vision which disables them from pursuing it, or by the perplexity of the labyrinth which seems to baffle their sagacity.

The reality of the matter seems to be this: when, from any cause, a man fails, either to purge his sight of prejudices and errors, or to clear his heart of the bitterness which adheres to a scrupulous or bigoted stiffness in opinion, this failure deprives his sincerity, not necessarily of its essence, but of much of its grace and virtue. It does not follow that it *must* destroy or weaken his probity, although it makes that quality far less winning and estimable than it otherwise would be. The North American savage firmly and sincerely believes every one to be utterly contemptible who cannot allow himself to be roasted to death with as little appearance of sensibility as a sirloin of beef. He therefore honestly conceives that the infliction of frightful torments on his prisoner is nothing more than a laudable exercise of his own ingenuity, and a legitimate test of the worth and manhood of his victim. Civilization may in time soften this sort of ferocious stoicism. The barbarian may at last come to perceive, that a man does not necessarily forfeit the dignity of his nature, by showing that he perceives the difference between a down bed and a red-hot gridiron; and that a hero may abstain, without despicable weakness, from deliberately tearing his captive to fragments: but this does not imply any change for the better in his sincerity. He was as sincere in his monstrous persuasion, that apathy is the perfection of human virtue, and cruelty the most exalted privilege of victory, as he may now be in the belief that a brave man is not bound absolutely to forget himself to iron. The difference is, that his sincerity is now more producible and amiable than it was; it is fit for admission into humane and civilized society: whereas, before, it was a proper inhabitant only of the forest and the wilderness.

Mr. Penrose will easily do us the justice to believe, that we have not been tempted into this train of observation by a captious and hypercritical spirit. We are persuaded, on the contrary, that there is little, if any, *essential* difference of opinion between us. But we are likewise satisfied that his deviation from ordinary language in this instance may deprive his speculations of the appearance of mastery and precision of thought, and may thus inflict upon them most egregious injustice. No man living, we believe, knows better than Mr. Penrose the value of a watchful exactness in the use of words; no man is more wisely jealous than he of a lax and rhetorical application of them. We, therefore, with the deepest respect for his judgment, submit it to his consideration, whether his *Essay* would not be materially improved by restricting this word, *sincerity*, to that region of signification which has

hitherto been allotted to it; and forbearing to identify it, or to confound it, with candour, equity, and impartiality of mind. At all events we would venture to suggest, that if he is not satisfied with the view we have taken of the matter, he will, on revising his treatise, introduce such statements and limitations, as may furnish a more distinct and full disclosure of his own conceptions on this subject.

In the same spirit of respectful suggestion, we venture to advert to another portion of this work, in which the notions of the author appear to be incompletely wrought out, and which consequently labours under some defect of perspicuity. Mr. Penrose is considering * the case of those, who are conscious that they are too deficient in penetration, activity, or perseverance, to venture on an excursive and adventurous search after truth; and who, for that reason, find it safer and less harassing to keep within the lines which have been drawn around them by institutions and customs; by forms, and creeds, and education:—persons who are apprehensive lest the pursuit of new acquisitions in virtue and intelligence, should reward them with nothing better than the loss of older and more valuable possessions. To such persons he recommends, that they should “bring their inclination in aid of those arguments, by which their anxiety on this point may be averted, and exclude many fears which their understanding cannot repel:” and he assures them that “the *Reason* may wisely combine with that which has been called by Aristotle the *irrational* part of the soul, and that in this combination she may concede something to her ally.” Now we hugely suspect that the “irresolute, unhardy, unadventurous” spirits, here under contemplation, will be able to make very little of this good advice, in its present form. We are not quite certain that we distinctly comprehend the drift of it ourselves. We do not perceive very clearly what is the precise sort of aid which *the inclination* is expected to render in such a case; whether it is to tempt the men from their entrenchments, or to induce them to make the best use of the advantages to be found within them. We suppose, however, the meaning of Mr. Penrose, in effect, to be this—that *where there is a will there is a way*—and that when men feel themselves unable to rely on their own intellectual or moral resources, sufficiently to venture on an excursion of discovery, they should be willing and ready to content themselves with the results collected by more enterprising inquirers;—that if they cannot muster courage to explore the promised land for themselves, they may, at least, rid themselves of all wilful and obstinate distrust of the persons who have executed that hazardous mission,

* P. 105, &c.

and may confidently accept the report which they bring back with them;—nay, that they may positively *dispose* themselves to a belief of that report, unless it should make any intolerable demands on their credulity;—and that they may do this with perfect sincerity, and without any essential surrender of integrity or independence of mind. In short, where we are unable to find the whole truth for ourselves, our love of it should by all means prompt us to turn to the best account the researches and the labours of other people.

We repeat, we are not, by any means, certain that we have accurately expressed the meaning of Mr. P., and we are the more diffident of this, because, if this be his mind, the timid and quiet persons, who are keeping behind their entrenchments, might, peradventure, reply to the above counsels by saying, “We have already been acting precisely in the spirit of your recommendation. We are, ourselves, unqualified for the complete investigation of the truth; but then, here are lines and boundaries which have been marked out for us by persons entitled to our veneration and our confidence; they enclose a territory which satisfies our wishes, and our conscience; and reason and *inclination* combine to retain us within them.” If this were to be their reply, we know not how we should rejoin to it; we do not see what more could well be expected from this compromise between the rational and irrational part of the soul. We suspect, therefore, that there is something, in the advice here offered, more than we have succeeded in divining, and which needs only a somewhat ampler exposition by the author, for its full and satisfactory development.

That such entrenchments, as are here adverted to, are absolutely needed by a large portion of mankind, cannot for a moment be doubted; and the uses of them are very ably illustrated by Mr. Penrose himself. He has shown, beyond all question, that a reasonable reliance on those defences, is perfectly consistent with Christian sincerity. He has stated, with great truth, that we may listen to the voice of the Church, as the jury listens to the directions of the judge, with respect and veneration, with a tractable disposition, with the docility which becomes those who are in the presence of superior knowledge, experience, and wisdom. The temper with which the pious protestant submits to such decisions, is totally different from a slavish subjection to *infallible* authority; as different, to say the least, as a submission to a constitutional legislature is from prostration before the will of a capricious autocrat. “That mere birth, or education, or that any *unreasoning* impulse or preference should be allowed to decide for us, is evidently inconsistent with sincerity.” But such, unfortunately, is the condition of this world, that an enormous propor-

tion of mankind, as to human apprehension it appears, are placed almost at the mercy of circumstances with regard to their religious persuasion, as well as their secular interests. For mysterious and unsearchable reasons, it appears to be the will of Providence that so it should be. And such being the case, what is the duty of a rational and religious being, but to conform to this scheme of things; to conform, that is,—not by indolently throwing away the aids and appliances which may present themselves,—for the exercise of his own judgment upon such matters,—not by turning over the care of his spiritual concerns to men of a peculiar trade—not by treating his religion as a thing which the priest may take home with him, and manage according to the rules of his craft, leaving the man himself to go abroad, and to trade, and deal, and converse, perhaps to cheat, and to revel, and to pass his life, with as much religion as an ox:—this is not the sort of conformity which the visible system of Providence requires. The way in which a man is to conform, is, by extracting all the good, which his capacities enable him, from the circumstances in which he is placed; to reject the solicitings of mere caprice, or vanity, or self-importance, or personal interest, when they *alone* are tempting him to change; to give a candid and reverent but *cautious* hearing to counsels, which invite him to quit his entrenchments, or which tend to weaken his confidence in their strength and security. If these rules and principles were observed, we should not be condemned to behold, on the one hand, such vast portions of the human race locked and bolted within the adamantine walls of some ruthless superstition; neither, on the other hand, should we see such an endless variety of unconnected inclosures, each occupied by its own little garrison, with a full reliance on its impregnable and consecrated strength. And lastly, we should be spared the sight of such multitudes, as now are to be found, wandering throughout the wilderness, *sub luce malignâ*, without guidance, without shelter, without steadiness of purpose, and straying, it is to be feared, toward the confines of the valley of the shadow of death.

With regard to the settlement of our convictions, relative to morals, or religion, or indeed any other subject, there is one invaluable caution suggested by Mr. Penrose, which it would be very useful for all feeble thinkers to keep in mind. It has been observed by Dr. Whately,* and probably by hundreds of other writers long before he was born, that a man may bring himself, if he will, to *believe* almost any thing; but it is not always remembered, or even suspected, that it is quite as easy for men to bring themselves, to *doubt*, as it is to bring themselves to *believe*

* Essay on Love of Truth, p. 23.

any thing: and we are disposed to agree with Mr. Penrose, that this tendency is the more mischievous of the two, (or at least quite as mischievous,) and that it may be resisted with equal sincerity. One grand source of the mischief and the danger is the self-deception which often attends the doubter, throughout his progress. While he is winning his uneasy way, perhaps towards the castle of Giant Despair, he may flatter himself that he is going straight forward towards the fortress and temple of Truth. The spirit of credulous submission is, to be sure, degrading enough. If yielded to, it will either pen a man up, like a tame brute, or suffer him to walk abroad only in a beaten path. But the spirit of Scepticism is, in truth, no "harmless fairy," but a mischievous and lying imp, which often plays the *jack o' lantern* with those who follow it. We cannot help thinking, that the path of those unhappy persons who pursue the lure of this unsteady power, may not unaptly be represented by the wanderings of those illustrious worthies, Trinculo and Stephano, when, "reeling ripe," and full of their own importance, they followed after the tabor of the subtle Ariel,—the music, as they themselves describe it, "played by the picture of *nobody*."

—————Then I beat my tabor,
At which, like unbacked colts, they pricked their ears,
Advanced their eye-lids, lifted up their noses,
As they smelt music; so I charmed their ears,
That, calf-like, they my lowing followed, through
Toothed briars, sharp furzes, pricking goss, and thorns,
Which entered their frail shins: at last I left them
In the filthy mantled pool,————
There dancing up to the chins.

Tempest.

We really believe this to be a tolerably correct representation of the fate of many, who, despising all mortal guidance, have insanely given themselves up to a fantastic influence, which, at the last, will surely leave them engulfed in the mire. Let the unstable and the unwary take warning by their fate. Let them remember that the conceit of independence, like a revolutionary passion for freedom, often terminates in hopeless slavery and debasement.

The case of those who are both irresolute and melancholy—of those too who, though they have not force of character to judge confidently for themselves, are yet fretfully impatient of all mortal authority—the case of such persons is deserving of more solemn consideration. We know not, however, what better can be done with them, than to recommend to their devoutest attention the maxim of Mr. Penrose, that the tendency to doubt is to the full as dangerous as the tendency to believe. If credulity fixes the

spirit down to the earth, scepticism may let it loose to hopeless and fatal dissipation. Between these two extremes there must be some middle state, in which the soul may move naturally as in its own appropriate element—a state in which the power of faith and the power of free inquiry may combine, like two independent forces, and may, between them, give to the mind a direction, which shall carry it forward towards the throne of the Almighty.

In the sixth and seventh Chapters, we have some very valuable remarks on the influence exerted by worldly intercourse, whether of business or amusement, upon religious sincerity. There is no topic perhaps which gives more frequent occasion to feeble and vexatious dogmatizings; none which more urgently demands, on the part of a moral teacher, that union of delicacy and vigour which is found in the proboscis of the elephant. There is a class of persons whose morality bristleth all over with petty scruples; whose virtue is horrent and prickly with small austerities; so that innocence, cheerfulness, and gaiety, are fearful of approaching it, lest they should be irritated and worried by it out of all sublunary indulgences and recreations. When these plaguy whims get possession of a fair and amiable mind, they seem to resemble so many burs in the ringlets of a *comely and delicate woman*: they are unseemly and troublesome, and it often requires a world of patience to disentangle them without giving pain. To get rid of these annoyances is one of the most difficult duties of a moralist. There is nothing so teasing and puzzling as the casuistry with which diminutive minds contrive to perplex the most ordinary duties, concerns, and relaxations of life. One is sometimes provoked by it to an impatience, which is ready to cut the knot instead of attempting to unravel it. “Here are we,” said Samuel Johnson, indignantly, to one of these poor dealers in moral grains and atoms—“Here are we, inhabiting a world which is bursting with sin and sorrow, and you come to me with your paltry misgivings about ends of packthread and fragments of paper.” Here are we, it may be added, beset with awful responsibilities—with our passions to subdue, and our vices to exterminate—with the interests both secular and eternal of ourselves and our dependents constantly weighing on our thoughts—and yet we are to be teased out of our lives with questions, whether a game at whist or piquet is consistent with a state of salvation? Whether dancing is an occupation suited to a being who is born for eternity? Whether a young lady can make her appearance at a county ball, without forfeiting all claim to the honours of a religious character? Such are the shreds of horsehair which some people delight benevolently to scatter over their neighbours, thus converting their *up-*

rising and their down-sitting, their activity and their repose, into one perpetual and fretting penance. If phylacteries were in fashion, surely we should never think of taking the trifles of mint and cummin for frontlets on our eyes, or for tokens upon our hands; we should bind there the weightier and holier matters of the law. And doubtless it would be well if many of our modern casuists were to imbibe something more of the spirit of this rule.

We are no advocates for frivolity, or dissipation, or waste of time; nay, more, we regard with the profoundest compassion those ill-starred persons, to whom cards, or dice, or quadrilles, or, dearer than all, the delights of being half squeezed, and suffocated, and stewed to *death*, are among the prime necessities of *life*! But, notwithstanding these yearnings towards an unhappy race, we must avow that we can discern nothing more appalling or dangerous in the relaxation of an occasional rubber, than in the tough and trying conflict of a game at chess; and that we can hardly imagine a more humanizing, refined, and unexceptionable intercourse, than that which is promoted by the *occasional* assembling of the families of the gentry and nobility at a ball—a meeting, in which the younger persons are under the immediate and watchful custody of their relatives and parents. We are aware that a man may proceed, from the tranquillity of the domestic game, through all the gradations which terminate in the frenzied agonies of the gambling-house. We are aware that the love of an animating and graceful exercise *may* degenerate into a wild passion for scenes of fatal dissipation. All this we know; and to all this every body knows the answer—namely, that to proscribe all the enjoyments or pastimes which human folly or frailty may abuse, would be, in effect, to clothe the creation in a livery of drab-colour, or to lay it open to the incursion of demons whose livery is blue! And we cannot imagine that the cause of religion or virtue would be much advanced by either of those calamities.

But the thing which most of all keeps the brow in a perpetual conflict between a frown and a smile, is the magnanimous inconsistency frequently betrayed by the very individuals, who are for trussing up our manners into such awful symmetry and precision. We have known people who have thought that to enter a theatre was almost to step within the very confines of reprobation: and when pressed for their reasons for this austere judgment, they have replied—that dramatic entertainments are not among the necessities of life, and that therefore we cannot be under any overpowering temptation to pay for them a price, which may, by possibility, involve the compromise of a single iota of morality; that theatrical establishments cannot be maintained without giving encouragement, directly or indirectly, to much

laxity of morals; and that therefore it is the duty of every Christian to abstain from giving them support. And yet the very persons who pronounced this decision, were every day of their lives, with relish and conscience equally undisturbed, imbibing tea sweetened by the toil of kidnapped and enslaved Africans! The question, whether or not sugar can fairly be called a necessary of life, seems never once to have crossed their meditations! Neither did it occur to them to consider, whether there could be any comparison between all the evils which imagination can attach to the idea of a playhouse, and the hideous abominations which cleave to the institution of slavery. They eschewed *recreations* which they conceived to be more or less connected with corruption of manners; but had no sort of objection to *luxuries* obtained by the captivity and degradation of millions of their fellow-creatures!

We remember to have heard, many years since, of a family whose faces were fixed like a flint against the functions of the dancing-master; who were quite satisfied that the five positions were little better than a sort of quinquarticular compact with the author of all evil; and who were resolved that no female of their family should be taught to imitate the ambling and mincing of the daughters of Zion. For some time this resolution was adhered to with commendable inflexibility. It happened, however, that one of the young ladies exhibited few symptoms of native and untutored gracefulness. Her carriage and demeanour were such as, unless corrected, threatened to be scarcely producible in the world of dukes and duchesses, or even of simple squires and their dames. What was to be done? "To write and read may come by nature," but here was an instance which seemed to show that, in a certain sense, to be "well favoured is the gift of fortune." The easy and elegant deportment was not to be had, without the purchased services of some one among the *dii majores* or *minores* of the dance. The oracles of the religious world were accordingly consulted; and the response was, that the "*polished corner*" in question might be allowed for once to conform to a pagan example,* and to follow the lyre (or the kit) till a due freedom of movement should be acquired!

We earnestly desire not to be mistaken. Nothing can be further from our intention than to enter a sweeping impeachment against the sincerity of the persons who task themselves so sorely with the fractional computations of moral arithmetic; who are so solicitous about the dust and filings which may be thrown off in the mighty operations of the greater ethics. Our object is, simply to show the endless, and sometimes ridiculous, embarrassment,

* *Movit Amphion lapides.*

which must frequently result from a resolution to allow not one inch of neutral or doubtful territory between the regions of virtue and of vice, and to stamp every action, however insignificant, with the image and superscription of righteousness, or to brand it with the mark of positive reprobation. We heartily recommend to persons afflicted with this irritability of conscience, to try the course, at once mild and invigorating, which may be prescribed by doctors such as Mr. Penrose. The time was (and may still be) when dyspeptic patients were generally given to understand that they could not do better than buy Mr. Abernethy's book. We offer similar advice to the invalids whose case we have been examining. Let them buy Mr. Penrose's book. They will find in him a *Ductor dubitantium* who will lead them into no snares or quackeries; a servant of the truth, who, we doubt not, would rather go to the stake than betray her substantial interests; but who would think her cause dishonoured by a peevish contest about the mere shreds and fragments of her garment.

And what, we would gladly learn, would be gained if this morbid fastidiousness were to become universal; if every hour and every minute, not demanded by the indispensable business of life, were to be dedicated to some pursuit or exercise specifically religious? One inevitable consequence would be, the introduction of religious *conversations*, which every soberminded Christian must agree with Mr. Penrose, in describing as "among the very worst things in the world." Such was the opinion of the sainted Bishop Taylor, who affirms, that the "talking much of the things of Scripture, hath ministered oft to vanity and divisions;" and who again, in language of still deeper condemnation, declares, that "of all things in the world, a prating religion, and much talk in holy things, does most profane the mysteriousness of it, and dismantles its regards, and makes it loose and garish like the laughers of drunkenness."* Besides, as Mr. Penrose remarks with irresistible truth, "it bewilders the ignorant, it seduces the fluent, substituting almost always some delusion of the imagination in the places of holiness and sincerity." He might have added, that it may often wofully discourage the humble, diffident, unostentatious Christian. It may send him away nearly in despair as to his own spiritual attainments, and sometimes in a state of afflicting doubt even as to the sincerity of his religious profession. Finding himself, after long and regular attendance at the spiritual coterie, unable to make his views and feelings producible in words, he begins to fear that, after all, the *root of the matter* may not be in him: and he may finally come to believe, that none can really have received the true unction, without having their lips

* Sermon 2. on Eph. iv. 29.

opened, and feeling themselves impelled to take their station "among the prophets." We conceive this to be among the most deplorable effects of a practice which cherishes a showy and loquacious piety. There are multitudes of persons whose soul is pervaded with the essence of religion,—who carry it about in their very temperament,—and who yet are utterly without the capacity of embodying it in the form of propositions, or even of giving it manifestation in a sustained and continuous act of devotion. They may, perhaps, be unable to speak half a dozen intelligible words on the subject to the ears of men, and yet, all this while, their souls may be in habitual and blissful discourse with the Father of Spirits. And these are the persons who are to be depressed, and embarrassed, and perhaps incurably dispirited, by the volubility of some great performer, who may have his memory in the finest possible training, while his heart may, perhaps, remain wholly undisciplined and untouched! Undoubtedly, that religious intercourse is the most profitable which brings us into *secret* communion with wise and friendly instructors, or into converse with the venerable and illustrious dead—not that which may call into competition the craving egotism and self-importance of the living.

We have heard it alleged, in defence of these colloquial exercises, that if a man be deeply and sincerely interested about heavenly things, he cannot but delight to talk of them;—a remark which, to our apprehension, betrays a very shallow insight into human nature. A man may delight to speak of his studies and pursuits; but we greatly doubt whether any one, whose character has solidity and substance in it, ever delights to speak much of his tenderest sentiments, or his deepest emotions, or his most solemn obligations,—except it be under the sacred privacy of confidential intercourse. Men will talk,—we most of us know to our cost,—by the hour together, of their dogs, and their horses, and their cattle, and their acres,—they will break out into unmerciful tediousness on the stratifications of the globe, or the mysterious embossment of the human cranium—they will prose interminably on the interior of Africa, till—(as we have somewhere read or heard it expressed)—we are tempted to wish that Africa had no interior!—all these atrocities we know men will commit, without remorse, even at their social and convivial meetings; but we have never heard of any set of virtuous or benevolent individuals formally assembling for the sake of discussions *de finibus bonorum et malorum*; much less, with a view to pour out into each other's ears the overflowings of their tenderness for their respective wives and children, of their fervid devotion to their friends, or of their measureless delight in the exercise of philan-

thropy and generosity. We believe that there is now a club of Political Economists, who, during the session of Parliament, meet on the first Monday in every month at the Freemason's Tavern, for the express purpose of investigating—(*after dinner!*)—the profoundest mysteries of *supply and demand*, though (as the landlord probably complains) with very limited *practical* illustration of that doctrine. But we suspect that the members even of that most awful, temperate, and deliberative symposium,—(although, to a man, excellent patriots, and ardently devoted to the good of their country)—would be struck with huge consternation, if certain of their brethren were to diverge from their favourite science, and were to start off into a disquisition upon the duties incumbent on all true-hearted Englishmen, or into passionate raptures on the glories of a pure and exalted patriotism. Now religion is a theme which is able to stir our spirits from their very depths, often with incomparably greater potency than any secular pursuit, or any earth-born passion. It speaks to our hopes and fears with more “miraculous organ” than any other power or agency which can address itself to the soul. And for this very reason it is, that men may frequently be averse from its introduction into conversation. From its very nature it is unfavourable to that easy unembarrassed frame of mind which is the very life of familiar companionship. They who love it most, will be found ready to meditate upon it,—to hear of it in the sacred assemblies of the faithful,—to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest it,—but they will not always, or frequently, be found ready to talk about it. The tone of conversation cannot, long together, be kept up to the overpowering solemnity of the subject. And if the attempt be persisted in, the probability is, that the whole affair is converted into a formal religious exercise or *prophesying*; or else that it degenerates into that pernicious snare and pit-fall, a mutual communication of religious experiences, for the edification of the whole assembled company.

Very nearly allied to religious *conversations* are what are usually termed prayer-meetings, or assemblages of Christians, for the purpose of mutual exhortation, or the discussion of difficult and controverted points of faith, always commencing and terminating with prayer. We shall introduce here Mr. Penrose's exposition of the manifold abuses to which such institutions are liable, and of the mischiefs which they are almost sure to engender. It will be perceived that he fortifies his opinion with potent authority,—the authority of Bishop Heber,—and the authority (for this purpose still more irresistible) of the Rev. Thomas Scott, who delivers the result of his own experience, and whose testimony is beyond the reach of all exception,—since nothing, pro-

bably, but experience could have extorted from him a decision so utterly fatal to the practice in question.

“ That such assemblages are so very capable of being abused, that it is the part of wisdom narrowly to circumscribe them, is confessed by many whose natural character of mind would rather have led to advocate and applaud them. The same desire of display, which, even in the time of the apostles, led some into the absurdity of seeking to dazzle a congregation by exhibiting their power of speaking in unknown tongues, now leads others to a display, scarcely less unmeaning, of their own eloquence and fluency. Many, of whom the first impulse is to do honour to God, are soon misled unsuspectingly to put in His place some creature of party, or of imagination, some barren dogma which may be the watchword of their creed, or even some contemptuousness of those great lessons of practical holiness which are the essential doctrine of Christianity itself.

“ That all this is really the fact, (and indeed it is a fact which would be expected by all who know sufficiently how great is the infirmity of the human heart,) experience and authority unite to testify. It is a fact also which shows clearly the extreme aptitude of men to deceive themselves, in a case in which their deception puts on the pretext of religion, or assumes the form, without the power, of godliness. It is certain also that the error, which we in all such cases commonly see, is in fact the self-deception which I have described, and not by any means rank hypocrisy.

“ ‘ When I was curate of Olney,’ says the late excellent Mr. Scott, and this in a private letter addressed to a clergyman, ‘ I, as it were, inherited a prayer-meeting, conducted on the same plan, but not so wild and extravagant as the prayer-meetings in your parish are; but I soon found it needful or advisable to withdraw, and to leave the persons who conducted it to themselves; neither opposing nor countenancing it. Most of them became Dissenters, some dissenting ministers. . . . In general, I am apt to think, it may be difficult for a minister in the Establishment to form or conduct prayer-meetings, in such a manner as that the aggregate good shall not be counterbalanced, or even overbalanced, by positive evil The evils which arose from those at Olney induced such an association of ideas in my mind, as probably never can be dissolved. Two or three effects were undeniable. I. They proved *hotbeds*, on which superficial and discreditable preachers were hastily raised up; who, going forth on the Lord’s day to the neighbouring parishes, intercepted those who used to attend Mr. Newton. II. Men were called to pray in public, whose conduct afterwards brought a deep disgrace on the Gospel. III. They produced a captious, criticising, self-wise spirit, so that even Mr. Newton himself could seldom please them. These things had no small effect in leading him to leave Olney. IV. They rendered the people so contemptuously indifferent to the worship of God at the church, and indeed many of them to any public worship in which they did not take a part, that I never before, or since, witnessed any thing like it: and this was *one* of my secret reasons for leaving Olney. . . .

“ ‘ But “ good is done.” God may do good notwithstanding: but are we to *do evil that good may come*? Does he need our misconduct to accomplish his purposes? Shall we break his laws to promote his Gospel? *Good* is done, but is not *mischief* also done? The mischief is the direct consequence: the good by occasion at most. Such men, Mr. Cecil used to say, have but one side in their account-book: they set down their gains, but not their losses: and these being greater than their gains, they become bankrupt. The prejudice excited among those without, and the various ways in which, by such practices, the success and spread of the Gospel are hindered, (besides the mischief done to the persons concerned,) warrant the assertion, that they are most grievous evils; *bad bills* indorsed sometimes by good men.’

“ The good sense of all this is so admirable, and the conclusion so certain, that we need not look for any further testimony to the existence, or magnitude, of the dangers to which such assemblages as those here spoken of are always necessarily liable. Yet I cannot forbear adding, that the opinion of the lamented Heber, as expressed with his own peculiar mildness of sentiment in one of the most valuable of the precious memorials remaining of him, sanctions and corresponds entirely with what has been said. ‘ The effect,’ concludes this most amiable prelate, ‘ is not only often confusion, but, what is worse than confusion, self-conceit and rivalry, each labouring to excel his brother in the choice of his expressions, and the outward earnestness of his address; and the bad effects of emulation mixing with actions, in which, of all others, humility and forgetfulness of self are necessary. Such too is that warmth of feeling and language derived rather from imitation than conviction, which, under the circumstances which I have mentioned, are apt to degenerate into enthusiastic excitement or irreverent familiarity.’ ”
—p. 159—164.

To these authorities we cannot forbear adding the following important one, which Mr. Penrose has introduced in an interesting note at the end of his volume. Speaking with reference to the above quotation, Mr. Penrose subjoins as follows:—

“ Mr. Scott, it is to be remarked, makes the following reserve. ‘ But men,’ he says, ‘ of far greater capacity and means of judging have thought otherwise; among whom I especially look up to Mr. Walker of Truro, whose regulations I thought very judicious.’

“ This reference to Mr. Walker makes it proper, I think, for me here to subjoin, that I have the best authority for saying that this excellent man, in a ripened experience, and towards the end of his life, would have agreed entirely on this subject with Mr. Scott.

“ Mr. Walker, who was born in 1714, became curate of Truro in 1746. My paternal grandfather, a man of learning and abilities, one year older than Mr. Walker, with whom he had been at school at Exeter, and afterwards of the same college in Oxford, was then vicar of St. Gluvias, a parish nine miles distant from Truro. He was one of the seven original members of a club formed, at Mr. Walker’s suggestion, among the neighbouring clergy, and kept up a close personal intimacy with him

till the year 1760, when Mr. Walker, then in the early stage of a consumption, left Truro, which he never revisited, for Bristol. ‘My dear friend,’ were Mr. Walker’s last words, at the time when they bade each other farewell, ‘whatever good you intend to do, you must do it in the Church.’

“That Mr. Walker had ample grounds for the disapproval, which these words implied, of that sort of religious meeting which he had previously been led to encourage, my grandfather himself had very sufficient reason to know. I have heard also from old people, who were well acquainted with Truro, traditional accounts of the rise and progress, and of the effects, of the prayer-meetings which were there instituted by Mr. Walker. Of these accounts Mr. Scott’s relation of the effects produced by the Meetings at Olney is little else than a literal repetition.”—pp. 179—181.

We cannot dismiss this work without adverting to a very just and very important observation of the author, which ought, perhaps, in due regularity, to have been noticed before. Having produced from Bishop Taylor the remark, that “a man may prudently hold an opinion, which he cannot defend against a *witty* adversary,” Mr. Penrose adds, that “this may be equally true, though *the wit be his own*.” We regard this as a very interesting and very valuable apophthegm. There are, probably, many estimable persons whose *wit* is constantly playing the *devil’s advocate* against their *sincerity*: and a sufficient defence against the impeachment of this adversary may generally be found in the words, “get thee behind me, Satan.” A man, who has conscientiously devoted his faculties to the investigation of truth, may fairly repose upon the territory he has won, without being expected to “fight his battles o’er again,” at the challenge of every “puny whipster.” Still less is it to be endured that the pages and lacqueys of his own intellectual household—the “fickle pensioners” of his own brain—should dare to whisper doubts of the fairness of his acquisition, and bid him retire from his rightful conquest. If this were to be the case, no man could be secure for a moment even on the ground of the exactest science. He may have traced the most intricate labyrinths of geometry or analysis till it brought him out to the firm ground, and broad daylight, of an indisputable conclusion: but what would be his condition if he were liable to be called upon, at any subsequent moment, to verify his position, by tracing out, step by step, that process of demonstration by which he had reached it? When Newton had undergone the toil of invention or discovery, he consigned the results to his immortal volumes, and spared himself the labour of an incessant revision of his proofs. He might, consequently, be often unprepared to relieve, without fatigue and annoyance, the difficulties of other inquirers, who were toiling up the steep of his investigations:

may, it is probable that there may have been immeasurably inferior minds, who were habitually more conversant with the steps and the *details* of his stupendous geometry than the mighty author himself. It is related of that celebrated, and almost *unfathomable* analyst, Professor Waring, that when he was desirous of recovering the process of one of his own theorems, he was often under the necessity of locking himself up for a week together, before he could accomplish it. Now, in either of these cases, it would be positive stupidity, to contend that the confidence of these eminent men in their own conclusions was ever for a moment suspended. The temporary oblivion of the exact road from the premises to the inference, can imply no interruption to the *sincerity* of our persuasion that we are standing on sure ground. The case is very similar to this, in moral science, where strict demonstration may not be attainable. It is not given to man to have the whole chart of his intellectual navigation constantly and distinctly present to his mind's eye. Neither is it given to man to enjoy the perpetual sunshine of unclouded truth. The orb may sometimes be dim with mists, and sometimes hidden by clouds; and his light may sometimes be pale with eclipse; but no one is tempted to believe, even in the most cheerless season, that its splendours have been quenched, or that the luminary himself has perished from the face of heaven. Minds of the most exalted power and integrity are not exempt from these discouraging vicissitudes. It is the lot of our common mortality. Baxter himself—one of Mr. Penrose's favourite worthies—scruples not to confess that he experienced such fluctuations. The following are his own words:—

“Though my habitual judgment and resolution, and scope of life, be still the same, yet I find a great mutability as to actual apprehensions, and degrees of grace; and consequently find that so mutable a thing as the mind of man would never keep itself, if God were not its keeper. When I have been seriously musing upon the reasons of Christianity, with the concurrent evidences methodically placed, in their just advantages, before my eyes, I am so clear in my belief in the Christian verities, that Satan hath little room for temptation. But sometimes, when he hath, on a sudden, set some temptation before me, *when the aforesaid evidences have been out of the way, or less upon my thoughts*, he hath by such surprises amazed me, and weakened my faith in the present act. So also, as to the love of God, and trusting in him, sometimes, *when the motives are clearly apprehended*, the duty is more easy and delightful; and, at other times, I am merely passive and dull, if not guilty of actual despondency and distrust.”*

Again:

“In my younger days I never was tempted to doubt of the truth of Scripture or Christianity; but all my doubts and fears were exercised at

* Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biogr.* vol. v. pp. 568, 569.

home, about my own sincerity and interest in Christ; and this was it which I called *unbelief*. Since then, my sorest assaults have been on the other side; and such they were, that—had I been void of internal experience, and the adhesion of love, and the special help of God, and had not discerned more reason for my religion than I did when I was younger—I had certainly apostatized to *Infidelity* (though, for Atheism or Ungodliness, my reason seeth no stronger arguments than may be brought to prove that there is no earth, air, or sun).” . . . And he afterwards adds. . . . “For my part I must profess, that when my belief of things eternal and the Scripture is most full and firm, all goeth accordingly in my soul; and all temptations to sinful compliances, worldliness, or flesh-pleasing, do signify worse to me than an invitation to the stocks or Bedlam. And no petition seemeth more necessary to me than—*Lord, increase our faith; Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief.*”*

Instances like these are abundantly sufficient to show that occasional infirmities of faith, or transient obscurities of conviction, though they may disorder our peace, are not, of necessity, destructive of our sincerity. If such men as Baxter are constrained to confess that their grasp of the truth was not always equally masterful, nay, that, sometimes, it was almost fatally relaxed, how shall ordinary men hope to escape this sore temptation? And why should they imagine that there is no solid substance in their convictions, because they cannot, at an instant's notice, produce the evidences and the arguments on which they rest? Above all, why should they suffer their own perverse ingenuity to stand in the way for an adversary against them? If a man's *wit* is busy in disturbing his belief, or in impeaching his sincerity, let him remember that the *wit* of such men as Bacon, and Grotius, and Baxter, was, at least, as active and subtle as his own. He will be paying a most outrageously extravagant compliment to his sagacity, if he imagines that any difficulty can present itself to his mind, which has not been long ago discerned and conquered by the mightiest masters of thinking; and he may reasonably console and confirm himself with the reflection, that—though he may not be always in a condition to defend his own faith against his own cunning—Wisdom, has, nevertheless, been often justified by her children, under far heavier jeopardy than his powers, either of wit or folly, can ever bring upon her. He may further recollect that, throughout this life, all our powers and faculties are in a course of probation—that, in this *fiery trial*, difficulty and danger can be no *strange things*—that if pure and unclouded certainty were the only element in which sincerity could breathe, in this world she would scarcely survive an hour—that the grand thing is to subdue the evil *heart* of unbelief—and that, if this be accomplished, the

* Wordsworth's *Eecl. Biogr.* vol. v. pp. 567, 588.

Father of Mercy will surely not *be extreme to mark* the occasional failures and aberrations of the understanding.

One word more, and we have done. We perceive that Mr. Penrose,* in the plenitude of his *sincerity*, has thought it advisable to make a formal surrender of certain texts or readings of Scripture, as corrupt and spurious; and, among them, the present reading of ΘΕΟΣ in 1 Tim. iii. 16, which, he tells us, the best critics have considered as an evident interpolation. Now, before our readers acquiesce in the abandonment of this reading, we would recommend them to consult Professor Burton's "Testimonies of the Ante-nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ." The references in that work to the text in question, will conduct them to some considerations, which will, probably, make them pause, before they consent to give up this remarkable testimony to the Divinity of the Saviour. We are quite prepared to agree with Mr. Penrose, that the surrender of evident corruptions or interpolations is perfectly consistent with a sincere belief in the inspired volume generally. But Christian Sincerity never can require of us to aid in fixing the mark of reprobation upon any portion of that volume, until its spuriousness has been established beyond all reasonable doubt. And we apprehend that much remains to be done before we can be called upon to agree to the final condemnation of the received reading in the first Epistle to Timothy.

ART. IV.—*Memoirs of his own Life and Times*. By Sir James Turner. 1632—1670. From the original Manuscript. Edin. 1829.

BESIDES the interest which attaches to this work as a source of information in regard to a very important epoch of British history, it possesses an incidental value as the autobiography of a person whose character and exploits are generally understood to have supplied the outlines of that amusing picture of a mercenary soldier, which appeared in the Legend of Montrose under the name of Sir Dugald Dalgetty. In some points the resemblance between Sir James Turner and the imaginary hero just named is very striking. They were both warriors by profession; and in their choice of a side whereon to display their courage and fidelity, they were determined by a variety of circumstances altogether unconnected with the merits of the cause which they bound themselves to support. Both of them too, after a good deal of hard service in the army of Gustavus, the lion of the North, returned to their native land, and took a share in those troubles which,

* Page 78.

about the middle of the seventeenth century, distracted the whole kingdom, brought the sovereign to the scaffold, and shook to their very basis the pillars of the constitution in church and state.

So far the author of the work now before us may be likened to the marauding captain described by the author of *Waverley*; and there can be little doubt that a perusal of Sir James's manuscript, which has been but recently reduced to types, suggested the idea of the admirable character which adorns the fictitious narrative already mentioned. In the minuter lineaments of the painting, indeed, the resemblance cannot be traced. Turner, in his taste, his acquirements, and intellectual habits, belonged to a higher order of men than Ritt-master Dalgetty. In his earliest youth he showed a love of letters, which no change of pursuits could turn aside, and which the severest hardships did not extinguish. Although the most active part of his life was spent amidst the noise of arms, he left a greater number of literary works than are usually found in the study of professed scholars, whose days and nights have been devoted to the Muses. He wrote an able Essay, entitled "*Pallas Armata*," the object of which was to explain the principles of the art of war; and he published a Treatise on Politics, in answer to Buchanan's famous Dialogue, "*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*." In these respects, therefore, it is very obvious that the crafty, selfish, talkative, voracious horseman who enlisted with the Marquis of Montrose, ought not to be held as the counterpart of a commander who displayed so many accomplishments, and whose chief delight arose from the cultivation of literature, more especially of history, poetry, and eloquence.*

Turner may, notwithstanding, be received as a well-characterised specimen of that class of warriors who, about two hundred years ago, migrated from various parts of Britain to seek employment and adventure in the armies of foreign states. The support of the Protestant cause in the northern nations of Europe, afforded an inducement or a pretext to the ardent spirits of that age, who, tired of the peace which England enjoyed under the unambitious government of James the First and of his son, longed to witness a more stirring scene, and even to engage their services in the animating labours of a campaign. Several regiments, English as well as Scottish, fought under the banners of the King of Sweden, and earned a high reputation in the camp of that gallant prince. Among other officers who shared the toils of the memorable war

* In the catalogue of his manuscripts are the following Treatises—on the Duties of Sovereigns and Subjects; Supreme Power; Monarchy, &c.; Orators and Preachers; the Jew's Cabala, &c.; a Defence of some Ceremonies of the English Liturgy, bowing at the Name of Jesus, &c.; two heroical Epistles, supposed to have been written by Mahomet the Great and Irene the fair Greek; Francisco Petrarcha; Edward the Third, King of England; Philip the Second; Lucretia Romana; Julius Scaliger; Cardinal Mazarine; Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, &c.

in which Gustavus commanded against the Imperialists, we find the name of the brave Sir Arthur Ashton, who was afterwards, with nearly three thousand regular troops, massacred by Cromwell at the reduction of Drogheda in Ireland. The ablest leaders, indeed, of which this country could boast at that eventful period, gained their professional knowledge and experience under the tuition of foreign generals; a fact which accounts, in some measure, for the slight reluctance shown by the most of them to have recourse to free quarters at home, and, in other respects, to treat their countrymen according to the maxims adopted by hired troops when stationed in a hostile territory.

Influenced by the authority here alluded to, Sir James Turner practised considerable severities upon the Scottish Covenanters, whom he hated not less for their disloyal principles than for their gloomy religion. Attached to the church and to the monarchy, he was not disposed to exercise an unlimited toleration towards those fanatical reformers who laboured to reduce every thing to a new model. Hence, when he was employed by the government of Scotland to quell the insurrection which disturbed the western counties, he felt no remorse in following out the oppressive system of fines, assessment, and even of personal restraint which he was commanded to pursue. His name, accordingly, appears in all the contemporary annals of that period as that of an infidel and persecutor, an enemy of God's people, and the instrument of a tyrannical faction who trampled upon the rights and assailed the consciences of the most deserving portion of their fellow subjects.

The greatest value, therefore, of such a work as the present, consists in the means which it supplies of correcting historical declamation by an appeal to facts. Turner not only records the main transactions of his life, but gives his authority for the conduct which he pursued, and attempts, at least, a vindication of the most questionable of his proceedings. In this way we have before us at once the charge and the defence; and hence, by making a little allowance for exaggeration on both sides, we may hope to arrive at a clear view of the truth, on a subject which has been all along obscured by a cloud of religious, political, and even of national prejudices. In the Introduction to one of his works the author informs us that he—

“ Began to write these papers in the year of God, 1643, in Ireland, but made no great progresse in them, being otherwayes employed there and afterwards in Scotland and England: bot fyve years after that being prisoner in Hull, from September, 1648, till November, 1649, I had leisure and opportunities enough to write; and such was the civilitie of Colonell Overtown, then governour of that towne, that he permitted the stationers to furnish me with any books I called for, the perusal whereof I had at an easy rate per week; nor did he hinder me to write

anie thing my fancie led me to ; and when I had gott my libertie, mostly procured by him, he suffered not anie of my papers to be searched, though in several of them I had writ my opinions very freely of the King's murther, and that of James, Duke of Hamilton, and of the change of monarchy in the pretended commonwealth. But my papers were all taken and destroyed by the Cromwellians in the year 1651, when Dundee was taken, sacked, and plundered by General Monck, who lived to doe more acceptable service to God, and his prince, and all the three kingdoms. Four years after that, in 1655, I found myself in good enough leisure in Bremen, a towne in Germany, to resume my former labour. All these papers lay by me almost in loose sheets till the year 1669, a year after I laid down my commissions, and then I had leisure more than enough to write them over *in mundo* ; and indeed they have lyen ever since in parcels by me till in this year 1679, I was moved by a very accidental emergencie, to cause bind them together in one book as you now see them."

After having passed through the course of literature and philosophy which is usually taught at the Scottish Universities, he commenced Master of Arts at Glasgow ; an honour of which he appears not to have been very ambitious, and which, he adds, was undeservedly bestowed upon him as it had been on many before him, and hath been on too many since. His time was next devoted to the study of religion, or rather to those points of doctrine and usage in which the Protestants differ from the Roman Catholics ; for as yet, he remarks, Presbyterianism made little or no noise in Scotland.

But before he attained his eighteenth year he was smitten with a strong desire to be a spectator, if he could not be an actor, in those wars which were carried on by Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, against the Emperor and the Catholic League in Germany. With this view he obtained a commission in a regiment levied by Sir James Lumsdain ; and, in the year 1632 landed at Rostock, in the dutchy of Mecklenburg, whence, with a body of Scottish recruits, he proceeded in order to join the grand army under the immediate command of his Swedish Majesty. As, however, the battle of Lutzen took place before this march was completed, Turner never saw the hero of the North. The Protestant confederates next placed themselves under the direction of the Duke of Brunswick, who received into his camp two British regiments, the one commanded by the unfortunate Ashton, already mentioned, and the other by Lumsdain, the patron of our author.

With this army Turner learned the rudiments of war, in cold, nakedness, and hunger. A sanguinary battle ensued, in which although victory declared in favour of the Swedes, the loss was great on both sides ; and, as if such a scene had not been enough to "flesh

such novices," he was compelled to witness the slaughter of numbers in cold blood, who fell victims to the rage of the Finns, who never gave quarter. During a long siege his best entertainment was bread and water; abundance of the last, but not so of the first. The following winter passed under similar privations, "exceeding great want of both meat and clothes, being necessitated to be in the fields with little or no shelter, to march always on foot and drink water," so that he could then verify what he had often heard at school, *dulce bellum inexpertis*. But war, harsh as its features usually present themselves, sometimes puts on a smile, and, accordingly, we find that the sufferings of one period were not unfrequently compensated by the enjoyments of another.

"In the beginning of the year 1634, our English and Scottish regiments, such as they were, came to be quartered at that Oldendorpe near to which the battell was fought. I was lodged in a widow's house, whose daughter, a young widow, had been married to a ritt-master of the Emperor's. She was very handsome, wittie, and discreet; of her, though my former toyle might have banished all love thoughts out of my mind, I became perfittie enamoured. Heere we stayed sixe weeks, in which time she taught me Hie Dutch, to reade and write it, which before I could not learne but very rudlie from sojors. Having then the countrie language I learned also the customes and fashions of the German officers; and about this time was both regiments reduced to two companies, two captain-lieutenants and two ensigns, (whereof I was one) onlie ordained to stand; all the rest cashiered and in great necessitie and povertie. The two companies were but badlie used, tossed to and fro in constant danger of an enemie, and without pay. But I had learned so much cunning, and became so vigilant to lay hold on opportunities, that I wanted for nothing, horses, clothes, meale, nor money; and made so good use of what I had learned, that the whole time I served in Germany I suffered no such miserie as I had done the first year and a halfe that I came to it."

But it is not our intention to follow Sir James through the perilous events which marked the conclusion of the thirty years war. The storming of towns, burning of villages, and plundering of the miserable inhabitants, were occurrences of so ordinary a nature that they had almost ceased to attract any attention. "A mournful sight it was," says the Scottish subaltern on one occasion, "to see the whole people of three fair towns burnt to the ground, following us, and climbing the high rocks on either side."

"Old and young left their houses, by the loss of them and their goods, to save their lives. Aged men and women, many above fourscore, most lame or blind, supported by their sons, daughters, and grandchildren, who themselves carried their little ones on their backs, was a ruthful object of pitie to any tender-hearted christian, and did show us with what countenance that bloodie monster of war can appear to the world."

Certain causes of complaint in the year 1640 carried Turner to Stockholm, where he found the celebrated Christina, then about fourteen years of age, applying herself much to learn foreign languages and to the study of the sciences. The affairs of Sweden were at that period conducted by Oxenstern, who, under the title of Director of the Evangelical League, had managed the war against Austria after the death of Gustavus. The sagacity of the Caledonian enabled him to discover that the politics of the Regency were hostile to Charles the First and favourable to the Long Parliament, which had already commenced its sittings. The Administrators encouraged all Scotsmen to go home and join General Lesley, who had already crossed the Tweed, at the head of a large army, with the view of imposing terms upon the King. It is indeed a remarkable fact, that the government of Sweden, as well as that of Cardinal Richlieu at Paris, had previously begun to negotiate with the Covenanters in Scotland, to alarm their zeal, and to represent to them the danger which menaced their religion, as arising from the arbitrary counsels of the English cabinet. Viewed on the grounds of probability and of interest, no coalition assuredly was less to be dreaded by Charles than one between the bigoted churchman who presided over the policy of France, and the fanatical peasants in Ayrshire and Galloway, who shuddered at the very name of popery, and regarded all hierarchical distinctions as marks of the beast which they had sworn to destroy. Nothing, however, in the history of that distracted period is more true than that the civil war in England was partly kindled by firebrands conveyed from Stockholm on the one hand, and from Paris on the other; from the fortress of protestantism in the north, and from the citadel of popish superstition in the south.

Turner, finding that no compensation could be obtained in the Swedish capital, resolved to sail for Britain, with the view of securing an appointment in one of the two armies about to take the field; indifferent in a great degree whether he should draw the sword in favour of his Majesty or in support of the Parliament. At this epoch, his principles were not influenced by higher motives than those which usually determined the conduct of Sir Dugald Dalgetty. In the neighbourhood of Gottenburgh he found two ships ready to sail, the one for Hull, the other for Leith. He at first preferred the former; and had he taken his passage in it, he would have offered his services to Charles against the Covenanters; but the skipper would not wait a single hour to accommodate him with a place for his baggage and a servant, on which account he embarked on board the other vessel, landed at Edinburgh, and finally accepted of a commission in the army against which he had the greater inclination to fight. He

admits that in Germany he had "swallowed, without chewing, a very dangerous maxim, which military men there too much follow; which was, that if they served their master honestly, it was no matter which master they served."

When he arrived in Scotland, he found that the Presbyterian forces, led by General Lesley, had already advanced to Newcastle, after defeating, or rather dispersing the troops opposed to them, under the command of Lord Conway, in the shameful encounter at Newburn. The Scots remained about ten months in Northumberland and Durham, during which time Turner discharged the duties of major in Lord Kirkcudbright's regiment. "All this while," says he, "I did not take the national covenant, not because I refused to do it, for I would have made no bones to take, swear, and sign it, and observe it too; for I had then a principle, not having yet studied a better one, that I wronged not my conscience in doing anything I was commanded to do by those whom I served. But the truth is, it was never offered to me; every one thinking it was impossible I could get into any charge, unless I had taken the covenant either in Scotland or England."

The policy adopted by Charles the First, with the view of recovering the affections of his northern subjects, was, as every historian has remarked, the immediate cause of his ruin. He yielded everything to men who had neither gratitude nor honour. Imagining that his personal presence would soothe their turbulent and suspicious humours, he repaired to Edinburgh, where he found that the parliament had assembled of their own accord, determined to insist on every previous demand, and to make no concession on any point, whether of ecclesiastical or civil government. The King allowed them to dispose of all offices of state, as well as of his forts, castles, and militia. But not satisfied with this, they demanded that he should sanction an act justifying all that they had done while in arms against him; spurning with contempt a mere act of oblivion, as implying that their conduct had not been perfectly loyal and patriotic. They next extorted his assent to the abolition of Episcopacy, and to the establishment by law of the Presbyterian model, which they knew well he regarded with a mingled feeling of dislike and of disapprobation. In this instance Charles afforded a striking proof of the remark, that "it was his constant fate and practice to empower his enemies to do him more and more mischief." It was, indeed, the boast of some one who wanted either sense or principle to view things in their proper light, that while in Scotland, he might be esteemed a "contented king among a contented people." The reverse of this representation would have been nearer the truth; for his Majesty, yielding to the pressure of circumstances, had

given up much more than was either wise or safe, while the Covenanters, aware of this fact, dreaded that he would embrace the first opportunity to recover a part at least of the just prerogative which he had been induced to sacrifice. Even in the eyes of Major Turner, who vaunted not of very refined principles or delicate feelings, the conduct of the Covenanters appeared dishonest and selfish in the extreme. The blunt soldier was astonished that the King did not see their wickedness, especially when they wounded his honour, by making the people believe that he intended either to put the Marquisses of Hamilton and Argyle aboard one of his ships, and send them prisoners to England, or to assassinate them in his palace of Holyrood House; "which horrible calumnies these two lords seconded by their counterfeit flight out of Edinburgh to Kinneil."

The rebellion in Ireland succeeded almost immediately this unfortunate appeal to arms made by Charles in the North. Ten thousand Scots, under Lesley and Munro, were transported into that country to assist the English army, commanded by the Lords Conway and Chichester, in suppressing or punishing the followers of O'Neale. Turner again found employment, as major in Lord Sinclair's regiment, and witnessed some very disagreeable service against the poor insurgents, who in many instances were brought into the field without arms or discipline. The invaders were wont to shoot their prisoners; "a practice," says the prototype of Dalgetty, "too much used by both English and Scots all along in that warre; a thing inhumane and disavouable, for the cruelties of one enemy cannot excuse the inhumanitie of ane other."

Every reader of Irish history is acquainted with the dispute which has prevailed relative to the commission claimed by Sir Phelim O'Neale, who pretended to fight in the name of the King against the royal armies. The testimony of Turner on this point is of great value, both because he was a contemporary writer, and more especially because he recorded the fact which is decisive of the question, before the controversy had attracted the importance which it afterwards assumed.

"This gentleman," says he, "was not the plotter of this rebellion; that was done by men of soberer heads and deeper judgment; but he was the grand instrument, and appeared first in armes, most treacherously pretending his Majesties commission for what he did; whereof the rebells in Scotland and England made good use. He had counterfeited a warrand under the King's hand, and to the false parchment annexed his Majestie's great seale, which was hanging at his great charter, as he confessed afterwards to many persones of qualitie yet alive, and left it on record at his death; to which he was deservedlie put by hanging, and drawing, and quartering, at Dublin, by rebells as wicked as himselve,

bot upon ane other account ; for it was Cromwell's partie that executed him."

It was not till the year 1644 that Turner's loyalty began to resume its native strength, and to direct his resentment against the Covenanters, whose ultimate objects he had no longer any difficulty in discovering. The celebrated Montrose about that period was making preparations for his Scottish campaign, and had even advanced as far as Dumfries. There he met with some resistance, which compelled him to recross the border into Cumberland ; an unfortunate occurrence for the royal cause, inasmuch as, had he proceeded to Stirling, he would, this author maintains, have found several regiments just returned from Ireland, ready to join him, under the banners of his Majesty. " Bot the inauspicious fate and disastrous destinie of the incomparable good King would not have it to be so."

Failing in this undertaking, our hero resolved to continue a little longer with his old masters, hoping that some occasion would soon present itself for turning his sword against them. He asserts, as an apology for this evasive conduct, that the Earl of Callander, who was actually employed in raising a levy for the Committee of Estates, meditated the same treachery ; and declared, with the deepest oaths, even " wishing the supper of our Lord, which he was to take the following Sunday, to turn to his damnation, if ever he should again serve under the Covenanters. He gave besides all imaginable assurances that he would act for the King, and that the greater power he was invested with, the more vigorously and vigilantly would he show himself active and loyal for his Majesty." Encouraged by such an example, Turner marched with his regiment to place himself under the command of General Lesley, now Lord Leven, who was a second time engaged in the siege of Newcastle. At this crisis we are presented with an instance of military laxness, which would have startled the conscience even of Sir Dugald Dalgetty.

" Upon these grounds, my Lord Sinclair's regiment marched into England, and I with them, and made a fashion, (for indeed it was no better) to take the Covenant, that under pretence of the Covenant we might ruine the Covenanters ; a thing (though too much practised in a corrupt world) yet in itself dishonest, sinfull and disavoueable ; for it is certain that no evill could be done that good may come of it ; neither did any good come at all of this, for Calandar all along proved true to his own interest and gaine, and false to the king's, never laying hold on any opportunity whereby he might, with small difficultie, have done his Majesty signal service. After he entered England, I would have undertaken to have made most of his new levied forces, which were about 5000, declare for the King, and forced those who would not, to fly from the armie."

Turner was with the Scottish army when the King sought refuge in their camp before Newark. He blames his countrymen, and particularly the Earl of Lothian, who was President of the Committee of Estates, for the harsh treatment which they inflicted upon his Majesty, whom they compelled, says Sir James, before he was allowed to eat, drink, or take the slightest repose, to send an order to Lord Bellasis to deliver up the place to the parliamentary forces. He was further importuned by the same nobleman to sign the Covenant, to sanction the establishment of the Presbyterian polity in England and Ireland, and to command James Graham—for so he called Montrose—to lay down his arms. These concessions Charles resolutely refused to grant, reminding Lothian, at the same time, that he who made him an earl had made James Graham a marquess. In consequence of this firmness, the sovereign was used “verie barbarouslie;” strong guards were put upon him, and sentinels placed at all his windows that he should not cast over any letters; and at length he was carried with more speed than dignity to Newcastle, where the restraint on his person was rather increased than diminished.

“At Sherburne I spoke with him, and his Majestie having got some good caracter of me, bade me tell him the sense of our armie concerning him. I did so, and withall assured him he was a prisoner, and therefor prayed him to think of his escape, offering him all the service I could do him. He seemed to be well pleased with my freedom and the griefe I had for his condition; but our conversation was interrupted very uncivilly (for I was in the roome alone with his Majestie) by Lieutenant-General Lesley’s command, wherein he made use of two, whom I will not name, because the one is dead, and the other I hope hath repented.”

After a variety of events, the detail of which will not admit of abridgment, the author of these Memoirs found himself adjutant-general to the army under David Lesley, who, in the spring of the year 1647, was sent into the West Highlands to repress the adherents of Montrose. This campaign would be altogether undeserving of the readers’ notice, were it not for an act of cruelty by which it was disgraced, perpetrated, it is said, at the instance of a Presbyterian chaplain. The barbarities committed under the auspices of that order of men could not be believed in these more tranquil and civilized times, did we not know from records still more distressing, the extent to which bigotry, combined with political hatred, can root out of the human mind every feeling of compassion and remorse. Sir Alaster Macdonald, in his retreat towards his native isle, had placed three hundred brave men in a house, situated on the top of a hill, called Dunavertie, which being totally unprovided with water, soon fell into the hands of the Covenanters. The small garrison could

obtain no other terms than that they should surrender on the "kingdom's mercie."

"At length," says Turner, "they did so; and after they were carried out of the castle, they were put to the sword everie mother's sonne, except one young man, Mackoul, whose life I begged, to be sent to France with a hundred country fellows whom we had smoaked out of a cave as they doe foxes, who were given to Captain Cambell, the Chancellor's brother.

"Heere it will be fit to make a stop till this cruel action be canvassed. First, the lieutenant-general was two days irresolute what to doe. The Marques of Argill was accused, at his arraignment, of the murther, and I was examined as a witness. I deponed that which was true that I never heard him advise the lieutenant-general to it. What he did in private I knew not. Secondlie, Argill was but a colonell there, and so had no power to do it of himselfe. Thirdly, though he had advised him to it, it was no capitall crime, for counsel is no command. Fourthlie, I have several times spoke to the lieutenant-general to save these men's lives, and he always assented to it; and I knowe of himselfe he was unwilling to shed their blood. Fifthlie, Mr. John Nave (it is usually written Nevoy), who was appointed by the commission of the Kirk to wait on him as his chaplain, never ceased to tempt him to that bloodshed; yea, and threatened him with the curses which befell Saul for sparing the Amalekites, for with them his theologie taught him to compare the Dunavertie men."

The ferocity of the ministers during that unhappy age has left a deep stain on the character of the Northern Covenanters. At a later period, indeed, they were themselves treated with very little mercy; but down to the epoch at which this narrative has arrived, they had had, upon the whole, the upper hand, and, therefore, had no severities to requite upon the royalists and Episcopalians. On this account, it is at once more difficult to apologize for their sanguinary disposition, and more easy to discover a pretext, at least, for the harsh measures to which the government had recourse, when it was thought expedient to suppress conventicles and field preachings. The main spring of the fierce, gloomy, and unrelenting humour which characterized the Presbyterian reformers of Scotland, from John Knox down to Richard Cameron, was the belief that certain precepts, peculiar to the ancient dispensation of the Jews, were to be held as a rule of life to Christians in all ages. The laws against idolatry, for example, which were enforced by the punishment of death, and the special command of God, to extirpate a tribe of polytheists, appeared to the divines of the Covenant a sufficient warrant for the most cold-blooded atrocities against believers in the Gospel, if they did not agree with them in every point of faith and of discipline. The laity, as it was to be expected, imbibed a great portion of the

illiberal and vindictive spirit which distinguished their pastors. Of this a remarkable instance was exhibited at the skirmish of Drumclog where the Covenanters repulsed the celebrated Claverhouse, afterwards Lord Dundee. Hamilton, who led the insurgents, issued orders that no quarter should be given to the royalists; but his people, less truculent than himself, saved the lives of four or five individuals, and even allowed them to escape. This greatly grieved Mr. Hamilton, we are told, "when he saw some of Babel's brats spared, after that the Lord had delivered them to his hands that they might dash them against the stones." In his own account of this, he reckons the sparing of these enemies and the letting them go, to be among their first steppings aside; for which he feared that the Lord would not honour them to do much more for him; and says, that he was neither for taking favours from, nor giving favours to, the Lord's enemies.—*Wilson's Relation.*

The same false theology, in short, which taught Nevoy, the chaplain of General Lesley, to identify three hundred Highlanders at Dunavertie with so many idolatrous Amalekites, led Hamilton at Drumclog to pronounce the soldiers of King Charles the Lord's enemies, and induced the fanatical ministers, after the defeat of Montrose, to demand the blood of the brave men who had fought under his banners. It will appear less surprising, therefore, when such officers as Sir James Turner, who knew their principles and had witnessed their atrocious cruelties, were employed against them at the head of regular troops, that severities were inflicted which ought never to be imposed upon a merely religious dissent. In fact, the tenets held at that period by the Presbyterians of Scotland and even of England, were incompatible with the authority of civil government. They maintained that the spiritual power of the Kirk was in all cases paramount to that of the State, inasmuch as the former represented the Majesty of the Redeemer, whereas the latter rested exclusively on human institution. Mixing up with such pretensions some confused notions of the Millenium or Second Advent, the ministers claimed for the expected King of all the earth the prerogatives of a throne which had been hitherto occupied by a succession of mortal princes. We are informed, accordingly, that, when the royalists in the North, in conjunction with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, projected an inroad with the view of saving Charles from the fate which was already prepared for him, "innumerable were the petitions that came from all places of the kingdom against the raising of forces for his Majesties releasment." The Presbyters in the West, all mighty members of the Kirk of Scotland, had preached the people to a perfect disobedience of all civil power,

except such as was authorized by the General Assembly; and so indeed, adds Turner, "were they all, who cried up King Christ and the kingdom of Jesus Christ, thereby meaning the uncontrollable and unlimited dominion of the then Kirk of Scotland, to whom they thought our Saviour had delegated over his sceptre to govern his militant Church as they thought fit."

It was therefore extremely difficult to keep terms with such persons, whose religion was essentially rebellion, and who, instead of finding in the Bible the rules of peace and sobriety, extracted from it an authority and even an encouragement for civil war. Turner used to punish them by making an attack on their purses; for "he shortlie learned to know that the quartering two or three troopers and half-a-dozen musketeers, was an argument strong enough, in two or three nights' time, to make the hardest-headed Covenanter forsake the Kirk, and side with the parliament." But these fanatics were, in the end, too artful for Sir James and his horsemen; for soon afterwards—

"A pettie rebellion must be ushered in by religion, yea, by one of the sacredest mysteries of it, even the celebration of the Lords Supper; so finely could these pretended saints make that *vinculum pacis*, that bond of peace, the commemoration of our Saviour's sufferings and death, that peace so often inculcated and left as a legacie by our blessed Lord to his whole Church; so handsomely, I say, could these hypocrites make it the simbole of warre and bloody broyles. While I lay at Paislay, a communion, as they call it, is to be given at Machlan Church, to partake whereof all good people are permitted to come; but because the times were forsooth dangerous, it was thought fit all the men should come armed. Next Monday, which was their thanksgiving-day, there were few lesse to be seene about the church than two thousand armed men, horse and foot."

A skirmish ensued, in which a small body of the royal cavalry were repulsed, and two general officers wounded; but, upon being reinforced, they returned to the attack of the "slashing communicants," whom they finally drove off the ground. A few of the latter were killed, and sixty taken prisoners. The ministers, who had occasioned the mischief, were allowed to go to their several places of residence; the country people were pardoned; and only five of the leaders were condemned to suffer death. But even on them the sentence was not executed, so lenient was the government in the beginning of those civil commotions.

These Memoirs throw much light on an interesting portion of British History which has not heretofore derived any illustration from contemporary annals. We allude to the renewal of the civil war occasioned by the insurrection of the royalists under the

Duke of Hamilton, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and Sir Philip Musgrave, and which terminated in the Battle of Preston, where the confederates were defeated by Cromwell and Lambert. Our author maintains that Sir Marmaduke had not only unseasonably and contrary to the advice given to him, raised above three thousand foot and horse, but had marched with them into Lancashire, and thereby had given a just pretext to the parliament to send Lambert with a more considerable power, to put a stop to his further proceedings; and this the latter did so vigorously, that Langdale was obliged to take shelter under the walls of Carlisle. This premature movement blasted the success of the campaign. The Scots were not ready: their levies were only half completed; their supplies were not collected; their troops were still raw and undisciplined; and the best part of their army, which was serving in Ireland under Munro, had not yet crossed the Channel. To march to the relief of Sir Marmaduke at that early period was equivalent to leaving behind the better portion of their regiments; while to suffer him to perish was, as Turner expresses it, "against honour, conscience, and the reason both of state and warre." A detachment of Hamilton's foot and dragoons was accordingly pushed on towards the border; which at once compelled Lambert to concentrate his scattered parties, and encouraged the royalist general to extend his quarters; but the result was fatal to the cause of the King and to nearly all who had engaged in its support.

"My Lord Duke marcheth on with this ill-equipped and ill-ordered armie of his, in which I, being colonel of a regiment, officiated also as adjutant-general, or rather indeed doing the dutie of major-general of the infantrie, since there was none named for it. To relieve Langdale at Carlisle brought us out of the roade, and trulie we never came into the right way againe; so true is the old saying, once wrong and aye wrong. At Hornbie, a few days march beyond Kendall, it was advised whether we should march by Lancashire, Cheshire, and the western counties, or if we should go into Yorkshire, and so put ourselves in the straight roade to London, with a resolution to fight all who would oppose us. Calander was indifferent; Middleton was for Yorkshire; Bailie for Lancashire. When my opinion was asked, I was for Yorkshire, and for this reason onlie, that I understood Lancashire was a close country, full of ditches and hedges, which was a great advantage the English would have over our raw and undisciplined musketeers; the parliament's armie consisting of experienced and well-trained sojors and excellent firemen: on the other hand, Yorkshire being a more open country and full of heaths, where we both might make use of our horse and come sooner to push of pike. My Lord Duke was for Lancashire, and it seemed he had hopes that some forces would join him in his march that way. I have indced heard him say that he thought Manchester his own, if he came near it. Whatever the matter was, I never saw him tenacious in any thing during the time of his command but in that. We choosed

to go that way which led us to our ruine. Our march was much retarded by most rainie and tempestuous weather, whereof I spake before, the elements fighting against us, and by staying for country horses to carry our little ammunition. The van guard is constantly given to Sir Marmaduke, upon condition that he should constantly furnish guides, pioneers for clearing the ways, and what was more than both these, to have good and certain intelligence of all the enemies' motions. But whether it was our fault or his neglect, want of intelligence helped to ruine us; for Sir Marmaduke was well nigh totally routed before we knew that it was Cromwell who attacked us: *Quos vult perdere hos demental Jupiter.*"

It is, indeed, a singular fact, that Langdale, when he was attacked by Oliver Cromwell, imagined that he had to do with Colonel Ashton, a presbyterian gentleman in those parts, who had raised about three thousand men to oppose the Scots, because they had entered England without the permission of the General Assembly. Hence the battle was gained before it was known who had struck the blow. The Duke of Hamilton has been greatly blamed for his unsoldierlike conduct, in having his army extended along a line of march of not less than twenty miles, while an antagonist so active as Cromwell was advancing to meet him. But it is rendered manifest by the narrative now before us, that the royalists never possessed sufficient intelligence, either in regard to the motions of the enemy, or the military resources of the country through which they were passing. The latest historian of England asserts, indeed, that Sir Marmaduke, informed of the approach of the parliamentary general, sent notice to Hamilton that the main body of the republicans had made their appearance within a few miles of his position, and solicited support to enable him to keep his ground. Were this true, no degree of censure directed against the Duke would have been too great; for, besides that his troops were allowed to straggle over such an extent of country that they could not have been concentrated in less than twenty-four hours, he permitted Calander and Middleton, the very day before the fight, to go with most of the cavalry to Wigham, a distance of eight miles from his headquarters. Bishop Guthrie, in his *Memoirs*, maintains, that between the van and the rear of the Scottish army there was an interval of thirty-eight miles. Sir James Turner, on the contrary, alleges that the line of separation did not exceed sixteen miles: but were we to adopt the statement of Lingard, and proceed on the supposition that Hamilton was informed by Sir Marmaduke of the vicinity of Cromwell's battalions, we should be compelled to condemn the Duke as a traitor as well as a fool, and to believe that he exposed his army on purpose that it might be destroyed.

There is, however, no ground for this charge. The cavaliers perished of lack of knowledge; for Cromwell, who himself spared no expense to obtain intelligence, finding that his enemies were entirely destitute of it, threw his *Ironsides* upon their ranks before they had heard of his arrival, scattered their different corps as they came up, and gained a complete triumph with very little loss.

When Cromwell had defeated the Scots and cavaliers at Preston, the troops under Monro, who were at no time within fifteen miles of danger, marched back to their native country, and joined a body of newly-raised men under the Earl of Laurick. The violent Presbyterians availed themselves of the same opportunity to oppress the royal cause; and marching from the fanatical districts in the west towards the capital, acquired for their expedition the distinction of the *Whigamore's Raid*; an epithet which, in different circumstances and with various modifications, has continued till the present day to mark a system of political opinions which are supposed to favour popular rights, in opposition to the claims of the privileged orders. Even old Lesley, who a short time before had received a coronet from the hand of Charles, cannonaded the royal troops from the castle of Edinburgh, when they appeared to approach its walls for protection. The King's friends themselves added further to the calamity, by submitting to a treaty, in the terms of which they were compelled to lay down their arms, and to resign all power in civil and military affairs. The principal persons of that class, it is true, the Earls of Lauderdale and Lanrick, and the Generals Monro, Dalzell, and Drummond, not thinking it safe to trust the saints so far, withdrew into Holland.

Cromwell meanwhile sends a strong body of cavalry under Lambert after the fugitives, and followed in person with the main strength of his army. Berwick and Carlisle were treacherously delivered into his hands, as also, in the former place, a number of English gentlemen who had served the King, and who were now exposed to the utmost severity of the republican government. When Oliver reached Edinburgh he was entertained by Lord Leven, whom Turner describes as "pears of one tree;" and he was, moreover, so much courted by some of the Covenanters, (whom Cromwell detested most cordially,) that if fame wronged them not, they then agreed in the expediency of taking away the life of the King. In return for this good cheer and confidence, the conqueror left Lambert with four regiments of horse to protect the fanatical democrats against the Malignants—for so were all honest men at that time called—till they could raise forces of

their own, to establish the ascendancy to which the course of events had gradually led them.

The fate of the Duke of Hamilton is well known to every one who has read the general history of those evil days; but as our opinion of the measures pursued by Parliament against him depends in a great degree on the terms of the treaty to which he acceded, the statement of Turner becomes highly interesting, from the circumstance that he was one of the persons employed by his Grace to adjust the conditions of their surrender. Being surrounded by some regiments of militia commanded by the governor of Stafford, the invaders discovered that they had no longer any alternative; for which reason the Duke named Sir James Foulis, Colonel Lockhart, and Sir James Turner, to meet the English officer.

“ We met with the governor and some of the principal gentry three miles from Utoxoter, at a very pleasant house in Staffordshire, where, as they had told us, Mary Queen of Scots had been long kept prisoner. This with superstitious people would have looked ominous for us who were of that nation. In our treaty we found them very civil and rational, and so much friends to monarchie, that we had reason to expect no bad conditions from them. But Fortune had not yet made peace with us. We were interrupted by a messenger sent by Lambert, to acquaint both them and us that he was come within two miles of the place, and that if we treat, it must be with him. These were no good news, yet we presently horsed and went to him. We found him very discreet, and his expressions civil enough. He appointed three principal officers to treat with us, of whom Lieutenant General Lilburne was one. Our first article was for the Duke, that he should be only a prisoner of war, nor should his life ever be questioned or in danger. He should keep his George, (the decoration of the Garter); six of his servants, such as he should choose, should be permitted to attend him, and six of his best horses likewise; that in his prison access of all persons to him should be allowed—conditions good enough, but very ill kept. The sum of the rest of the articles was this: that all of us, both officers and soldiers, should be prisoners of war, but civilly used till we could procure our liberty by exchange or ransom. We three who capitulated were ordered to be carried to Stafford. As we passed through Utoxoter we made a stand at the window of the Duke's chamber, and he looking out, we took our eternal farewell of him with sad hearts, parting from him we were never to see again. He spoke kindly to us, and so we left him to act the last and worst part of his tragedy.”

No character in history has been viewed through a more ambiguous light than that of James Duke of Hamilton, the relative and personal friend of Charles the First. That he was upon the whole faithful to his master cannot be doubted; but it is not less

certain, that his conduct on many occasions was as injurious to the royal cause as if he had acted the part of a traitor, and had even taken up arms against the interests which he professed to espouse. It was, indeed, the hard fate of that Sovereign to suffer more from his injudicious friends than from his most violent enemies, and to find himself oppressed by an accumulation of evils, arising from the best motives and the pursuit of the most justifiable objects. Could one believe in the influence of a fatal star, or in the existence of that adamant chain which binds all the issues of life to a fixed and inevitable destiny, it would become comparatively easy to account for those untoward events which precipitated Charles from the throne, defeated all the plans which were formed for his restoration, and finally reduced the most distinguished of his adherents to poverty and exile. Turner, in a fit of pious rumination, has recourse to the old maxim, that "Man proposes, and God disposes;" the truth of which he had again and again experienced in the late unhappy expedition. "What was intended," says he, "for the King's relief, posted him to his grave. His sad imprisonment," he adds, "called for assistance from all his loyal subjects, which as a duty the laws of God and man seemed to impose on them. Our hopes of success were great, grounded on the equity of our just undertaking, the prevailing of the royal party in Ireland, the return of most of the navy to their duty and obedience under the Prince of Wales, the numerous risings of many counties in England and Wales against that usurped power which kept his Majesty in restraint, and upon our own strength; for our army was intended to have been twenty thousand foot, and six thousand horse and dragoons. But we never amounted to thirteen thousand in all. These were honest and fair motives for that loyal and well intended engagement of ours; but

"Ludit in humanis Divina potentia rebus."

Sir James, who had been taken prisoner with his General, was carried to Hull, where he remained in close confinement fourteen months. During that period he wrote several tracts, and, among others, "Collections on the State of Europe, from the year 1618, that the dreadful comet appeared, till the year 1638, that the Scots covenant appeared in the world," "which," says he, "produced as sad and lamentable effects as that comet did." At length he procured his liberty by being handed over to a widow, who was authorized by the Parliamentary government to raise a certain sum on him, in name of ransom. Colonel Overton suggested to him, that a little cash judiciously spent among the inferior order of Saints at Westminster, might open up a path

for his escape; telling him that a friend of his, Colonel Needham, had been recently killed in battle, and that, by way of provision for the widow, she should be instructed to petition Parliament to give her a prisoner, for whose release she might receive some money. The legislative body, it was expected, would refer the matter to Fairfax, and the secretary of the latter, for a small consideration, would find no difficulty in naming Turner as the widow's captive;—a plan which succeeded to the full satisfaction of all the parties concerned. The lady got forty pounds, the secretary five, and the adjutant-general of the Duke of Hamilton regained his freedom, on the sole condition that he should withdraw into some foreign land for the space of a year.

Turner remained in Holland and the neighbouring parts of Germany till Charles the Second, on the invitation of the Scots, landed in Britain, to make an attempt to restore the monarchy in his own person. The principles of the mercenary soldier were now fully confirmed on the side of royalty, and heartily opposed to the designs of the more rigid Presbyterians, who were led by Argyle and the commission of the Kirk. He therefore engaged in this new war with a more determined resolution than he had ever before entertained, to suspend his individual fortunes upon the issue of the controversy in which he was about to draw the sword. He was therefore strictly honest to his Majesty; but so powerful did he find the interests of the fanatical party in the southern districts of Scotland, that he soon perceived the necessity of imitating the hypocritical professions which the severe bigotry of the ministers wrung from the cavaliers, and which they had recently exacted from the King himself and his household. At this epoch, when Lambert occupied a large portion of the country, and the rigid Covenanters were in arms with intentions equally hostile to Cromwell and to their legitimate monarch, some of the better-natured of the Presbyterian preachers acceded to a scheme for allowing the military services of those noblemen and officers who had fought under the Duke of Hamilton, and had thereby incurred the pains of excommunication. On condition, therefore, that these persons, guilty of no crime but that of attempting to release their sovereign from confinement, should satisfy the Kirk by a public acknowledgment of their repentance for their accession to that sinful engagement, it was agreed that they should be declared capable of holding offices in the army and in the state. The King, who himself had submitted to the greatest insults, with the view of gaining the clergy, commanded all who had a mind to serve him to comply with the directions of the General Assembly in this particular; and hence, at the expense of much insincerity, the principal nobility and the more conspicuous among the cava-

liers found access to court, as well as commands in the new levies which had been raised under their own influence.

Nothing could be more ridiculous than to see men of rank confessing on their knees the sin of attempting to replace their Sovereign on his throne, at the very moment they were making preparations to repeat their efforts for the accomplishment of the same object! The Earl of Loudon, chancellor of the kingdom, was among the first to submit to the censure of the reverend fathers, for having merely countenanced an enterprise in which he took no active share. Openly, in the face of the church, he did penance for his obedience to the Parliament, who had assumed a momentary feeling of loyalty, which he condescended to call a *carnal self-seeking*. He accompanied his acknowledgments with so many tears, and such pathetic addresses to the people for their prayers in this his uttermost sorrow and distress, that a universal weeping and lamentation took place among the deluded audience. The Earl of Lauderdale made a similar submission in the kirk of Largo, for having a hand in the late unlawful engagement. First, he acknowledged the sinfulness and unlawfulness of that course: secondly, his sorrow and remorse for having given accession thereto: thirdly, his resolution for the time to come to be wary of such courses. After this, says the annalist, Mr. James Magill did read the solemn league and covenant, and he held up his hand and did swear to the same. So the Kirk session gave him a paper, subscribed by the minister and clerk, testifying that they were well satisfied with his repentance.

“ Behold a fearfull sinne! The ministers of the gospel resaved all our repentances as unfained, though they knew well enough they were bot counterfeit; and we on the other hand made no scruple to declare that engagement to be unlawfull and sinfull, deceitfullie speakeing against the dictates of our own consciences and judgments. If this was not to mock the all-knowing and all-seeing God to his face, then I declare myself not to know what a fearful sin hypocrisie is!”

The author, who got from the King the command of a regiment, gives an interesting account of the state of things which preceded the bold resolution of marching into England, of leaving Cromwell in the North, and of thereby giving the royalists, in all parts southward of the Tweed, an opportunity to rise against the usurper. The amount of the Scottish army did not exceed thirteen thousand, of whom about four thousand were horse and dragoons. There was besides a small train of artillery, consisting of the imperfect ordnance used in those days, and including a few leather guns. The progress of this motley force, ill-

disciplined and indifferently commanded, was disgraced by plundering their own countrymen, "even to admiration and inhumanitie." At Carlisle the prince was proclaimed King of England and Ireland with the usual shouting and demonstrations of loyalty; and pressing invitations were addressed to the royalists in the adjoining counties to take up arms, and to be ready to join the main army in its advance towards the capital. But the fruits of this campaign, as well as of that conducted by Hamilton, were lost through want of proper intelligence and co-operation. The invading host, besides, presented the appearance of an enemy in full retreat rather than that of an armament destined to place a sovereign on his throne. Cromwell was advancing with rapid steps to bring them to battle, while Lambert and Harrison hanging on their flanks, confined their quarters and threatened their outposts. The victory of Worcester soon afterwards put an end to this unequal warfare. The troops under Charles had received but a small increase from the cavaliers, who, dispirited by the repeated defeats which they had sustained from the republicans, were now more inclined to watch the progress of events than to expose their remaining strength to the hazard of an entire annihilation.

Turner was taken prisoner at Worcester, and was with a great many others sent on the way to London, where their appearance might demonstrate the crowning victory of Cromwell. But Sir James, accustomed to all the incidents of a military life, contrived to make his escape.

"I laye two days and nights in the garret of a new house which had neither door nor window in it. The search, which was not very strict, being over, and the prisoners with their guards pretty well advanced towards London, I creeped out of my retrate, and in a very pitiful disguise, accompanied by half a dozen of watermen, who had all served the late King as sojors, tooke my journey straight to London. The first day I walked afoot to Morley, which was twentie miles from Oxford, but my feet were so spoiled with the clouted shooes I wore, and myself so wearie, that my companions were forced to carry me almost the last two miles. Lustie, strong, and loyall fellows they were, bot extremly debauched. They missed not one alehouse on the way, and my paying for all the ale and beer they drank—for I thank God they would drink no wine—did not at all trouble me; bot it was a vexation to me to drink cup for cup with them, else they should have had no good opinion of me, and to them I was necessitated to reveal myselfe, my honest barger goeing before us all the way on horseback, and so serving us for a scout. At Morley I hired an old carcass of a horse from a knaveish old fellow, who made himselfe exceeding merrie with me, jeering me very broadlie; and indeed I was in so wofull a plight, that I was ridiculous enough, neither could any man have conceived that ever I had been ane officer in any armie of the world."

After various adventures, and certain narrow escapes from the hands of the dominant party, Turner found an opportunity to convey himself beyond seas, and even to join the court of the fugitive monarch at Paris. He soon afterwards removed with his master to the Hague; where he was employed in sundry missions to royalist merchants and officers, in different parts of Europe, whom it was thought proper to engage in the service of the King, as financiers and recruiting agents for a new army. Every one is acquainted with the unsuccessful attempt which was made during the year 1654, in the Highlands of Scotland, under General Middleton and Lord Glencairn; a rising, which, as usual, only involved the friends of the monarchy in deeper distress, and rendered them more diffident of one another's honesty, and of ultimate success. Our author at that period acted the part of a political deputy and military partizan in the loyal districts of the North; but finding that the time was not yet arrived for restoring the King, he returned to the continent, and finally accepted a commission in the army of Denmark, then at war with his former allies the Swedes.

It is deserving of notice, that there is not in these memoirs the slightest allusion to any conspiracy for the assassination of Cromwell; a subject on which the Protector never ceased to utter his fears and complaints to the nation, and which he was wont to use as an argument for the maintenance of a large standing army, as also for the severities with which from time to time he visited the leading royalists in England. Of all others about the Court of Charles, this mercenary soldado was the most likely to be employed in a business, which required at once considerable firmness of nerve and laxity of conscience. It is, at all events, extremely probable that Turner, who was personally acquainted, and in habits of confidential intercourse, with Hyde and Ormond, would have heard something concerning such plots, if encouraged by the King's advisers, or even if entered into with their knowledge and concurrence. At the time, too, when Sir James wrote his autobiography, it would not have been thought a disgrace to have been known as a cavalier of so determined a spirit as to have conceived a design against the life of the usurper. But, so far from any such avowal, we find not the most distant intimation that it was ever intended by the counsellors of the exiled King that his way to the throne should be opened by so flagrant a crime. It may be remarked, moreover, in passing, that no attempt was ever made on the person of Cromwell. In his latter days, indeed, he was haunted by the terrors of assassination, and imagined that he saw a murderer in every unknown countenance which met his eyes; but no dagger was ever actually lifted up against him except

in the field of battle, and he was never exposed to the danger of any private pistol except the one which went off in his own pocket while driving his coach in St. James's Park.

We must go on, without noticing any intervening occurrences, till we arrive at the era of the Restoration. At this period Turner received the honor of knighthood, and a military command in the western division of Scotland, where the fanatical class of Presbyterians, no longer repressed by the strong hand of Cromwell, began once more to involve the country in confusion. It is on his conduct during this part of his life that his character has usually been suspended: and as the pen of history has, with few exceptions, been placed in the hands of his enemies, his reputation has of course met with very meagre justice. The remark of Montesquieu in regard to kings, is equally applicable to every inferior order of governors. "*Malheur à la reputation de tout prince qui est opprimé par un parti qui devient le dominant, ou qui a tenté de détruire un préjugé qui lui survit?*" This wise observation has been exemplified in all countries torn by civil dissensions and subjected to a change of government, but in none more strikingly than in Great Britain, where the spirit of faction has for two centuries extended to a larger mass of the people, and had greater scope for venting its malignities than in any other European nation. Turner, besides, belonged to a description of men against whom every calumny was most readily believed. He was a swordsman by profession, a licensed shedder of blood, and one of those of whom Grotius says "*nullum vitæ genus est improbius, quam eorum qui, sine causæ respectu, mercede conducti, militant.*" He had indeed relinquished the habits of mercenary warfare and obtained a regular commission under his native sovereign; but the atrocities of the German campaigns could not be forgotten, and it was piously believed among the deluded peasantry of the North that the generals whom Charles the Second let loose upon the Covenanters not only killed men and women, but actually devoured them after the manner of cannibals.

The plan recommended to the military by the Privy Council of Scotland was to punish those against whom informations were lodged, by billeting upon them a certain number of soldiers, as well as by exacting a sum of money in name of fine. Turner fixed his head-quarters at Dumfries, having under his command about eighty men, horse and foot; the greater part of whom were scattered over the country in the houses of the fanatics, eating and destroying as much as they could, with the view of inducing the poor farmers to forsake their conventicles, and give a weekly attendance at the parish church. The patience of the non-conformists was at length exhausted; and, accordingly, collecting

their bands from the neighbouring hills and morasses, they advanced to Dumfries in the night in considerable numbers, surprised Sir James in his lodgings, and carried him off a prisoner. He had received an indistinct notice that the insurgents were in motion, and had for that reason ordered in his men to join their colours at head-quarters at nine on the following morning. But between eight and nine the rebels entered the town and surrounded the house in which he resided.

“ I went to a window and called to them, having onlie my night-gown upon me, and inquired what they intended. Several of them told me that if I pleased, I should have faire quarter. My answer was, I needed no quarter, nor could I be prisoner, seeing there was no war declared. But I was answered that prisoner I must be or dye ; and therefore they wished me quickly to come down stairs, which I choosed rather to do than be murdered in my chamber for some of them had already entered the house. I went to the street in my gowne, where many pistols and swords were presented to my head and breast, till Captain Grey, who commanded the whole partie, made me get on horseback, and would have carried me unclothed out of towne, promising thereafter to send for my cloaths. But at length he was persuaded to go with me to my chamber, and to permit me to put on the cloaths I wore the day before ; in the meantime this Captain seized on a coffer of mine, where some bags of money, some linen, and some papers were. But his sojors got more in another chamber ; neither could I make him or his officers sensible of their oversight in suffering the rebels to carry away so much money with them. Before I could get myself in doublet, breeches and bootes (and haste enough I was commanded to make) I could see myself robbed of all the papers, moneys, horses, arms, cloathes and linens I had, though the Captain often promised that not any thing belonging properlie to myself should be imbecilled, and I as oft called out to them to take all and onlie save my papers ; this was faithfullie promised to me and faithleslie broken.”

There is a mystery connected with the appearance of Captain Grey who commanded the Covenanters in this enterprise ; for after he had seized the papers of Sir James Turner, and given orders for the disposal of his person, he took leave of the party and was not seen again during the subsequent march. The victors directed their progress towards Edinburgh, expecting to find the whole country ready to rise in support of their cause ; but learning, when they had advanced to the neighbourhood of the capital, that the higher class of citizens were in arms to prevent their entrance, they turned their faces to the South with the intention of seeking refuge in the upland district of Lanarkshire. The battle which followed, on the verge of the Pentland hills, is extremely well described by Sir James ; who, although a prisoner,

had an opportunity of viewing the whole affair with the eye of a soldier. There was a number of ministers among the insurgents, several of whom discharged the duty of officers, and even lost their lives in the field. When the conflict began, two of them who chose to retire into the rear, exclaimed from time to time, "the God of Jacob! the God of Jacob!" Turner asked his guard what the preachers meant by such an ejaculation; they replied "Do you not see that the Lord of Hosts is fighting for us?" On the contrary, he saw that the King's troops were employed in making a movement which would in all probability drive the Covenanters from the ground, and accordingly told the foolish rebels, that, if their party did not reel, run, and fly within a quarter of an hour, he would be content that they should pistol him. His prediction was speedily fulfilled; the rustic soldiers after one desperate charge took to their heels, followed by their canting ministers, who now gave ample proof that all their visions and revelations of success were the mere offspring of enthusiasm, or of a professional deceit more severely to be condemned. In the confusion which ensued, Turner made his escape; but he was not restored to his command, as the neglect with which he was chargeable in allowing himself to be surprised at Dumfries was considered a military offence too great to be overlooked. It was insinuated, besides, by his enemies, that to his severities alone the whole insurrection might be attributed, inasmuch as he had fined good and loyal subjects with the sole view of filling his private purse, and that he had quartered his troops upon families who had long relinquished the practices of non-conformity. Fortunately for Sir James the Covenanters who seized his papers, discovered that, so far from exceeding the instructions put into his hands as the rule of his official conduct, he had acted with great lenity and moderation; not having extorted half the sums which he was authorized to demand in the name of fines and assessments. But the several charges brought against him of cruelty and avarice, involved him in much trouble, and affected his reputation both as a soldier and as a patriot. At length he resigned his commission, retired into private life, and resumed his literary pursuits, in which he spent the remainder of his days. He threw some variety into this period of tranquillity by carrying on a correspondence with several of the most distinguished persons of the age, more especially with the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Arran, and the celebrated Bishop Burnet; all of whom were desirous to obtain intelligence from him respecting the latter campaigns of the civil war, and the benefit of his advice during the commotions which agitated Scotland in the closing years of Charles the Second. He appears to have died about the end of 1682, as no letters addressed to him

bear a more recent date, nor is his name mentioned in any transaction under the reign of James.

The main value of this work arises from the corrections which it supplies, in regard to sundry facts stated by other historians who were misled either by their ignorance or by their partiality. Clarendon wrote under a decided political bias; while in reference to military matters he did not possess the requisite information. The Scottish annalists, on the other hand, were not more free from prejudice, while their command of materials for constructing a perfect narrative was still more limited. Respect for their church, too, has induced them to draw a veil over the character of their ministers, during the troubled reigns of the two last of the Stuarts, and to vindicate their motives even when they were the leaders of an avowed rebellion. Burnett himself is compelled to admit that they were, generally speaking, illiterate, stiff, and unmanageable; and no reader requires to be told that they entertained the most narrow and impious notions of the Divine Being as the moral governor of the world. Turner relates that Robinson, one of their number who acted both as captain and chaplain, upon being asked to say grace before taking a draught of beer, "summoned God Almighty very imperiously to be their *Secondarie*," (for that was his language): "and if," said he, "thou wilt not be our *Secondarie*, we will not fight for thee at all, for it is not our cause but thy cause; and if thou wilt not fight for our cause, and thy own cause, we are not obliged to fight for it." "This grace," adds Sir James, "did more fully satisfy me of the folly and injustice of their cause than the ale did quench my thirst."

There is a remarkable coincidence between the contents of this volume, as well in regard to facts as to opinions, and those of Captain Creighton's *Memoirs*, supposed to have been written by Swift. Both officers served in the same army, supported the same views in Church and State, hated the Covenanters with the same intensity, and executed the laws against them with the same coolness and contempt. It is farther deserving of notice that they agree in the judgment which their experience in the Scottish insurrection had led them to form, in respect to the real character of the most noisy among the fanatical preachers. They both maintain that there was little religious feeling among them, no sincere piety, or heartfelt devotion; and moreover that several of them, especially Williamson and King, were suspected of certain violations of morality, which would not have been overlooked in less ardent professors. This coincidence in the historical collections of two writers entirely independent and ignorant of each others opinions, is very striking and cannot fail to command attention.

ART. V.—*Sermons, Explanatory and Practical, on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, in a Series of Discourses, delivered at the Parish Church of St. Alphage, Greenwich.* By the Rev. T. Waite, D.C.L. Chaplain to His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, and Master of the Grammar School, Lewisham Hill.

HUMAN societies arise from principles and feelings common to the individuals who compose them and every subdivision of these great communities has its centre of force, around which are assembled all those who sympathise with its peculiar energy. The political party has its creed, corporations their articles of union, and institutions of learning their tests and canons, and churches are distinguished by their modes of faith and rules of practice. Such bodies could not long exist, unless held together by some common bond of union, unless distinguished by some mark well understood by all their members; destitute of which, they would resemble an army without standards, buildings without cement, and ships without anchors. If their objects be important, unanimity desirable, dissension imminent, and error dangerous, the more necessary is it that every individual should rightly apprehend the character of the society to which he belongs, the purposes for which it was established, the grounds of the authority which it claims, the doctrine which it teaches, and the conduct which it requires. It does not appear easy to devise any better means for the attainment of these objects than what are offered by public declarations, adopted after mature deliberation, and promulgated with that degree of solemnity, which the occasion may demand. None need hesitate, in proper time and place, to avow their principles; except those principles be such as they are either ashamed or afraid to maintain.

The Christian Church has in all ages required public professions of faith, from those admitted within her pale. The earliest baptismal confession of faith, (and originally all confessions were such,) of which there is any record, is that made by Candace's treasurer to Philip, and by him required as an indispensable preliminary to the initiatory rite. "Sir," says the convert, "here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized?" and Philip said, "if thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest." And he answered and said, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God."—Acts, viii. 36. A simple acknowledgment that Jesus was the Messiah seems to have been all that was demanded, and, under the circumstances of the Church in that early age, this was sufficient. "The method," says Mosheim,

“ of teaching the sacred doctrines of religion was at this time most simple, far removed from all the subtle rules of philosophy, and all the precepts of human art.” But it was not in the nature of things that this simplicity should be permanent, or even of any long duration. Christianity was continually extending to a wider circle, and drawing within its limits men of every rank in society, and imbued with long-confirmed habits and prejudices: philosophers from every sect, and all replete with tenets more or less inconsistent with their new profession. There could be few indeed of them, who did not bring along with them into the Church some taint of their old principles; few even who would not fondly endeavour to spare some cherished notion, as a stock upon which they might ingraft the scion from the tree of life. The human mind does not, cannot, at once discard, as a loose robe is thrown off from the shoulders, opinions, long the boasted pride of reason, associated, perhaps, with endearing recollections, or venerated as a patrimonial inheritance. Besides this, the ancient schools of philosophy were inflamed with an ardent love of interminable disputation, and the questions chiefly agitated amongst them, and upon the resolution of which all their ingenuity had been so long exercised in vain, were precisely those of which the system of Christianity offered a satisfactory explanation. In receiving that explanation, they yielded to a temptation perhaps too powerful for human vanity to resist. They strove to connect the doctrines of the Gospel with their old tenets, and to support them by their favourite dialectics. Stoics, Academics, and Oriental philosophers, under new-names and upon a different field, still continued to dispute; and scarcely were the Apostles laid in their graves, when the purer light which their preaching had diffused, was refracted and obscured by a cloud of heresies. To collect the scattered beams, and enlighten the path of the believer, afforded continual employment to the pastors of the Church, and demanded the unwearied exercise of all their vigilance and care. To this origin we owe confessions and summaries of faith, and they who, in the present day, object to such formularies, would do well to consider what Christianity might have become, but for their conservative influence.

The sacred volume consists of a large number of pieces written by different authors, and embraces between the dates of the first and last piece in the collection, a period of many centuries. Whilst we admit that a single stupendous object pervades all these writings, and unites them into a perfect whole, we must also confess, that in the greater part of them, matters are included of a secondary and incidental character. History, ethics, prophecies, devotional pieces, ordinances of rites and ceremonies,

institutes, political and civil, take their turn, and present an immense mass of facts, precepts, oracles, antiquities, and laws, interspersed with topics of the most awful and universal interest to mankind. In the doctrinal portions of the volume, the subjects are not treated in a manner conformable to modern notions of system and regularity. Sometimes matters are rather hinted than declared; at others, the reader is left to deduce for himself an implied consequence, and not unfrequently he is obliged to collect from distant situations, and arrange the scattered members of an important article of faith, the true form and dimensions of which he can only comprehend after this task has been diligently performed. It is quite evident, that the skilful execution of such a task, demands the critical perusal of the Scriptures, to which plain Christians are incompetent. We do not allude to that branch of erudition generally known as Biblical criticism, and which, along with many other attainments, demands a minute acquaintance with the original tongues; we contemplate that lower exercise of the faculties, by which a man is enabled to comprehend the plan of a large work, to select from it the particulars which his purpose requires, and so to arrange them as to form a methodical and lucid summary of its contents. Nor if every man who reads the Bible were adequate to such a task, would there be any reason for requiring him to undertake it: as well might we impose on the theological student the necessity of making his own concordance; or expect that every mathematician should compute a table of logarithms for himself. The work once accomplished by competent hands, remains a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ* to succeeding generations, and imparts to the religious community which adopts it uniformity, dignity, and strength.

The early followers of the Reformation shared the fate of the first professors of Christianity, in being like them accused of holding the most impious tenets, of leading the most abandoned lives, and of seeking to throw off the authority of the old establishments, only that they might be enabled to pursue their licentious courses without restraint. "Quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat," says Tacitus. "Nec habeat fidem," are the words of the Augsburg Confession—"Cæsarea majestas, istis qui, ut inflamment odia hominum adversus nostros, miras calumnias spargunt." And again—"Nam Cæsarea majestas haud dubiè comperiet tolerabiliorem esse formam et doctrinæ et ceremoniarum apud nos, quam qualem homines iniqui et malevoli describunt."—*Confess. Augus.* 1581. One of the earliest cares of the Reformers was, to refute, if not to silence, the calumnious misrepresentations of their adversaries, by laying before the Christian world expositions of the points in which they agreed,

as well as of those in which they differed from the Romish Church. The earliest of these expositions, consisting of seventeen articles, was agreed upon at Sulzbach in 1529, and is known as the Articles of Torgau, from having been delivered by Luther to the Elector of Saxony at that place. Next in order, is the Confession of Augsburg, which may be considered as an extension of the Torgau Articles. It was drawn up by Melancthon, under the supervision of Luther, and was presented to the Emperor Charles V. at the Diet of Augsburg, on the 25th day of June, 1530. At the same time were presented to that assembly certain articles of faith, called the Tetrapolitan Confession, from the pen of Martin Bucer, in the names of the cities of Strasburg, Constance, Meiningen, and Lindau, which had rejected the Lutheran doctrine of the Real Presence, and had adopted the opinions of Zuinglius. The Articles of Smalcalde, composed by Luther, followed in 1531. In the year 1536, the Helvetic Confession was drawn up at Basle by Bullingar, Grynæus, Bucer, and other eminent Protestant Divines; was enlarged in 1566, and received by all the Swiss Churches, that of Basle only excepted; the clergy of which, having a short time previous subscribed a confession of their own, deemed a second subscription unnecessary. The Saxon and Belgic Confessions appeared in 1551 and 1561, respectively. The former, written by Melancthon, was agreed upon in a Synod held at Wittemburg, and was presented to the Council of Trent. The latter embodies the doctrines held by the Protestant Churches of Flanders and the adjacent provinces, and was confirmed in 1571 by the States of the Netherlands.

These are the principal foreign Protestant Confessions. Amongst them the Confession of Augsburg is undoubtedly entitled to the first rank, whether we consider its authors, the time, the solemn occasion, or the consequences of its publication. By displaying to the world, in an authentic form, the genuine doctrines of the Reformers, it shamed the malevolence of their enemies, and confirmed the attachment of their friends. It was their deed of incorporation; it bound them together by the talismanic charity of one common name—a name which was soon to become synonymous throughout the world with liberty, religious and civil; a name associated with all that enlightens the understanding, exalts the character and ameliorates the heart—the name of Protestants. On that memorable 25th of June was raised the beacon-fire, whose signal repeated from province to province, and from kingdom to kingdom, conveyed far and wide over Europe the holy light of Apostolic Christianity.

This celebrated formulary opens with a preface addressed to

the Emperor, who, at that time, had assembled the Diet to deliberate on a war against the Turks. After alluding to this circumstance, it proceeds thus :—

“Deinde et de dissensionibus in causâ nostræ sanctæ religionis et Christianæ fidei, et ut in hac causâ religionis, partium opiniones, ac sententiæ inter sese, in caritate, lenitate, et mansuetudine mutuâ audiantur coram et ponderentur, ut illis quæ in Scripturis secus tractata aut intellecta sunt, sepositis et correctis, res illæ ad unam simplicem veritatem et Christianam concordiam, componantur et reducantur, ut de cætero a nobis una, sincera et vera religio colatur et servetur, ut quemadmodum sub uno Christo sumus et militamus: ita in unâ etiam ecclesiâ Christianâ, in unitate et concordia vivere possimus.”

This simple and affecting passage sheds a strong light upon the views, the wishes, and the spirit of the Reformers at that time. They rest their cause upon Scripture—they calmly appeal to reason, they earnestly express their anxious desire for Christian unity and concord—they are ready to sacrifice every thing for peace, except their consciences. How many calamities might have been averted from the Christian world, had their opponents been animated by a similar spirit; had they been wise or willing enough to understand, that antiquity, so far from consecrating abuses, furnishes an additional argument for their removal; and that, as every human institution is destined to suffer from the hand of time, a pertinacious resistance to all repairs must only accelerate its downfall. Should the course of time and the change of circumstances ever impose upon the Church of England the necessity of reviewing any part of her system, may her governors wisely profit by the salutary warning of this great example!

The confession itself consists of twenty-one articles, expressed with clearness and brevity, and not materially differing in doctrine from the Church of England, except in the Tenth Article on the Lord's Supper, in which the body and blood of Christ are declared to be verily present, and distributed to the partakers of that sacrament. The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Articles on Free Will and the Cause of Sin, are perhaps too metaphysical. To these twenty-one articles are annexed seven others, enumerating those abuses of the Romish Church, of which the Reformers especially complained—these were, 1. The Denial of the Cup to the Laity. 2. The celibacy of the Clergy. 3. Masses. 4. Auricular Confession. 5. Distinction of Meats. 6. Monastic vows, with the disorders thereupon incident; and 7. The power arrogated by the Church to interpret Scripture authoritatively, and to controul the Civil Magistrate. These topics are handled without asperity, and the objections advanced are sustained by reference to Scripture. The instrument bears the signatures of the

Elector of Saxony, the Marquess of Brandenburg, the Duke of Luneburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Saxony, of Francis, Duke of Luneburg, of the Prince of Anhalt, and of the Senate and Magistrates of the cities of Nuremburg and Reutlingen. Of all these confessions, (that of Augsburg perhaps excepted,) it may be remarked, that they more nearly resemble argumentative treatises than plain and simple enunciations of first principles, and in this respect fall short of the dignity which characterizes the Articles of the Church of England. In those we recognise the tone and air of a man who is making an humble and diffident appeal on behalf of his just rights, to a judge whom he knows to be prejudiced, but whom he wishes to conciliate, and fears to offend. The declaration of the latter assumes the demeanour of legislative authority, and to the confidence of truth, unites the calm consciousness of power.

The first formulary of faith published in this country, after the separation from Rome had been effected by Henry VIII. appeared in 1536, with this title—"Articles devised by the Kinges Highnes Majestie, to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie amonge us, and to avoyde contentious opinions, which Articles be also approved by the consent and determination of the holie clergie of this Realme. Anno MDXXXVI." These articles were first printed by Burnet in his *History of the Reformation*, from a MS. in the Cotton Library, under the title of "Articles about Religion set out by the Convocation and published by the King's Authority." This copy differs in some unimportant particulars from the former, which is considered to be the authentic record. The "Institution of a Christian Man" appeared in 1537, and the "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man," in 1540, both under the sanction of the royal authority. These pieces were reprinted in one volume at the Clarendon Press in 1825; but as they are not in every one's hand, a short account of their contents may not be unacceptable to the general reader.

The Articles are introduced by a preface, in which the royal theologian expresses a very earnest desire for that most unattainable of all objects—religious unanimity. The articles themselves are ten in number; the first five relating to matters of faith, the second five to rites and ceremonies. Their titles are, 1. The Principal Articles concerning our Faith. 2. The Sacrament of Baptism. 3. The Sacrament of Penance. 4. The Sacrament of the Altar. 5. Justification. 6. Of Images. 7. Of honouring Saints. 8. Of praying to Saints. 9. Of Rites and Ceremonies. 10. Of Purgatory. In the First Article the clergy are commanded to teach the people "that they ought and must most

constantly believe and defend all those things to be true, which be comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible, and also in the three creeds;" subjoining, "that whosoever being taught will not believe them, as is aforesaid, or will obstinately affirm the contrary of them, he and they cannot be the very members of Christ and his espouse, the Church, but be very infidels and heretics, and members of the Devil, with whom they shall perpetually be damned." A terrible denunciation! which most men in the present day will, we presume, consider as more nearly allied to the temper of Henry than to the spirit of the Gospel. The Second Article enjoins the baptism of children, because they are born in original sin, which cannot otherwise be remitted; forbids a second performance of the rite, and condemns the Anabaptists and Pelagians. The Third Article declares the Sacrament of Penance necessary to Salvation, and states it to consist of contrition, confession, amendment of life, and reconciliation to the laws of God. Confession to a priest is enjoined, "if it may be had;" as warning is given not to "contemn this auricular confession, which is made to the ministers of the Church, but to repute the same as a very necessary and expedient mean, whereby they may require and receive absolution at the priest's hands." In the Fourth Article the doctrine of the real presence is maintained, the body and blood of Christ being asserted to be "corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received;" and that "under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there do presently see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really comprehended the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary," &c. The Fifth Article on Justification does not contain any thing peculiar. In the Second Division relating to ceremonies, images, those especially of Christ and the Virgin, are allowed in Churches, but the people are to be cautioned against "censing them, kneeling and offering to them, and such like worshippings." Saints are to be honoured as having power to "advance our prayers and demands to Christ:" it is declared laudable to pray to them to intercede for us, and to keep their holy days as appointed by the Church. Sprinkling holy water, bearing candles on Candlemas Day, giving ashes on Ash Wednesday, bearing palms on Palm Sunday, creeping to the cross on Good Friday, kissing the cross, setting up the sepulture of Christ, hallowing the font, "and all other like laudable customs, rites, and ceremonies, be not to be contemned and cast away, but to be used and continued as things good and laudable." Prayers for the dead are recommended, "and also to cause others to pray for them in masses

and exequies, and to give alms to others to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain." At the same time it is declared to be "much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of purgatory have been advanced, as to make men believe, that through the Bishop of Rome's pardons, souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory."

It will be seen from this sketch, that at this period the only authorized changes in religion which had taken place in England, were the transfer to the crown of the Pope's supremacy, and a mitigation of some few of those grosser absurdities, which, as they had grown up in the Church during the darkness and ignorance of the middle ages, were now falling into discredit and gradually beginning to disappear, even in the Catholic countries on the Continent, before the rising light of the Reformation,* and the generally advancing intelligence of the age.

The "*Institution of a Christian Man*" is dedicated to the King, by the Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates and Archdeacons of the realm, amongst whose signatures appears the subscription of Edmund Bonner, as Archdeacon of Leicester, afterwards too well known in the reign of Mary. This work is a short treatise in four sections, in which are expounded the Apostles' Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Pater Noster and Ave, with the Articles on Justification and Purgatory. The doctrines are those of the Articles of 1536, but in the practical part there is much which might be read with profit, even at the present day. The style of this composition is remarkable throughout for perspicuity and nervousness. The section expository of the Creed, if we may judge from the language, is the work of a separate and superior hand, and instances not unfrequently occur in it of flowing and harmonious construction. We may travel through many a modern author without meeting with anything equal to the style of the following passage.

"And I believe assuredly, that at this day, when Christ shall thus sit in the seat or throne of his judgment, all the people of the world, quick and dead, that is to say, as well all those which shall be found on life in the world, at the day of this second advent or coming of Christ, as also all those which ever sith the creation of Adam lived here in this world, and died before that day, shall come and appear before the presence of Christ, in their very bodies and souls. And when they shall be so gathered and assembled together, our Saviour

* "*De quibus rebus (sc. de bonis operibus) olim parum docebant concionatores, tantum puerilia et non necessaria opera urgebant, ut certas ferias, certa jejunia, peregrinationes, cultus sanctorum, rosaria monachatum et similia. Hæc adversarii nostri admoniti nunc dediscunt nec perinde prædicunt hæc inutilia opera ut olim.*"—*Confess. August. Art. xx.*

Christ shall pronounce the extreme or final sentence and judgment of everlasting salvation upon all those persons, which in their lifetime obeyed and conformed themselves unto the will of God, and exercised the works of right belief and charity, and so persevering in well doing, sought in their hearts and deeds the honour and glory of God, and life immortal. And contrary upon all those, which in their lifetime were contentious, and did repugn against the will of God, and followed injustice and iniquity rather than truth and virtue, our Saviour Christ shall then and there pronounce the sentence of everlasting punishment and damnation."—p. 47. *Oxford Ed.*

The "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition" is an amplification of the "Institution," and is drawn up in a more popular manner, having been designed, as its commencement expresses, "for the institution and erudition of the common people." At this time, the capricious and tyrannical Henry had thought fit to restrict the general perusal of the Scriptures, and caused this volume to be circulated as their substitute. His ordinance, which prefaces the work, states, "that for the other part of the Church ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed certainly that the reading of the Old and New Testament is not so necessary for all those folks that of duty they ought to be bound to read it, but as the Prince and the policy of the realm shall think convenient to be tolerated or taken from it. Consonant whereunto the politic law of our realm hath now restrained it from a great many, esteeming it sufficient for those so restrained, to hear and truly bear away the doctrine of Scripture taught by the preachers," &c. Some of the Romish doctrines are here enforced more strictly than in the "Institution," a circumstance which the Oxford editor attributes, not improbably, to the greater influence which Gardiner then possessed, and most likely exercised in the preparation of the work.

Upon the accession of Edward VI. the first point which claimed the attention of those at the head of affairs, was to fill the episcopal sees with men well affected to the principles of the Reformation, as a preliminary step to the formation of a set of articles which should contain the doctrines of the Church of England.

"Many," observes Burnet, "thought they should have begun first of all with those. But Cranmer, upon good reasons, was of another mind, though much pressed by Bucer about it: till the order of Bishops was brought to such a model, that the far greater part of them would agree to it, it was much fitter to let the design go on slowly, than to set out a profession of their belief, to which so great a part of the chief pastors might be obstinately averse. The corruptions that were most important were those in the worship, by which men in their immediate addresses to God, were necessarily involved in unlawful

compliances, and these seemed to require a more speedy reformation. But for speculative points, there was not so pressing a necessity to have them all explained, since in these men might with less prejudice be left to a freedom in their opinions, &c. Therefore upon all these considerations, that work was delayed till this year, (1551,) in which they set about it and finished it before the convocation met in the next February. In what method they proceeded for the compiling of these Articles, whether they were given out to several bishops and divines to deliver their opinions concerning them, as was done formerly, or not, is not certain. I have found it often said that they were framed by Cranmer and Ridley, which I think more probable, and that they were by them sent about to others, to correct or add to them as they saw cause."—*Hist. Refor.* p. 2. b. i.

The Articles of King Edward are forty-two in number. The chief points in which they differ from the Articles of Elizabeth, may be classed under two heads. 1. Points of doctrine. 2. Omissions, additions and transpositions, made either for the sake of perspicuity, or in matters of inferior importance, or in such as are purely speculative. In points of doctrine, there are only two which are of great moment. One of them occurs in the second Article of Elizabeth, in which the eternal generation of the Logos and the Consubstantiality are expressly asserted, whilst in the corresponding Article of King Edward, these points are only implied. The other consists in a softened denial, and conveyed in general terms, of the real presence in the sacramental elements. In King Edward's Article, the denial of the real presence is grounded upon a metaphysical argument of the impossibility of one and the same body being in more than one place at the same time. To say nothing of the illogical oversight of applying an argument, deduced from the ordinary constitution of nature, to a miraculous exception from that constitution; the admixture of any arguments whatsoever in such a composition as articles of religion, appears highly objectionable. Where uniformity of assent to the conclusion is so difficult to be obtained, to insist also upon a particular line of deduction, is to superadd gratuitous difficulty without a purpose. Accordingly in the Article of Elizabeth, this clause is prudently omitted, and we have in its room the simple declaration, that "the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner." Burnet is of opinion that this Article was altered, out of consideration for the Lutheran churches, which it was desired to bring, if possible, into communion with the Church of England.

The particulars most worthy of notice, which fall under the second head of Omissions, &c. are the following. Of King Edward's Articles, these six are omitted in the Articles of Elizabeth, viz. the 10th, of Grace; the 16th, on Blasphemy against

the Holy Ghost; the 39th, the Resurrection of the Dead is not past already; the 40th, the Souls of Men deceased do neither perish with their bodies nor sleep idly; the 41st, of the Millenarians; the 42d, intituled "All Men not to be saved at last." Of these it may be observed, that the subjects of the 10th and 16th, the *modus operandi* of grace upon the human will, and the exact nature of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, are questions evidently too subtle and obscure for Articles of Faith; whilst the subjects of the four last are plainly matters more curious than useful. Amongst the additions are the 5th, 12th, 29th and 30th Articles, and to the 5th of Edward is added the Table of the Canonical Books. The 19th of Edward, instead of constituting a separate article, is subjoined to the 7th of Elizabeth. The titles of the 15th and 35th of King Edward, which correspond to the 16th and 36th of the Elizabethan Articles, are changed from these respectively—"of the Sin against the Holy Ghost," and "of the Book of Common Prayer and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England," to the following, "of Sin after Baptism," and "of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers." There are many other alterations besides these we have mentioned, but chiefly verbal, and the general scope and tendency of the whole seems to be to relax the strictness of the Articles of Edward, with the view of facilitating communion with the other Protestant churches.

"Thus," says Burnet, "was the doctrine of the Church cast into a short and plain form: in which they took care both to establish the positive articles of religion, and to cut off the errors formerly introduced in the time of Popery, or of late broached by the Anabaptists and enthusiasts of Germany; avoiding the niceties of schoolmen or the peremptoriness of the writers of controversy; leaving in matters that are more justly controvertible, a liberty to divines to follow their private opinions, without disturbing the peace of the Church."—*Hist. Ref.* p. 2. b. i.

The principles here mentioned seem to have been steadily kept in view by those eminent individuals to whom the Church of England is indebted for her Articles. Amongst those Fathers of our Church were men who to religious fervour and genuine piety united a large share of worldly sagacity. Some of them had been long familiar with courts, had mingled in public affairs during arduous and critical times, and in their own fortunes and persons had been deeply affected by the revolutions of their stormy age. Taught by experience and their knowledge of mankind, they cautiously abstained from intemperately asserting points unessential or obscure, whilst on the other hand their pious integrity guarded with scrupulous care every important Article of Faith.

Moderation was the prevailing feature of their character, and to rear their Church upon as enlarged a basis as the symmetry of its structure would admit, formed the rational and worthy object of their enlightened labours.

Such are the Articles of the Church of England, and she justly expects that all who join in communion with her, whether they be lay or clerical, should assent to their leading and essential doctrines. But the obligations which bind the laity and clergy are not co-extensive. If the layman do not find in the Church Articles anything incompatible with any matter of faith, by him esteemed fundamental and necessary to salvation, he can have no just pretence for breaking Church communion, although they may contain propositions of less importance to which he cannot agree. The man who can bring his mind to refuse joining with his fellow man in the worship of their common Creator, who disdains to prefer with him a joint claim to the benefits of their common redemption, because their sentiments happen not to coincide with mathematical exactness on such points, for instance, as the Divine decrees, or the efficacy of grace, and the obscure doctrines which are rather hinted at than revealed in Scripture: still worse, if their differences of opinion concern bells, and books, and vestments, and gestures;—such a man has no sufficient excuse for his conduct. To the laity there are Articles of peace; but of the clergy something farther is required, something beyond a silent acquiescence. Every candidate for holy orders must subscribe the Articles *ex animo*, and accept them in their literal and grammatical sense, without equivocation, must unfeignedly assent to them, as conformable throughout to the Word of God. His engagement runs, not merely to abstain from teaching anything contrary to the Articles, but pledges him actually and zealously to inculcate and support by his best efforts of reasoning, all that is agreeable to them. Wherever a latitude of opinion has been conceded, he is of course entitled to use it; for, as Burnet well observes,

“Where the Articles are conceived in large and general words, and have not more special and restrained terms in them, we ought to take that for a sure indication that the Church does not intend to tie men up too severely to particular opinions, but that she leaves all to such a liberty as is agreeable with the purity of the Faith.”—*Expos. 39 Art. Introd.*

This question of subscription has given rise to many sarcasms and much querulous murmuring, without a shadow of reason. There are many men who are too honest for hypocrisy, but who yet would find it very agreeable to enjoy the secular advantages of the Church upon their own terms. All of this class are loud in their declamations and complaints upon the *hardship*, as they

term it, which subscription imposes upon tender consciences. As for those professed enemies of our Church who presume to sneer at our clergy on account of the obligations under which they come by subscription, or to intimate their suspicions of the feelings and motives which actuate them in subscribing, they are best answered by contempt. What would these men say of a Protestant who should insinuate, that the Romish clergy generally perjure themselves when they take their galling oath of abject allegiance to their sovereign the Pope; or assert, that in a majority of cases, they take it "with a sigh or a smile?" Such charges prove only the narrow illiberality or the doting folly of their authors.

Every society has an undoubted right to regulate its own internal concerns, and to say upon what conditions it will admit strangers. The individual members of the society enjoy this right severally, and how do they lose it in their collective capacity? If men have any natural rights, independent of society, the right to regulate what exclusively concerns the individual must be one of those rights—must be the principal of them; and the next to it must be the right to transfer that principal right, wholly or partially, to another individual, or to a community. If, on the contrary, all rights have their origin in society, the right in question clearly belongs to society, is indeed essential to its existence, for in virtue of it alone can a separate society be constituted. From the beginning of time every society has exercised such a right, every village club in the kingdom exercises it; and why should that be denied only to the Church which is conceded without dispute to every meaner association?

Moreover, no man is compelled to enter into this society. He presents himself a voluntary candidate for admission; he has full opportunity of knowing beforehand what will be required of him; and farther, if at any future period his sentiments should change, he is permitted to withdraw. If this be not liberty, what is? But we often hear it said—if he be an honest man, upon changing his opinions he must relinquish his means of support. Assuredly; he received them under that condition: he undertook certain duties, and when he can no longer faithfully discharge them, he has no pretence to the reward. And let it be observed, that a cold formal discharge of those duties is not sufficient; to discharge them with his whole understanding and his whole heart were the terms of his contract. By the terms of that contract he is bound to abide, and he will abide by them, unless he be a hypocrite. But then, it is said, the honest man is subjected to the severe struggle between beggary—let us put the strongest case—between beggary for himself and family on the one hand, and the

claims of conscience on the other. What, then, is this a solitary case? If a military man, after passing the best portion of his life in the service, were attacked by conscientious scruples about the lawfulness of war, must not he also lose his past labours, and abandon his hopes of future promotion, or submit to the alternative of violating his conscience? The hardship of removal may be great to the individuals, but the injury which they might inflict upon their respective communities, by remaining in them, would be much greater. It may be urged that such cases of honest dissent are rare. Granted: but who shall distinguish the honest dissident, from the levity which follows novelty for its own sake, from the idle extravagance of vanity, or the vexatious restlessness whose element is contention? Where distinction is impossible, the rule must be applied to all, or to none.

The whole matter of clerical subscription lies in a small compass, and resolves itself into this question—are the Articles conformable with the Scriptures, or are they not? If a candidate for orders is unable to judge of their conformity, he is certainly unfit for the ministry. If he believe that they are not conformable, he must reject them: if that they are so, he can have no reason to hesitate—provided only, *that he believes the Scriptures*.

If the Articles contain any matters so purely speculative as to be unimportant—matters upon which the clergy generally neither do nor are expected to touch, in their public instructions, and the removal of which would not affect the other doctrines of the Church—to remove them might be attended by some advantages. But this has nothing whatever to do with subscription. It is one thing to determine what is expedient to be propounded, and another to assign the *animus* with which, when propounded, it ought to be received.

As for the laity, there is some reason to apprehend that the greater number of those who have Prayer-books feel as little curiosity about the Articles there bound up, as they do concerning the Act of Uniformity at the commencement. It is not improbable that this indifference may in part be ascribed to the want of popular expositions of the Articles, calculated to attract the attention of plain Christians to a subject not in itself generally inviting; of a work unembarrassed with scholastic divisions, free from metaphysical subtleties, not presupposing in its readers any acquaintance with councils, fathers, classics and controversies, but limiting itself to a clear statement of the conformity which exists between our Articles and Holy Scripture, and occasionally relieving the dryness of argument by practical applications; of a work, in fine, adapted to the leisure and inclination of that too numerous class of Christians, who, if they devote to these

subjects an hour on the Sabbath evening, either think that hour enough, or perhaps can afford no more. It may occasion no little surprise to some of our readers, to be informed that amongst the countless multitude of theological books which are continually issuing from the press, no such work as we have described existed, until the volume appeared whose title heads this article. We have, indeed, met with a single exception—if exception it may be called—but which the generality of our readers probably never heard of. We have before us a folio, bearing the title of “An Exposition upon the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, designed for the use of Families, by James Boys, Vicar of Coggleshall, in Essex. 1716.” It is written in a style which even at that time was antiquated, and is altogether below the standard of the present age, although probably both the work and its pious author may have been useful in their day. The wants of the divinity student, or of the mere man of letters and leisure, have, on the contrary, been abundantly supplied. At the head of this class of expositors we must undoubtedly rank Bishop Burnet. His Scripture testimonies are copious, his historical accounts of controversies are full, without being tediously minute; his statements of opposing arguments are fair, and his style easy and perspicuous. Veneer’s Exposition, in two volumes, may be read with advantage, as an introduction to Burnet, from whom he often borrows largely, as may be seen if the reader will take the trouble to compare, for instance, their respective expositions of the seventeenth Article. His chief defect lies in dwelling upon controversies of his time, which have long since sunk into oblivion. Archdeacon Welchman’s “Notes upon the Articles” exhibit a useful compendium of proofs from Scripture and the Fathers. Professor Hey’s Divinity Lectures, read in the University of Cambridge, are not often taken up by any except the clerical student, by whom they must always be regarded as a storehouse of theological learning, and valuable not less for their moderation and candour, than for the mass of erudition which they place under the eye of the reader. The exposition which forms part of Tomline’s “Elements of Theology,” is clear, able, and well adapted for the purpose intended by its author—“the use of young students in divinity.” It is not unsuitable for the educated general reader; but still it left vacant the *hiatus valdè deflendus* of the theological library. This chasm Dr. Waite has now filled, and filled it in a manner which we do not hesitate to pronounce will do good service to the Church of England. Under the circumstances of the present period, many will doubtless be of opinion that this service derives additional value from the time at which it has been rendered. That our Church has any thing to

dread from a late important measure, or from any measure far more important than that was, so long as she is true to herself, we never can apprehend. At the same time it appears to us, that the present conjuncture calls, on many accounts, for more than usual exertions. In Ireland especially, there is much to be done, and what is done quietly and unpretendingly, will as assuredly succeed as failure will be the certain consequence of ostentatious display. When the heats of political contention shall subside, and be succeeded by a season favourable to reason and reflection, if those advantages be taken of the opportunities which then will present themselves, in the way which sagacity may suggest, and a zeal according to knowledge effectuate—we may hope to see Protestantism extending on every side, and the blessings of industry, education, order and domestic happiness, which have ever followed in her train, overspreading a land now devoted to ignorance, outrage and barbarian recklessness. One powerful instrument for the accomplishment of these objects will be found in the circulation of books suited for the middle classes, (for here the grand effort should be made,) which, without hurting their feelings, or offending their just and natural pride, will show them what the doctrines of our Church really are, the solid grounds upon which they rest, and the irrefragable arguments adducible in their support. It strikes us that the volume now before us is well suited for this purpose.

To all who have any anxiety on this subject, we recommend a diligent perusal of this volume of Discourses, in which, according to our judgment, the author has fully attained the object which he had in view; namely,

“to impress a conviction on the minds of his hearers of the scriptural character of the Articles, and at the same time to show the important duties with which the belief of them is intimately connected.” “He does not presume to set up his own opinions as the standard of orthodoxy, but endeavouring to imitate the moderation of which the compilers have set him so eminent an example, he hopes he has proved that every one of the Articles may be easily deduced from the word of God, and therefore that they may be conscientiously subscribed by every clergyman, and ought to be received by every true Churchman.”—*Author's Preface*.

We shall now proceed to lay before the reader some extracts, which we do not doubt will excite in him a desire to see the whole of the work from which they are taken.

“That the great and glorious Being, whose unity we believe and whose perfections we adore, has deigned to reveal himself as standing in a threefold relation to us, as the Father who has made, the Son who has redeemed, and the Holy Ghost who sanctifies us—is the doctrine of our

Article. That it is also the doctrine of the word of God, I trust to be able to prove, and likewise to make appear that a sincere belief of it is a source of the highest hope and consolation.

“1. The truth of this distinguishing doctrine of the Christian revelation may be demonstrated by the three following arguments. 1. That the same names and titles of divinity are applied to each of the three Persons, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, by the sacred writers : 2. That the same perfections, attributes and works, are ascribed to them : and 3. That the same religious adoration was paid by the Church of old, and is still required to be paid to each.

“1. The infinite and eternal attributes of God, ‘the Father,’ have already been demonstrated. He has been proved to possess everlasting existence and unlimited power; his presence has been shown to be universal; his goodness infinitely beyond our thought or comprehension; his knowledge to embrace every object in the boundless regions of time and space. His wisdom is said in the Scripture, to work every thing after the counsel of his own will, and he is ‘the king eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God,’ to whom belong ‘power and dominion for ever and ever.’ Now if these glorious and awful attributes can with propriety be ascribed to any other persons, they must be acknowledged to be partakers of the same divine nature; for to that nature alone they belong, nor can they be communicated to any other. This is the point intended to be established in the Article.

“Were we in speaking of an earthly sovereign, to affirm that his existence was from everlasting, his power infinite, and his presence universal, we should be guilty of blasphemy; because we should attribute to a frail and fallible mortal, perfections which belong only to the eternal God: we should exalt a weak and dependent creature to a level with the supreme and incomprehensible Creator. Nor would the blasphemy be diminished, though this monarch were commissioned to make the will of Heaven known to all nations, and put in possession of a dominion that should last till time shall be no more. What are we to understand then, when, not only the names and titles of the Divinity, but his high and holy attributes also, are ascribed by the Prophets, the Apostles and Evangelists, to the man Christ Jesus? Are the sacred writers guilty of blasphemy, or is he truly and properly Divine?

“Holy men of God, speaking or writing on so momentous a subject as the incarnation of his blessed Son, would not intentionally use expressions calculated to mislead; and if ‘they spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost,’ they could not want proper words to express their meaning. When such men ascribe, then, to Jesus Christ the names and perfections which belong to the ineffable God alone, we are constrained to believe that to Jesus Christ belong ‘the honour and might, the majesty and dominion,’ which are the incommunicable attributes of him, ‘who is over all, God blessed for ever.’

“Listen to the language of inspiration, hear in what terms the writers of the Old Testament speak of God, the Father, and compare them with the expressions applied by the writers of the New Testament to the Redeemer:—‘In the beginning,’ says the sacred historian, ‘God created

the heavens and the earth.' 'In the beginning,' says the inspired Evangelist, 'was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the *Word* was *God*; all things were made by *him*.'—Disc. II. Art. 1, *Of Faith of the Holy Trinity*, pp. 14—16.

"To be present every where; to observe all things that are doing in heaven and earth, and by the dispensations of his providence to direct and controul all the affairs of the universe, are attributes that belong only unto God. Hence he declares unto Moses, 'In all places where I record my name, there will I come unto thee, and I will bless thee.' The same omnipresence is claimed by Jesus Christ, and a similar promise is made by him to his people: 'Whosoever two or three are gathered together in my name, *there am I* in the midst of them.' Jesus Christ is said also to rule all worlds; and to rule all worlds he must be present in all worlds. He is represented also as at the right hand of God in heaven, and at the same time present with his servants in their trials and afflictions upon earth. This universal presence and unbounded dominion, asserted by the sacred writers to belong to the Saviour of the world, must incontestably prove him to be truly and properly divine.

"Eternity, or an existence without beginning and without end, is another attribute peculiar to the Almighty. 'From everlasting to everlasting,' says the Psalmist, 'thou art God.' And the same eternity is attributed to Jesus Christ, by both the prophets and apostles. Isaiah styles him 'the everlasting Father.' And of him the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.' His unchangeableness he contrasts with the mutability of all created things; they shall perish, but he shall endure; and whilst all created beings pass away, 'Jesus Christ,' he declares, 'is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.'

"But not only the same attributes, the same works are also ascribed to Jesus Christ as unto God. He is said to have spread the heavens above our head, and to have laid the foundations of the earth beneath our feet: 'for by him were all things created that are in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible.' The preservation also of the universe is in like manner attributed to the Redeemer: 'for he upholdeth all things,' says the Apostle, 'by the word of his power,' and 'by him all things consist.' Now creation, the Apostle Paul argues, is the strongest demonstration of eternal power and Godhead; and they who, from the creation of the world, do not infer the eternal power and Godhead of the Creator, he affirms to be without excuse. The divinity of Jesus Christ, then, if there be any truth in the word of God, cannot be controverted; for he is the creator, the preserver, and the governor of the world; to him belongs that empire which knows no bounds but those of the universe; and 'his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.'—*Ibid.* pp. 19—21.

"II. By a testimony not less clear and decisive may the personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit be proved. That the Holy Ghost is distinct in person from the Father and the Son, is apparent from the distinct operations attributed to him in the Scriptures. A person is a sepa-

rate voluntary agent. 'The acts of a mind prove the existence of a mind; and in whatever a mind resides is a person. The seat of intellect is a person.' The acts of the Spirit of God, therefore, prove the personality of the Spirit of God. He comforts, he enlightens, he sanctifies his people. The Redeemer styles him the *Comforter*. He assures his disciples that he will send *him* to them, and that *he* shall testify of him. The apostles also represent him as an intelligent agent, speaking and willing his own purposes; and he is frequently described as sending his messengers, as teaching, reminding, or reproving mankind, as grieved at their wickedness, and forsaking them for their sins. These representations sufficiently prove that the Holy Spirit is not a power or operation of the Father or the Son, but a separate voluntary agent; his divinity is demonstrated by the same arguments as those by which that of our blessed Redeemer is established. The same divine names and titles are given to him by the sacred writers; to him they ascribe the same infinite attributes and perfections; and they represent him as equally, though distinctly engaged with the Father and the Son, in the magnificent and mysterious works of creation and redemption."—*Ibid.* p. 22.

"The difference between those who believe and those who deny this important doctrine, is not merely of opinion, but of condition and hopes. The one is reconciled to God by the death of his Son; the other is at enmity with his Maker. The one enjoys all the inestimable benefits of Christ's redemption; the other is insensible of their existence. The one has received the gift of the Holy Ghost; the other has 'not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost.' The one has all the persons of the ever-blessed Trinity united in promoting his peace and salvation; the other is without any assured interest in their favour. The hope of the one is full of immortality; clouds and darkness overhang the future prospects of the other."—*Ibid.* pp. 25, 26.

"To be styled the 'Son of God' is of itself a sufficient proof that Jesus Christ is of the same substance with the Father, 'the very and eternal God;' for what difference of nature can there be betwixt a father and his son? If this term were applied to him, indeed, in regard to his human nature alone, it would only prove that he was called the Son of God in a more eminent sense than other men; but St. John teaches us, that this title is given him in respect to his divine nature. That Evangelist begins his Gospel with a precise account of the pre-existence and divinity of Jesus Christ, whom he styles '*the Word*.' 'In the beginning,' he says, 'was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; and the Word was made flesh, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.' These solemn words fully express the doctrine of the first proposition of our Article; they declare the divinity of the Word, or Son of God; they reveal the distinction that subsists between his person and that of the Father, and they imply that he was 'begotten from everlasting of the Father;' for, according to the language of St. Augustine, 'he who was always a Father, had always a Son;' the Father could not be eternal without the Son's being so likewise; neither can there be a Son without generation. The same doctrine is taught by the Prophet Micah, who

foretold that the ruler to be born for the redemption of Israel, should be he, ‘ whose goings forth have been from of old, *from everlasting*.’ St. Paul also declares, that, ‘ in the fulness of time, God sent forth his Son made of a woman ;’ so that he was the Son of God before he was made of a woman. In another place also, he assures us, that ‘ he was the brightness of his Father’s glory, and the express image of his person.’ Eternal generation is, indeed, an idea far beyond the reach of our understanding ; yet if we presume to assign a time for the ‘ going forth’ of the only begotten of the Father, and set limits to the existence of him who is ‘ from of old, from everlasting,’ we make the eternal Son of God a creature, and consequently neither entitled to the worship which he claims, nor capable of effecting the salvation for which he was sent.”—Disc. III. Art. 2, *Of the Word or Son of God*, &c., pp. 30, 31.

If this volume should fall in the way of any persons—young persons especially—who either from inadvertency, thoughtlessness, or any other cause, have joined in the assemblies of those who, in their own conceited language, are “ *people who think for themselves*,” thereby meaning that they deny the divinity of Christ,—we earnestly intreat them to read—to read and to maturely consider—the second and third of these Discourses. If they are really desirous of finding “ that better way,” if they are honestly endeavouring to think for themselves, their own good sense will immediately point out to them the necessity of being informed on both sides of the question.

The following passage from Discourse IV. Article 3, on Christ’s descent into hell, deserves attention for the practical use which it draws from an obscure and doubtful point of theology.

“ A reception of this doctrine is not to be considered as essential to salvation. Yet on account of the constant profession we make of our belief of Christ’s descent into hell, whenever we repeat the creed in the Church, it is important to understand clearly what we mean. Every thing also that relates to the Redeemer cannot but be interesting to the heart that loves him ; and a very low estimate must be taken of that man’s religion who can treat any action of so glorious a benefactor as a matter of indifference. But though an error on this point may not be followed by any pernicious consequences, yet a knowledge of the truth is of great value and importance, and has a stronger bearing on the faith and practice of Christians, than a slight consideration of the subject may lead us to apprehend.

“ In the first place it shows that what the Son of God undertook for our redemption, he has completely fulfilled. He was to satisfy for mankind the law of death ; he was to undergo that punishment to which the sin of Adam had subjected all his posterity. Had no intimation been given of the separation of the soul from his body, the enemies of his religion might have said that his death was but a trance, and his resurrection only an awaking from a long continued sleep. Now we are assured that his dissolution was real ; his body, like that of other men, returned

to the earth as it was, and his spirit returned to God, who gave it. His resurrection, therefore, could be no delusion, but will remain an everlasting monument of the truth of his religion, and a sure foundation of hope and comfort to his followers through all generations.

“The departure of his soul to the abodes of the blessed proves also a truth denied by some ancient heretics, and not always clearly understood and fully assented to by modern Christians, that our Redeemer really had a human soul. Many are still prone to consider the Saviour only as a Divine being, and to imagine that the eternal Son of God merely animated a human body; and thus while they are desirous to honour the Son even as they honour the Father, forget the consideration that is due to the man Christ Jesus. ‘But the right faith is, that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man. God, of the substance of the Father, begotten before the world; and Man, of the substance of his mother, born in the world; perfect God, and perfect Man; of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting.’ And this doctrine of the humanity of the Son of God is full of consolation and encouragement. It shows us that our Redeemer was a being subject to the like feelings and passions as ourselves; that he has undergone the same trials and temptations, and therefore knows how to make allowance for us when we fall, and to succour us when we are tempted. It proves also that there must be something of a sublime and immortal nature in the human soul, which was thought worthy of so intimate an union with the Son of God, and teaches us to aspire to the highest degree of communion with the Deity, for which we hence learn that our nature is fitted, and for which it was so manifestly designed. Were we as deeply impressed with this reflection as we ought, how anxiously should we endeavour to disengage ourselves from those sensual allurements that chain down this particle of the Divinity within us, and to free our minds from the perturbations of earthly passions, which so intercept and interrupt our communion with our God.”—pp. 54, 55.

In the twenty-ninth Discourse on the twenty-eighth Article, we have a summary of the principal arguments against Transubstantiation, urged in a clear and forcible manner; but so untinged with any thing like illiberal feeling, so free from all controversial asperity, that the most rigid Roman Catholic could not possibly find in them the slightest reason to take offence. Indeed this character pervades the whole work.

“The language of the New Testament is often highly figurative, but its metaphors are in general easy to be understood. Our Lord, for example, calls himself the true vine, and the door of the sheepfold; yet no one considers him as a door or a tree: so in the Sacrament, when he commands us to eat his body and blood, we have no more reason to think he means that the bread and wine are his real body and blood. Yet a desire to increase the veneration of the people for this ordinance has led the Romanists into this error, and it is now universally believed amongst them that the elements in the Lord’s Supper are actually changed by consecration into the real body and blood of Christ. This is

the doctrine of Transubstantiation condemned in the Article, which, it says, 'cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.'

"Strange as this doctrine may appear, it has been received by men of the finest understanding; and the most powerful talents have been employed in endeavouring to explain the nature of the transformation. The most ingenious theories have been invented, and the most subtle logic employed to establish that which is immediately disproved by our senses. The scriptural authorities urged by the Romanists in its favour are the words used by our Lord:—'Take, eat; this is my body and this is my blood;' and also his discourse to the Jews, recorded in the Gospel of St. John, in which he says, 'Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.'

"That the first of these expressions is merely a figure is evident, because Jesus Christ was then living and addressing his disciples. He could not take his body in his hands, nor offer them his blood in the cup, for it had not yet been shed. If the bread which he brake had been changed, he would have had two bodies, one of which would have been instrumental in presenting the other to his apostles. Of such a transformation they do not appear to have had the smallest idea; and if it took not place in this first sacrament, what reason can we have to believe it has been effected in any other?

"It is doubted by many eminent divines, both Catholics and Protestants, whether the discourse of our Lord, recorded by St. John, has any reference to the Sacrament. If it has, and the words, as the Papists contend, are to be taken literally, they prove that our Saviour's body is *bread*. 'I am the living *bread*, which came down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world.' But *bread*, they maintain, is never eaten in the Lord's supper.

"Jesus Christ has also expressly declared that nothing corporeal is intended by these expressions, but that they are to be understood in a spiritual sense. 'The words,' he says, 'that I speak unto you, they are *spirit* and they are life.' So little foundation is there in Holy Writ for the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

"The Article next asserts that 'it overthroweth the nature of a sacrament.' It does this by confounding the outward and visible sign with the inward and spiritual grace. Bread and wine are the outward sign in the Lord's supper; the body and blood of Christ are the invisible objects. Admit transubstantiation, and the bread and wine continue a sign no longer: they become the very things signified, and instead of a *sacrament* we have a *sacrifice*. St. Luke also states that our Lord commanded his disciples 'to do this in *remembrance* of him.' To eat and drink his body and blood in remembrance of his body and blood, is to use him who is present in memorial of himself supposed to be absent. This abolishes the commemoration intended by Jesus Christ, and consequently 'overthroweth the nature of a sacrament.'

"That transubstantiation should give 'occasion to many superstitions,' was naturally to be expected. For what honour can be too

great to be offered to a crucified Deity immediately present to the senses! What efficacy too wonderful to be looked for from a sacrifice so divine! The Romanists therefore suppose that the sacrifice of the mass renders the prayers of all present acceptable to the Almighty, and that the consecrated host is capable of procuring benefits both for the living and the dead. It is imagined to have an efficacy peculiar to itself, and to operate independently of the heart and understanding. Hence they not only use the consecrated wafer for the cure of diseases, but kneel before it, as in the presence of incarnate Divinity. Communicants are, indeed, by our own Church commanded to receive the sacrament kneeling; but this is explained in the Rubrick, not to be done in acknowledgment of the corporal presence of Christ, 'but only for a signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ therein given to all worthy receivers, and for the avoiding of profanation and disorder.' Kneeling seems to be the posture best suited to those who are confessing their sins, and most expressive of the humility and gratitude that ought to fill the hearts of the partakers of a sacred ordinance.

"Transubstantiation is a doctrine of comparatively modern origin. It was not so much as known in the Church for upwards of 800 years, nor was it publicly acknowledged as a tenet of the Church of Rome until it was asserted to be 'the only true and orthodox' doctrine, by the fourth Lateran Council, held in the year 1215. It is not mentioned by any of the Fathers, and St. Augustine, whom the Roman Church venerates more than them all, lays down this rule for the right understanding of Scripture. 'If the speech,' he says, 'be a precept forbidding some heinous wickedness or crime, or commanding us to do good, it is not figurative; but if it seem to command any heinous wickedness or crime, or to forbid that which is profitable or beneficial to others, it is figurative. For example, 'except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.' This seems to command a heinous wickedness and crime, therefore it is a figure, commanding us to communicate of the passion of our Lord, and with delight and advantage to lay up in our memory that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us.'"—pp. 410—414.

The reader is now able to judge of the work before us for himself. We shall only add, that if from these specimens he shall be induced to go through the volume, we anticipate, judging from our own experience, that he will rise from the perusal gratified and instructed.

ART. VI.—*Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr*. By John, Bishop of Lincoln, and Master of Christ's College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deightons. London: Rivingtons. 1829. 8vo. pp. 219. 7s. 6d.

It is no uncommon thing in the present day to meet with persons, who, by the help of a slight and second-hand acquaintance

with the treatises of Daillé and Barbeyrac, have persuaded themselves without further examination, that the writings of the earlier Christians are utterly worthless, and calculated rather to give support to error than to throw any useful light on Scripture, or to advance the cause of truth. They have been told, perhaps, that the Church of Rome appeals to the writings of the Fathers for a proof, that those peculiar points in her faith and practice, which we reprehend as the corruptions of a later age, were in fact the tenets of the primitive Christians, and have been invariably maintained by the Catholic Church, from the very days of the Apostles till now: and being firmly persuaded that these tenets are contrary to Scripture, and, consequently, false and pernicious, they cast off all regard to the authority of antiquity, and look not merely with distrust, but with aversion and disdain, to the opinions of men, whom they have accustomed themselves to consider as the precursors of Popery, and the corruptors of the simplicity of the Gospel. "Give us," they say, "the warrant of Scripture; show us any thing plainly revealed therein, and we are ready to embrace it with unhesitating faith; but tell us not of the opinions of the Fathers, for in things pertaining to God we cannot bow to any human authority—much less to the authority of those whom we believe to have been the parents of error." In this way of groundless assumption, which they would fain have pass for cogent argument, some, who are accounted guides by the unlearned, attempt to justify their prejudices, or to veil their ignorance.

Now when we appeal to the testimony of the Fathers, we appeal to them not as *judges*, but as *witnesses*. In the first place, we appeal to them as "witnesses and keepers of Holy Writ;" and prove from their testimony, and from it alone, the integrity and inspiration of the New Testament. Suppose we had no proof from the writings of the earlier Christians that, from the very first foundation of the Church, the four Gospels which we now receive, and none but those, were appealed to, as the inspired works of the Evangelists, whose names they bear; or suppose that their evidence had leant wholly on the other side, that they had mentioned the writings of the Evangelists seldom, or slightly, and had quoted with approbation and deference the Gospel of the Nazarenes, or the compilation of Marcion; and, that they had left us wholly in the dark, and without any means of ascertaining from their testimony, whether they received as inspired, or rejected as spurious, those other Apostolical writings which complete the canon of the New Testament. Is it not evident that, on this hypothesis, the foundations of our faith would be utterly removed, or at least, that our present Scriptures could form no secure part

of it? Were no other benefit to be derived from the study of the Christian Fathers, their testimony to the integrity and inspiration of God's Written Word, as it is now received in the Church, would render their works of inestimable value; for if it were possible to deprive us of them, we should be sorely puzzled to separate the chaff from the wheat, to distinguish between truth and error, and to render a reason for the hope that is in us. This will, on mature consideration, be admitted by every reflecting mind. But the generality of persons seem hardly to be conscious in how great a degree their faith and practice is supported by the tradition of the Church, handed down to us in unbroken succession from the Apostolic age, and clearly traced through the writings of the Fathers. To make this matter plain we must again have recourse to supposition.

Let us suppose, then, that a Christian missionary should make his way, with the Bible in his hand, to some country in Central Africa yet undiscovered, and wholly cut off from all means of intercourse with any Christian people: that, on his arrival into this country, he should faithfully translate the entire Scriptures into its vernacular language; and having succeeded in convincing the inhabitants that this book was the inspired Word of God, and that their salvation depended on their embracing its doctrines, and conforming to its rules, he was, at this point of his labours, cut off by disease, before he had had time to form the people into a Christian community; thus leaving them without guidance to draw their own conclusions from the Sacred Volume, and to constitute a church for themselves, without any knowledge of the government and discipline of other churches, and without any means of referring for direction either to their rites and ceremonies, or to their formularies of faith. When we consider what infinite varieties of opinion, both as to discipline and doctrine, prevail among those who are possessed of these auxiliary lights, we find it impossible to believe, that a people in the situation we have just supposed, should ever be able to arrive at any thing like unity of faith or practice, or even to form the first rudiments of a Christian church. Few will be so bold as to affirm, that the apostolical form of church government is so plainly laid down in Scripture, that a people so circumstanced must necessarily find it out, or that the doctrines of the Trinity in Unity, of the Christian Sacraments, and of the necessity of observing the Lord's Day, and of the manner in which it ought to be observed, are all so plainly revealed, that they could not fail to discover them; and few will be so prejudiced as to deny, that they would almost of necessity fall into every imaginable kind of heresy and schism, without a hope of having their divisions healed and their errors rectified, till

they became acquainted with other and older Christian churches, and learned from them to regulate their discipline, to reform their rites, and to interpret Scripture in conformity to the creeds of the Apostolic age, and the uninterrupted tradition of the Catholic Church.

Many Christians amongst us, in denying their obligations to the ancient Fathers, and asserting their own sufficiency, without *their* aid, to extract from Scripture alone a perfect knowledge of all that it is necessary for us, as Christians, to believe or to do, act just as ignorantly, or just as dishonestly, as the modern Deist does in denying his obligations to Scripture, and asserting the sufficiency of reason alone to guide us to the knowledge of God, and of all our duty towards him. But, after all, there are very few (perhaps we should rather say *none* in their senses) who do not habitually seek to prove the truth of their religious tenets, and to show that their views of Scripture doctrine are sound and orthodox, by appealing to the public formularies of their church, or to the authority of men of great repute for piety and learning, who have openly maintained the same opinions. For as the Christian religion was delivered to the world perfect and complete in all its parts and proportions, by those to whom the office of promulgating it was divinely committed, it follows, that whatsoever is new in religion must of necessity be false; and this consequence is so universally perceived, that, with the sole exception of such enthusiasts as fancy that they themselves have an extraordinary divine commission, those who acknowledge the Written Word of God to be the only rule of faith, are no less anxious than the Romanist to prove that *their* interpretation of Scripture is the same with that which was received from the beginning. And this can hardly be done, (unless men will be so obliging as to take it for granted,) in any other way than by tracing it upward through the Fathers to the Apostles themselves, or at least, to the age immediately succeeding them. The Romanist has added what he calls the Unwritten Word to the Written Word of God; and he cannot be confuted, but by showing that the Church from the beginning appealed to Scripture, as the sole and sufficient rule of faith, and that those traditions, which have no support in Scripture, and which constitute the Unwritten Word, are not, as it is pretended, of apostolical origin, but are clearly the offspring of far later ages; and this cannot be done but by a careful investigation of the ancient Fathers and historians of the Church. The Socinian, on the other hand, takes from the Written Word, and denies almost every doctrine peculiar to the Christian revelation: the Quaker denies that the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist were instituted by Christ for the perpetual observance of

his people. The tenets of these sectaries are so diametrically opposed to the plain words of Scripture, that it may seem that an appeal to Scripture alone is requisite for their entire confutation. Yet, in disputing with the Socinian or the Quaker, every one perceives what confirmation is added to the literal interpretation of Scripture, by proving, that from the days of the Apostles, the doctrines of the Godhead of Christ, his Incarnation and Atonement, were invariably maintained throughout the whole extent of the Catholic Church; that those sacraments were universally believed to be generally necessary to salvation, and that there never was a time in which the observance of them was intermitted. If all the Christian writers of the three first centuries had observed a deep silence on all these points, if in the entire compass of their writings we could find no trace of these fundamental doctrines, we must have been forced to abandon them, not merely as matters of doubtful disputation, but as the manifest corruptions of a later age, which had attached to the words of Scripture a sense unknown to the Apostles, and never recognised in the first and purest ages of Christianity.

All this implies not the smallest defect or insufficiency in God's written Word. Every pious mind will join with gratitude in the rapturous exclamation of Tertullian: "*Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem.*" What makes this plenitude of Scripture, as an entire and perfect rule of faith and practice, so truly wonderful is this, that the sacred writers never had it in their minds to draw up such a rule for the guidance and instruction of the Church; but the Holy Spirit, by which they wrote, so ordered the matter, that though the separate treatises which compose the canon of the New Testament were, for the most part, occasionally written, and expressly adapted to the existing circumstances of the churches to which they were respectively addressed, yet there is no necessary point of doctrine or of discipline, of faith or practice, which is not *somewhere* contained in Holy Scripture, or plainly deducible from it: but this very want of copiousness, of method, and systematical arrangement, again makes it necessary that we should have recourse for guidance to the writings of the earlier Christians, and above all, to those compendious summaries of Christian doctrine, those *τύποις διδασκαλίας*, as the apostle calls them, which were unquestionably drawn up for the instruction of their converts by the direction of the apostles themselves.

If it be required of every Christian minister, not only to persuade the docile, but "to convince the gainsayers;" if every scribe that is rightly instructed in the kingdom of God should be able, like a wealthy householder, to produce out of his treasures things new and *old*; it must be admitted that the study of the Christian

Fathers—those at least of the three first centuries—should form an indispensable part of every well arranged system of theological education; and that it is rather more to be desired, that those who are designed for the work of the ministry should acquire, during their residence in our learned universities, a competent knowledge of the Fathers and historians of the primitive Church, than that they should attain a critical skill in the niceties of Greek metre, and dedicate the whole of their time to the cultivation of a classical taste. It was by their profound *theological* learning, by their intimate acquaintance with the venerable remains of Christian antiquity, that the great divines of the Church of England, who flourished from the Reformation to the Restoration*—men “famous in their generation, men of renown”—secured to themselves a never-dying name, and, by God’s blessing, purified our national Church from all its corruptions, and restored it, both in discipline and doctrine, as near as it was possible to the faith and practice of the apostolic age. The revival of those studies, which are so indispensable to sound theology, will, therefore, be regarded with great satisfaction by all who feel a true concern for the welfare of our national Church, and who know how important it is, that those who are entrusted with the office of inculcating and maintaining its pure doctrines should be able to distinguish accurately between truth and error; not mistaking for Popery some of the usages and tenets of the primitive church, nor taking for Gospel truth the crude conjectures and unauthorised conclusions of certain modern half-dissenters, who are utterly ignorant of the constitution of the Christian Church, whose remotest researches into *antiquity* hardly extend through two centuries, and with whom the opinions of Owen, Howe, and Baxter, weigh more than the consentient judgment of all the ancient Fathers: and if such a revival has actually taken place,—if the students of divinity in both our universities have had their attention again directed to “the old paths,” and they are beginning to ask “where is the good way, and to walk therein;” if the Regius Professors of Divinity, both at Oxford and Cambridge, have offered themselves as guides in this long-deserted track,—to the Bishop of Lincoln belongs the exclusive honour of having given the first impulse to the work, and of laying the foundation of a school of theology, which, we trust, will enable the divines of the present age to rival the achievements of their most distinguished predecessors, and preserve us from the infidel encroachments of German neologism, and the insidious approaches of modern Popery.

* Those most learned prelates, Dr. W. Beveridge and Dr. Geo. Bull, though they were not consecrated bishops till the reign of Queen Anne, belong to this period. Beveridge was born, A.D. 1636; Bull, 1634.

Nearly four years have now elapsed since Dr. Kaye presented to the public his "Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian." In that work, which contained the substance of a course of lectures delivered by the author, as Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, during the Lent and Easter terms of 1825, the learned Prelate adopted the arrangement of Mosheim, filling up his outline, as far as it was practicable, from the materials which the writings of Tertullian supplied, and examining the doctrines of the Church in Tertullian's day, in the order in which they stand in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. To the whole was prefixed a life of Tertullian, in which all that could be collected of him was ably told, with a general account of his various treatises, distinguishing those which were written before and after his addicting himself to the schism of Montanus; and, under some one or other of the heads into which the work was divided, a complete analysis was given of all Tertullian's writings, interspersed with many very valuable remarks and criticisms, and evincing, in almost every page, the Bishop's intimate acquaintance with his author, the extent of his reading, and the soundness of his judgment. When the Bishop of Lincoln's work on Tertullian first made its appearance, some objections were made to its title, and some to the too great technicality of its arrangement—especially with reference to the manner in which almost all our Thirty-nine Articles were supported by quotations from Tertullian. It is difficult, perhaps, for a divinity professor to make his lectures generally interesting. If it *can* be done, we are confident that those who now fill the theological chair in our ancient universities will discover the secret. Meanwhile, with respect to the Bishop of Lincoln, whilst we are ready to admit, that a more inviting plan might have been thought of for a printed book, we can hardly imagine how a better method could have been invented for a course of public lectures, designed almost exclusively for the instruction of a class of students who were candidates for ordination in the Church of England. Of this, at least, we are sure, that many years must pass before any English student in divinity will attempt to go through the works of Tertullian without the help of Dr. Kaye's Analysis; and that the time will never be when those who are best versed in the productions of this Father, may not recur with pleasure and with profit to the "Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian."

The work which is now before us is very modestly entitled "Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr." It more than fulfils the promise of its title; and whilst it is free

from all the faults, real or imaginary, which were imputed to its predecessor, it abounds in all its excellencies; everywhere exhibiting the most intimate acquaintance with the writings of the author, and affording the strongest proofs of acute discrimination, sound learning, and solid judgment. It contains, as we are informed in a short advertisement, the substance of part of a course of lectures delivered in the Lent term of 1821—four years prior to the date of the lectures on Tertullian—and gives us, in the first chapter, a very brief account of St. Justin's life, with an analysis of that portion of his works which the learned prelate considers to be genuine; the four next chapters are occupied with a masterly exposition of Justin's opinions respecting some of the most important articles of Christian doctrine; the sixth chapter contains an inquiry into the condition of the Christians in the time of Justin; the next a short enumeration of the heresies which he has mentioned; the eighth an examination of the not uninteresting question, whether Justin quoted the Gospels which we now have; and the last, some illustrations of the preceding chapters from the writings of Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus of Antioch, who were contemporaries with Justin, and whose works are appended to his in the Paris edition of 1636.

Of the history of Justin scarcely more is known than that he flourished about the middle of the second century; that he was born at Flavia Neapolis in Samaria, of Gentile parents; and that after having studied the tenets of the different philosophical sects, and attached himself in succession to the Stoics, the Peripatetics, the Pythagoreans, and the Platonists, he finally examined into the Christian religion, which he cordially embraced, and for the sake of which he suffered martyrdom at Rome, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus.*

The principal works of Justin, which we now possess, are the two Apologies or Defences of the Christians, and his Dialogues with the Jew Trypho; these, indeed, are the only works, going under the name of Justin, which the Bishop of Lincoln admits as genuine. Of the Hortatory Address to the Greeks, which the generality of critics suppose to be genuine, the learned prelate expresses his doubts. The circumstances which induce him to suspect the spuriousness of this treatise are certainly minute; yet some of them are not without their weight. We should hardly grant that the difference which he has pointed out in the account, given by the author of the Hortatory Address, of the appearance

* Epiphanius, *Hær.* 46, states that Justin suffered martyrdom under Adrian: but this account, as the Bishop of Lincoln observes, is manifestly erroneous. It is strange that Dodwell should have preferred this authority to that of Eusebius and Tatian.

to Moses from the burning bush, compared with the account given of it in the Dialogue with Trypho, is a sufficient ground for doubting that both the accounts proceeded from the same author. One great object of the Address to the Greeks was to assert the *Unity* of the Godhead; the author, therefore, confined himself to the simple assertion, that it was God who appeared in the bush to Moses: a great object of the Dialogue with Trypho, was to convince that Jew of the *Divinity* of Christ; and, therefore, he takes great pains to show that all the appearances of God to men, recorded in the Old Testament, were made in the person of his Son, who afterwards assumed the human nature, and came into the world as Jesus, the Christ. Now since Justin unquestionably believed that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was himself God, might he not, in each instance, adapt his language to the object which he had in view, and describe the wonder of the burning bush either as the appearance of Christ, or the appearance of God? Neither do we attach much weight to the observation, that the words *κυριολογεῖν* and *θεολογεῖν* are used in their *civil* sense by the author of the Hortatory Address, and in their *ecclesiastical* sense in the Dialogue with Trypho; but there are in the former of these treatises other differences, both of style and sentiment, which the Bishop of Lincoln has pointed out, and which, we conceive, fully justify his hesitation to give it a place among the undoubted writings of Justin. Such are the marked distinctions between *ποιητής* and *δημιουργός* (words which Justin uses indiscriminately); and the different accounts of the origin of polytheism, and of the Septuagint translation. These could hardly have proceeded from the same author. The Hortatory Address, if genuine, would prove almost to demonstration—what the learned prelate has sufficiently proved without it—that however Justin preferred the tenets of Platonism to the opinions entertained by any other sect of Grecian philosophy, he was little disposed to borrow his theological doctrines from Plato. In other respects the treatise is wholly unimportant; as it contains no notices of the existing state of the Church, or of its doctrines, except one rather obscure testimony to the Divinity of Christ.* In his Testimonies of the Ante-nicene Fathers we observe that Dr. Burton has twice quoted, as the work of Justin, the Epistle to Diognetus, and that on one of them he has commented at an unusual length, (pp. 47—53,) from which we infer that, whatever suspicion others may entertain, he admits its genuineness. It is so different in style, and so superior in composition to the acknowledged works of

* Ὅς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων λόγος, ἀχώριστος δυνάμει, τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ πλάσθιντα ἀναλαβὼν ἀνθρώπων, τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμᾶς προγόνων ἀνέμνησε θεοσεβείας.—p. 36. C.

Justin, that we feel no hesitation in asserting that, however ancient it may be, he has no claim to it.

The writings of Justin are so deficient in method, and so full of rambling digressions, that it is a business of no ordinary difficulty to attempt to give a clear analysis of them. Those who are best acquainted with the works of this author, will acknowledge that the Bishop of Lincoln has executed this part of his task with great success. It might have served to enhance his own sagacity had he dwelt more largely on these defects; but the learned prelate, though by no means blind to them, instead of exposing them to the world with malicious satisfaction, has preferred to imitate the decent reverence of the pious sons of the patriarch, in casting a covering on the nakedness of his father. Notwithstanding, however, all the faults of Justin, which force us to admit that he is not always a perspicuous reasoner, nor the most judicious of Scripture interpreters, enough will still remain to make his writings valued and consulted. His Apologies would be highly interesting, were it only that they serve to show us by what arguments the earlier Christians defended their cause against their adversaries. The Dialogues with Trypho will always be valuable till the prejudices of the Jews are overcome, and they are brought to the acknowledgment of their Messiah in the crucified Jesus. We would, therefore, recommend them to the especial notice of those who, in the present day, are disposed to enter on the Jewish controversy. Though these Dialogues are the earliest treatise extant on this subject, they will find that Justin has anticipated almost every argument of importance to the dispute; and from the opinions *then* entertained respecting the Man of Sin, the Restoration of the Jewish nation, and the Millennian reign of Christ, they may, possibly, be led to the conclusion, that many of the notions, which have lately been advanced on those obscure subjects, are not quite so clearly deduced from Scripture as the authors of them seem to think.

But whatever judgment may be formed of the value of the Dialogues with Trypho in this respect, there can be no doubt that the testimony, which the writings of Justin bear to the opinions held by the Church in his day, respecting many essential points of Christian doctrine, is both interesting and important in a very high degree. His assertion of the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Divinity of Christ, as the *Logos*, the Reason, or Word of God, is so clear and decisive, that even the Unitarians themselves have not ventured to deny it. They have attempted, however, to evade its force, by maintaining that Justin is the *first* Christian writer in whom these opinions are to be found; and that he derived them neither from Scripture, nor from Apostolical

traditions, but from the philosophical writings of Plato. The falsehood of the first branch of this Unitarian argument any one may see who will consult Dr. Burton's *Testimonies of the Antenicene Fathers*; the groundlessness of the second is most satisfactorily shown by the Bishop of Lincoln in the work before us. "No sufficient proof," as the learned prelate remarks, "has yet been produced that even the germ of these doctrines exists in the writings of Plato;" and Justin is so far from borrowing his opinions, on these subjects, from that philosopher, that he repeatedly asserts that Plato derived from Moses, and the other Jewish prophets, whatever right notions he had acquired respecting the Divine nature. Besides, the manner in which Justin uniformly speaks of the doctrines of the Trinity, and the Godhead of the *Logos*, is a sufficient proof that he was not introducing novel opinions into the Church; for he always mentions them not as the opinions of the few, but as the acknowledged tenets of the whole Christian community. There is a passage, indeed, in the Dialogue with Trypho, from which Dr. Priestley endeavoured to show, that, by Justin's own confession, he was almost singular in asserting these doctrines; and not only singular, but so obstinately bigoted to them, that he was resolved to persist in his own peculiar sentiments, "even though the majority of Christians objected to his opinion."* This version of Dr. Priestley's is neither translation nor paraphrase, but a downright misrepresentation of Justin's meaning. The passage, though various translations have been given of it, appears to us to be attended with no great difficulty. Justin's great object in these Dialogues is to convince Trypho that Jesus is the Messiah, "that he existed, as the Son of the Creator of the Universe before all ages, being God, and that he was born a man of the Virgin."† Trypho tells him that this doctrine appears to him perfectly foolish; that the opinion of those was more worthy of credit who believed that Jesus was born a mere man, and chosen and anointed to the office of Messiah, as all the Jews expected him to be; but, nevertheless, he utterly denies that Jesus is either God, or Christ. To all this Justin replies, that even though he could not prove that Jesus pre-existed as the Son of God, and was himself God, &c., it would by no means follow that he was not the Christ, since there were some of his own nation, who, whilst they believed his mere humanity, still acknowledged him as their Messiah. "For there are some," says Justin, "who confess that he is the Christ, though they affirm that he was a man born of men. With whom I do not agree:

* Priestley's *Hist. of Early Opinions*, vol. iii. p. 283.

† "Ὅτι καὶ προὔπηγεν υἱὸς τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὅλων, Θεὸς ὢν, καὶ γεγένηται ἄνθρωπος διὰ τῆς παρθένου.—Dial. c. Tryph. p. 267. C.

neither, indeed, would the *majority*, who are of the same opinion with me, say so.”* Here there can be no question that Justin affirms that the doctrine of Christ’s mere humanity was held by *few*, in comparison with those who maintained his pre-existence as God. The only question that presents any difficulty is this—Who are these *some*, of whom Justin speaks? We have no doubt that he is speaking of the Ebionites—“those of Jewish race, who,” as he had told Trypho just before, “*said* that they believed in him (Jesus) as the Messiah”—Οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦ ὑμετέρου πιστεύειν λέγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν—and, therefore, we have no hesitation in adopting Bishop Bull’s reading of ὑμετέρου γένους (*your* race), instead of ἡμετέρου γένους (*our* race), a term never applied by Justin to the Christians, and which hardly could be used, without gross impropriety, to denote a community of persons, who were gathered out of every nation under heaven. It is of some importance to show, against the Unitarian, that, in Justin’s age, the majority of the *Jewish* Christians acknowledged the Divinity of Christ; but that those who denied this doctrine constituted but a very small minority, will remain equally certain, whether we suppose him, in this passage, to be speaking of the Jewish Christians in particular, or of the Christian Church in general.

Of the mode in which Justin endeavours to explain the generation of the Divine *Logos*, the Son of God, and his consubstantiality with the Father, we think it needless to enter into a very particular examination; for, to say the truth, we hold that such inquiries into the inscrutable mysteries of the Divine Nature are never very profitable, and not always innocent. Suffice it to say, that he everywhere asserts that Christ was the object of Divine worship in the Church; that, in perfect conformity, as we conceive, with the declaration of the Evangelist, (John, i. 18,) and with that of our Lord himself, (John, v. 37, and vi. 46,) he uniformly maintains, that every manifestation of God to men, recorded in the Old Testament, was made to them in the person of his Son; and that he represents the three persons of the Trinity as equally entitled to that reverence and worship which is due to God only.

There are two passages in the first Apology (the second in the Paris edition) in which this last tenet is expressly asserted. The first of these passages, as the Bishop of Lincoln remarks, has been

* Καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ τινες, ὧ φίλοι, ἔλεγον, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου (read, with Bishop Bull, ὑμετέρου) γένους ὁμολογοῦντες αὐτὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι, ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον ἀποφαινόμενοι· οἷς οὐ συντίθεμαι· οὐδ’ ἂν πλείστοι, ταῦτά μοι δοξάσαντες, εἴποιεν.—Dial. c. Tryph. p. 267. D. Compare Justin’s expression here, οἷς οὐ συντίθεμαι, with what he says a little before of the Ebionites, whom he describes to Trypho as “those of his race who say that they believe in Jesus as the Christ”—τούτους οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι—“I do not admit these to be Christians.”—See *British Critic*, for October, 1827, pp. 288. 290.

alleged by the Roman Catholics to prove, that in the earliest times of the Christian Church worship was paid to angels. He might have gone farther, for the late Dr. Milner, titular bishop of Castabala, alleged it to prove, that in Justin's time worship was paid to the departed saints; and this he did by having recourse to the expedient of translating the words Πνεῦμα τὸ προφητικόν, the Prophetic Spirit—the title which Justin always uses to denote the third person of the Trinity—as if it had been πνεύματα τῶν προφητῶν, “the Spirits of the Prophets” *—a proceeding which leaves us in doubt whether most to marvel at his temerity, or his ignorance. We would seriously ask the Roman Catholics, who are disposed to appeal to this passage of Justin, whether they would desire to prove, that, in *any* age of the Church, the *same* worship was ever given to angels, or saints, as that which is ascribed to the ever-blessed Trinity? If not, Justin is alleged to no purpose. The passage, on many accounts, deserves a careful examination. In its present form it presents almost insuperable difficulties, and we have little doubt that it has suffered a violent dislocation of one of its clauses; but on comparing it with a parallel passage, which occurs four pages afterwards, and with another passage in the *Legation of Athenagoras*, we are inclined to think that the transposition admits of an easy and satisfactory adjustment. Justin is defending the Christians against the charge of Atheism, which was brought against them because they refused to worship the heathen deities. “With respect,” he says, “to such reputed gods, we confess that we are godless (ἄθεοι). But not so with respect to Him who is the most true God, the Father of Justice and Prudence, and all the other virtues, in whom is no mixture of evil. But Him, and his Son, who came from Him, and taught us these things, [and the host of the other good angels who follow Him and resemble Him,] and the Prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore, honouring them rationally and truly.” † Some commentators, as Grabe, suppose Justin to have meant, that the Son of God communicated the truths of the Christian revelation not only to *us*, but likewise to the host of good angels; as in Eph. iii. 10. Others, as the Benedictine Le Nourry, and our own Bishop Bull, suppose him to have meant, that the Son of God communicated to us these truths, of which Justin had just been speaking (viz. that the heathen deities were demons, not gods),

* End of Religious Controversy. Letter XXXV.

† Καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν τῶν τοιούτων νομιζομένων Θεῶν ἄθεοι εἶναι· ἀλλ' οἱχὶ τοῦ ἀληθεστάτου, καὶ πατρὸς δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφροσύνης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ἀνεπιμίττου τε κακίας Θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα, καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, [καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπομένων καὶ ἐξομιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν] πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες, καὶ παντὶ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν ἀφ' ὧν παραδιδόντες.—p. 56. B. C.

and also the knowledge of the existence of a host of good angels. The Bishop of Lincoln is disposed to think, "that Justin had in his mind the glorified state of Christ, when he should come to judge the world surrounded by the host of heaven." We are not sure that we understand how he proposes to arrange the passage so as to elicit this sense from it, and to make the words "*and* the host of angels," equivalent to "*with* the host of angels," unless he would bring them immediately into juxta-position with the words "who came from Him." But then, what becomes of the little clause "who taught us these things?"

After the most attentive consideration of this difficult passage, we are inclined to prefer, to any of the foregoing explanations, the reading which was proposed by Dr. Ashton in his edition of the *Dialogues with Trypho*. He thought that the clause (which we have enclosed in brackets) respecting the host of good angels, had, through the negligence of the transcriber, suffered transposition, and that its right place was between ἀληθεία and τιμῶντες. It would be no hard matter to point out instances of more violent dislocations of sentences, even in modern printed books. If we adopt Dr. Ashton's reading, the passage will stand thus: "Him; and his Son who came from Him, and taught us these things, and the Prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore, rationally and truly; honouring, also, the host of the other good angels who follow Him, and resemble Him, and teaching every one who is willing to learn, as we ourselves have been taught." It is not without reason that Justin introduces into this place the mention of the host of the *other good angels*, as the objects of reverence among Christians; for he had just before been speaking of the apostate *evil angels*, whom they regarded with abhorrence, as the authors of idolatry and demon-worship. But that he did not consider them to be entitled to the same worship with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—were it possible to entertain a doubt on the subject—is demonstrably certain from a parallel passage in this same *Apology*, where he expressly says, that "we worship Him who is the Creator of this universe, holding in the second place Jesus Christ, our instructor in these things, and whom we believe to be the Son of the true God; and in the third place the Prophetic Spirit:"*—thus in effect asserting, that they, and they only, were then regarded as the objects of Christian worship, and rendering it highly probable, that, in the passage on which we are now commenting, as it proceeded from his pen, the mention of the good angels was not introduced till after the enumeration of

* Τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦτε τοῦ παντὸς σεβόμενοι . . . τὸν διδάσκαλόν τε τούτων γενόμενον ἡμῖν . . . Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν . . . υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ μαζόντες, καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ χῶρᾳ ἔχοντες, πνεῦμά τε προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει.—p. 60. C.

the persons of the Trinity. This conjecture is rendered still more probable by the following passage in the Legation of Athenagoras, a contemporary of Justin's, in which the same order of enumeration occurs. "Who would not wonder to hear us called Atheists who call God the Father, and the Son God, and the Holy Spirit; showing both their power in unity, and their distinction in order? And our theology is not confined to these; but we say that there is also a multitude of angels and ministering spirits, whom God, the Maker and Creator of the world, has by his own Word distributed and appointed to preside over the elements, and the Heavens, and the world, and all things that are therein, and to preserve them in order."* Both Justin and Athenagoras are engaged in the same task of defending the Christians from the charge of Atheism, and both of them repel the calumny by showing that the Christians worshipped in spirit and in truth those who were entitled to Divine worship, and honoured those who were entitled to honour—next to the Supreme tri-unal God regarding with reverence those blessed spirits who minister to His will, and are inferior in dignity and power to Him alone.

We come next to the consideration of Justin's opinions respecting another very important class of Christian doctrines—Original Sin, the Freedom of the Will, Grace, Justification, and Predestination. On these points, which are discussed by the Bishop of Lincoln in his third chapter, Justin has been no less unfortunate than with regard to his notions concerning the Divinity of the *Logos*, and the doctrine of the Trinity; for if the Unitarians have complained that he borrowed his opinions on these subjects from the writings of Plato, the Calvinist has been just as ready to assert that his notions respecting Grace, and Free-will, &c. were corrupted by a most unscriptural mixture of Grecian philosophy. "Justin," says Milner, "if I mistake not, was the first sincere Christian who was seduced by human philosophy to adulterate the Gospel, though in a small degree . . . In the last page of his *Trypho* there is a phraseology extremely suspicious. He speaks of a self-determining power in man, (*αὐτεξούσιον*,) and uses the same kind of known reasoning on the obscure subject of free-will, as has been fashionable since the days of Arminius. He seems to have been the first of all sincere Christians who introduced this foreign plant

* Τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσαι λέγοντας θεὸν πατέρα. καὶ υἱὸν θεὸν, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, δεικνύντας αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐνώσει δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν, ἀκούσας ἀδίδους καλουμένων; καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ θεολογικὸν ἡμῶν ἴσεται μέρος, ἀλλὰ πλῆθος ἀγγέλων καὶ λειτουργῶν φαιμέν, οὓς ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ δημιουργὸς κόσμου Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγου διένειμε καὶ διέταξε περὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν τούτων εὐταξίαν. Athenag. Legatio pro Christianis, p. 11. A. Justin also asserts that the care of men and of the universe was committed by God to angels. Apol. xi. p. 44. A.

into Christian ground.”* We remember somewhere to have met with the very candid confession, or complaint, of a Calvinistic divine, “ omnes patres ante Pelagium Pelagiani fuere—all the fathers before Pelagius were Pelagians,”—by which he merely meant, that they were not Calvinists. The assertion, indeed, is manifestly false; but were it true, great would be the presumption that the truth lay with Pelagius rather than with Augustine; and if, on the subject of free-will, the language of *all* the earlier Christian fathers approaches nearer to the opinions of Arminius than to those of Calvin, Justin will be exonerated from the reproach, however softly uttered, of introducing a foreign plant into Christian ground, and the Arminian tendency of his opinions will present no great drawback from his other acknowledged merits.

In reading the works of Justin, with a view to ascertain what were his opinions on these five articles, we ought in all fairness to bear in mind that he is not writing expressly on these subjects, that his sentiments respecting them are only incidentally delivered, and that in his days the Church was happily unencumbered with elaborate systems of theology, and unacquainted with the exact definitions of the Schools. We must not, therefore, weigh his expressions in too nice a balance, nor is it reasonable to expect from a writer so circumstanced that extreme caution and precision which we find in the treatises of modern polemics.

God, according to Justin, created man a rational being, with the power of choosing good and doing right; and from this capacity of choosing between good and evil, he infers that we are accountable creatures, and without excuse before God:† that we, the whole human race, in consequence of Adam's transgression, became subject to death and to the seduction of the serpent, and not merely on account of our own personal offences;‡ and are now, from our birth, addicted to evil habits and wicked customs.§ In unison with this view of man's fallen state, he plainly says, that we stand in need of the grace of God to enlighten our understandings,|| to incline our hearts to him, and to make us a holy priesthood capable of offering to him pure and

* Milner's Church History, vol. i. p. 201.

† Καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν νοερὸν καὶ δυνάμενον αἰρεῖσθαι τὰ ληθῆ, καὶ εὖ πράττειν, τὸ γένος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον πεποίηκεν, ὥστ' ἀναπολόγητον εἶναι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. Apol. i. p. 71, B. Compare what he says, p. 58, E. and p. 80, E.

‡ See the dialogue with Trypho, p. 315, D. et seq., where he argues, that Christ was baptized, not because he stood in need of baptism, &c. and then he goes on—ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ γεννηθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ σταυρωθῆναι, ὡς ἐνδεὴς τούτων, ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ ὑπὸ θάνατον, καὶ πλανὴν τὴν τοῦ ὀφείως ἐπεπτώκει, παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αἰτίαν ἐκάστου αὐτῶν πονηρευσαμένου.

§ Ἐν ἔδεισι φαύλοις καὶ πονηραῖς ἀνατροφαῖς γεγόναμεν. Apol. i. p. 94, C.

|| See particularly the following passages in the Dialogue; they are strong and explicit—p. 247, A. 250, C. 280, B. 305, A. 319, B. 326, E. 346, E.

acceptable sacrifices through Jesus Christ.* Bearing this in mind, we can look without the smallest suspicion to his opinion, that man is endued with a free-will (*αὐτεξούσιον*), or, as Mr. Milner calls it, a self-determining power—an opinion not peculiar to Justin, but maintained by every one of the Christian Fathers without exception, even by those who are most explicit on the necessity both of the preventing and assisting grace of God. The truth is, that when they ascribe this free-will to man, this power of choosing between good and evil, they assert it not in the Pelagian sense, as excluding the necessity of God's grace, but in opposition as well to those heretics who held, that men were by *nature* unchangeably good or bad, as to those who taught that men were constrained to act well or ill by inevitable *fate* and invincible *necessity*. That Justin was not “the first serious Christian” who maintained in this sense the freedom of the human will—a doctrine so surely grounded on Scripture, that it rather seems strange that any serious Christian should regard it with suspicion—is evident from the following passage of the apostolical Ignatius: “I say not that there are two natures of men, but that one and the same man may at one time be God's, at another the Devil's. If any one live piously, he is a man of God; if he live impiously, he is a man of the Devil, not by nature, but made so by his own will.”† At a later period, in the fourth century, we shall find this doctrine of the freedom of the human will constantly asserted by all the Fathers of the Church; though, at the same time, they invariably maintain, that “the condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God:” and that we have no power to do any thing acceptable to God without his preventing and co-operating grace. We hardly know any one who has asserted the doctrine of free-will more strongly than Macarius, particularly in his Fifteenth Homily; and yet he no less unequivocally teaches, that “the soul, which is naked and destitute of the communion of the Spirit, and under the dreadful poverty of sin, is utterly unable, even though it may desire, truly to bring forth the fruits of the spirit of righteousness, before it was made a partaker of the Spirit.”‡ The sole object of Justin and the other Fathers of the

* See Dial. pp. 343, 344. The whole passage is far too long to transcribe; take this specimen—Τὰ ῥηπαρὰ ἱμάτια, τούτέστι τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀπημφισμέναι, πυρῶντες διὰ τοῦ λόγου τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερατικὸν τὸ ἀληθινὸν γένος ἐσμέν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

† Οἱ δὲν φύσεις ἀνθρώπων λέγει, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἕνα ἄνθρωπον, ποτὲ μὲν Θεοῦ, ποτὲ δὲ διαδόλου γίνεσθαι. ἰὰν εἰσεῖδῃ τις, ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ ἐστίν· ἰὰν δὲ ἀσεῖδῃ τις, ἄνθρωπος τοῦ διαδόλου, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης γινόμενος. Ignat. ad Magnes.

‡ Ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἔρμος· ἀπὸ κοιναίας πνεύματος, καὶ ἰπὸ τὴν δεινὴν πτωχείαν τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὅσα, οὐδὲν δύναται, κἂν θελῃ, τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐξ ἀληθείας ποιῆσαι, πρὸ τῆς μεταληψεως τοῦ πνεύματος. Macarius, Homil. xviii. p. 27.

Church, in vindicating the free agency of men, was to convince us that we are accountable beings; not to render us, in our imaginations, independent of God's grace, but to teach us, that we shall be wholly without excuse if we presume to reject it.

On the doctrine of justification, the language of Justin is always scriptural. According to the Bishop of Lincoln,

"He uniformly assigns the merits or death of Christ as the cause, and faith as the medium by which we are justified. By Christ's stripes we are healed; by his stripes all are healed who approach the Father through him; by his blood all who believe on him are purified; the Father willed that he should bear for the whole human race the curses due to all; he endured the servitude even of the cross in behalf of the various races of men, having purchased them by his blood and the mystery of the cross. The names of Helper and Redeemer are applied to Christ: though with an immediate reference to the power of casting out demons in his name. With respect to the medium of justification, it is asserted that men are purified by faith through the blood and death of Christ; and that Abraham was not justified by circumcision, but by faith. In order, however, to secure the benefits arising from Christ's death, repentance and a renunciation of our past evil habits are necessary. It has been already observed that Justin, in interpreting Genesis xlix. 10, says that the Holy Spirit calls those, who have received remission of sins through Christ, his garments. We may not find in Justin those nice and subtle distinctions which controversy subsequently introduced into the question of justification; but the substance of the true doctrine is there—that man is justified on account of the merits of Christ through faith, of which faith a holy life is the fruit."—pp. 76—78.

We had intended to illustrate the opinions of Justin in the foregoing doctrines by extracts from Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, and thus to give those of our readers who may be less conversant with their works a complete view of the sentiments of the Christian writers of the second century, from Justin to Tertullian, on these important subjects. But we have forbore, lest we should swell this article to too great a bulk. Their opinions, though always scriptural, are frequently expressed without that caution and limitation which are now considered necessary in treating of these disputed points. For example, when Irenæus says, that "man is justified and brought near to God by good* works," his language is open to misconstruction: but so is that of St. Paul, when he says, that "the doers of the Law are justified before God," (Rom. ii. 13,) and that of St. John, "he that doeth righteousness is righteous," (i. 3. v. 7). They who know how to reconcile these texts with Rom. iii. 28, will find no diffi-

* "Hæc per quæ justificatur homo, et appropinquet Deo, hortatur et admonet." Contra Hæres. lib. iv. c. 17. p. 248.

culty in interpreting in a sound and scriptural sense the *suspicious* passages in the writings of the Fathers.

With respect to the doctrine of Predestination, the opinions of Justin, (and we may add of all the Fathers before the Pelagian controversy,) were undoubtedly what we should now call Arminian. "This only," he says, "is irreversibly predetermined, that they who choose what is good shall be duly rewarded; they who choose what is evil duly punished."* This we know; but God's secret purpose is to us unknown; and therefore instead of speculating about it and dogmatizing upon it—an employment neither wise nor pious—our wisdom is "to receive God's promises in such wise as they be *generally* set forth to us in Holy Scripture; and in our doings, to follow that will of God which is *expressly* revealed to us in his Word." There are many persons now-a-days, who, though they know as little of the writings of Calvin as they know of those of Augustine, very absurdly call themselves Calvinists, and fancy they hold the doctrine of an irrespective personal election, whilst they reject with abhorrence the doctrine of reprobation. To us these doctrines appear utterly inseparable, even in imagination. What Tertullian said, with reference to a very different matter, must always be true: "The preference of one cannot proceed without the rejection of others; *for there can be no election without reprobation.*"†

In his fourth chapter, the Bishop of Lincoln gives a very full and clear statement of Justin's opinions respecting Baptism, the Eucharist, and the religious observance of the Lord's day. It will be acknowledged that in the present state of the Church, it is a matter of no small importance to ascertain, if possible, what were the opinions and the practice of the earlier Christians, with respect to these, the most essential of all our religious rites and institutions. Strange notions in theology seem to be gaining ground amongst us. With respect to the Sacraments, the faith of our own Church, and of all the Christian Fathers, is branded with the names of novelty and heresy: and with respect to the Lord's day—the *Sabbath*, as it is the fashion to call it—there are persons who, if they should hear you deny that Christians under the Gospel are bound to observe the sabbatical precepts of the Jewish law would at once settle it in their own minds, that you were utterly destitute of religious seriousness. There is a certain journal, called *The Record*, which is professedly conducted by members of the Church of England, and is said to enjoy the

* 'Αλλ' εἰμαζμένην φαμέν ἀπαράχατον ταύτην εἶναι, τοῖς τὰ καλὰ ἐκλεγομένοις τὰ ἀξία ἐπιτίμια καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίως τὰ ἐναντία τὰ ἀξία ἐπίχειρα. Apol. i. p. 81. A.

† "Prelatio alterius sine alterius contumelia non potest procedere, quia nec electio sine reprobatione." Apologet. c. 13. p. 13.

almost exclusive patronage of those churchmen who adhere to the doctrine of Calvin. It may therefore be supposed to speak the sentiments of the majority of that party, and on that account, is not wholly unworthy of notice. In a very elaborate article which appeared lately in its columns (Sept. 29, 1829), the editor pointed out "some characteristics of the Church of the present day, which demand the peculiar attention of its living members." "We cannot but think," he said, "that the manner in which the *detestable heresy of baptismal regeneration* is palliated and glossed over, and even pandered to, by many of those who, in other respects, are justly denominated Evangelical ministers, is an evil of great magnitude, calling loudly for extirpation." In the very next number there appeared an equally laboured defence of these offensive observations. "We at once admit," said the writer, "that there are some passages in the service of the Church which appear to give support to this heresy. . . . Nothing human is perfect; but let not the imperfection of man be permitted to neutralize the immutable truth of God."

It may be said that such remarks as these are totally unworthy of notice. In themselves they certainly are so; but if they express the sentiments of any portion of our clergy—of those especially who profess their adherence to our liturgy and articles in their plain and grammatical sense—they are deserving of some attention. It is one of the worst characteristics of the present state of our Church, that many of her sons should prefer their own crude opinions to her authoritative voice, and deliberately censure the Fathers and Martyrs of our Reformation, the framers of our apostolical liturgy, as men who betrayed the truth of God, and gave their support to a "detestable heresy" and a "vain tradition." Might we venture to suggest to these persons, that such censures, *from them*, are in the highest degree indecorous and offensive; that it is by almost infinite degrees more probable, that they themselves should be mistaken in their apprehension of the subject, than that the venerable Fathers of our Church should, in a point of such vital importance, have so wholly departed from the truth; and consequently, that it would be more prudent and more pious to keep a modest and respectful silence, than by openly proclaiming to the world how little value they set on the authoritative judgment of their Church, to give her enemies too fair an occasion to reproach us with our contempt of order and our want of unity.

Let us now inquire, what were the opinions of the martyr, Justin, respecting the sacrament of Baptism. The principal passage in which Justin expressly mentions the subject, occurs

in his first Apology, (p. 93, E.) and is thus translated by the Bishop of Lincoln.

“ ‘As many,’ he says, ‘as are persuaded and believe that what we teach is true, and undertake to conform their lives to our doctrine, are instructed to fast and pray, and entreat from God the remission of their past sins, we fasting and praying together with them. They are then conducted by us to a place where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were ourselves regenerated. For they are then washed in the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit.’ Justin then alleges in proof of the necessity of this regeneration, John iii. 3. Isa. i. 16. which he supposes to have been prophetic of Christian baptism; and states that the Apostles had transmitted both the mode of performing the rite and the reason on which the necessity for its observance rested. ‘Since,’ he says, ‘at our first birth we were born without our knowledge or consent—in order that we may not remain the children of necessity and ignorance, but may become the children of choice and knowledge, and may obtain in the water remission of the sins which we have committed, the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe is pronounced over him who wishes to be regenerated, and has repented of his sins, &c.’”—pp. 83, 84.

There can be no question here that regeneration is connected with the rite of Baptism, that Justin speaks of persons as regenerated by Baptism, and that he is speaking exclusively of the Baptism of adults; neither do we think there can be any doubt, that in his opinion, the inward and spiritual grace of regeneration was ordinarily imparted in that sacrament. The whole difficulty then relates to the question of infant baptism; for it may very justly be objected, that although adult persons, having in themselves the indispensable pre-requisites of faith and repentance, may in and by Baptism receive this regenerating grace, it by no means follows that infants, who cannot perform these conditions, are made partakers of the same benefit. The objection has been foreseen, and answered in our church catechism; but for the better understanding of the subject, it is necessary that we should first inquire what this figurative term, regeneration, means, and especially in what senses it is used by the writers of the New Testament.

Were we called upon to define the scriptural sense of the word regeneration, we should say that it means in general some great change for the better effected in us by the power and grace of God; and that, in particular, it is applied to three separate things: first, to that happy change which is made in our condition and prospects, when we are admitted by baptism into the Church of Christ, are translated from the power of Satan to the Kingdom of God, are made the children of His adoption, and acquire a covenanted title to all the spiritual blessings promised in the

Gospel to all true believers; 2dly, that it denotes that illumination of the understanding, and purifying of the heart, which is the especial work of the Holy Spirit, and by which we are made "new creatures," and are restored to that image of the Divine knowledge and holiness in which man was first created; and lastly, that it signifies that great and final change which shall be effected in us at the Resurrection, when this mortal nature shall be invested with immortality, and by the working of Christ's almighty power, "our vile bodies shall be made like His glorious body." This is, by our Lord himself, (in Matt. xix. 28,) called "the regeneration," (*παλιγγενεσία*), and to this the Apostle alludes, when he says, (1 Pet. i. 3,) that "God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, hath begotten us again (*ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς*) unto a lively hope by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead." But of this, as having no immediate reference to Baptism, we have no occasion to speak.

It is in the first sense, with respect to that great change which is made in our condition and prospects, when by our Baptism we obtain remission of our sins, are incorporated into the Church of Christ, obtain a new relation to God, as the children of his adoption and grace, and acquire a covenanted title to all the blessings of the Gospel,—that we understand our Saviour's declaration, (John, iii. 5,) and the language of St. Paul, (Tit. iii. 5,) when he expressly calls Baptism "the laver of regeneration:" and in this sense we hold, that all baptized persons, without exception, infants as well as others, are undoubtedly regenerate. For though the pre-requisites of repentance and faith, which are themselves the initiatory work of God's Spirit in the soul, are indispensably necessary to make the baptized person capable of those larger measures of grace, which are faithfully promised to all worthy receivers of that sacrament, yet even in those cases where it is received in mere hypocrisy and from the most unworthy motives, (as in the instance of Simon Magus) the rite of Baptism is never renewed. The hypocritical recipient of Baptism may, by the just censure of the Church, be cut off from its communion, and may be restored to it again on the public profession of his repentance and faith in Christ; but having been once enrolled in the number of Christ's followers, and sealed and marked as his servant and soldier, deserter and apostate though he be, when he returns to his allegiance, he is admitted again into the ranks, without any renewal of the baptismal ceremony, or any repetition of his baptismal vows; and thenceforth, provided his professions are sincere, acquires a full interest in all the promises which are assured to us by Christ in that sacrament. In this sense, and not in that which the Church of Rome has attached to the terms,

Baptism is called the "seal" (σφραγίς), or the mark (χαρακτήρ); not that any spiritual impress or character is thus indelibly stamped upon the soul, but that the baptized person is, once for all, marked and set apart as the servant of Christ. To this there seems to be an allusion, Gal. vi. 17, as there clearly is in the Apocalypse, vii. 3, where the angel "seals the servants of God in their foreheads." Thus, in our own baptismal office, the minister says, "we receive this person into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign him with the sign of the cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner against sin, the world and the devil, and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end:" and thus Chrysostome interprets the matter; "as soldiers have a certain mark (σφραγίς) set upon them, so are the faithful marked by the Spirit; that if you quit the ranks, you may be distinguishable by all. For the Jews had the mark of circumcision, but we the earnest of the Spirit."* Throughout our baptismal offices, the spiritual regeneration therein mentioned is always accompanied with other exegetical expressions, which limit its signification to that new relationship which we acquire with respect to God on our admission into the Church of Christ;† and it would not be easy to show that any theologian of note, (even among the Roman Catholics, who maintain that in baptism a certain spiritual character is impressed on the soul,) has ever simply confounded baptismal regeneration with that regenerating power of the Holy Spirit, by which we are enlightened, renewed, and sanctified, and so become new creatures in Christ. It is, therefore, a matter of no small patience, to hear some pert neophyte dogmatize on the subject of regeneration, limit the meaning of the term exclusively to the internal operation and renewing agency of the Spirit, and then, in the sublimity of his presumptuous ignorance, unhesitatingly condemn the framers of our reformed liturgy, as the authors and abettors of a detestable heresy.

But it may be said, if baptismal regeneration mean nothing more than our being admitted into the Church of Christ, and made the children of God's adoption and grace; though, in respect of the great and beneficial change in our condition, it may

* Καθάπερ στρατιώταις σφραγίς, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς πιστοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπιτίθεται κἀν λειψοτακτήσεως, κατὰδὸλος γένη πᾶσιν. Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν γὰρ εἶχον σφραγίδα τὴν περιτομὴν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος.—Chrysost. Homil. iii. in 2 Cor.

† Thus, for example, in the prayer for the newly-baptized person; "We yield Thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this person by thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy Holy Church:" and in the Catechism, where the spiritual grace of baptism is defined to be "a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness," the reason why it is called a *new birth* is immediately added, "*for being by nature born in sin and the children of wrath, we are thereby made the children of grace.*"

well be called regeneration, yet why it should be said that baptized persons are regenerated by the Spirit, is not so easy to perceive. Simply for this reason, that the whole Church of Christ is under the superintendence of the Spirit, and all its ministrations are purely spiritual; upon which account those likewise who are ordained to the priestly office are said to receive the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God; not that any one is so absurd as to suppose that, to the persons so ordained, are imparted the gifts of supernatural inspiration, but only that they receive a divine commission to exercise the spiritual functions of their office.

In the account which we have given of the *general* nature and effect of baptismal regeneration, we are fully aware that to many persons we shall appear to have confined it within too narrow limits, and to have reduced the spiritual grace of that sacrament too low. We are aware that many passages of Scripture may be quoted, in which baptized persons are spoken of, as being “renewed in the spirit of their minds,” and “sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise;” that the Christian Fathers, in strict conformity with Scripture, and with their own experience, speak of such persons as illuminated (*φωτισομένους*), describing in the loftiest terms the wonderful change produced, through the efficacy of that sacrament, in the understanding, the will, and the affections; and that these emphatic expressions cannot, without great violence and injury, be so interpreted, as to make them denote nothing more than that beneficial change, which is wrought in our condition and prospects, when we are received by Baptism into the fold of Christ's Church. We are by no means disposed to deny that in the times of the Apostles, and in the earlier ages of the Church, the generality of baptized persons were in fact forthwith enlightened, renovated, and sanctified, that they received at once the largest supplies of spiritual grace, and were made, in the language of St. Paul, new creatures. But then it must not be forgotten that these were cases of adult baptism. Of infant baptism there is not a trace in Scripture. To say that in our Saviour's command to baptize all nations, and the Apostles' custom to baptize entire households, infants are necessarily included, is to beg the question too palpably. The practice is best defended by the analogy of circumcision and the uninterrupted tradition of the Church. But though, on the ground of this tradition, we doubt not that the custom of baptizing infants is of apostolical origin, and prevailed in the second century, yet when Justin tells us, “this laver (of baptism) is called illumination, because the minds of those who have learnt these things (the great truths of the

Christian religion) are enlightened,"* and when he speaks in the same passage of the candidate for Baptism "repenting of his sins" and "choosing to be regenerated" (ἐλομένῳ ἀναγεννηθῆναι), we are sure that language such as this never was applied to infants; but that Baptism was so called, either with reference to that preparatory course of instruction by which the minds of the catechumens were enlightened, or because Baptism is to those who worthily receive it, the entrance into a state of spiritual light and knowledge, in which the true Christian continually "goes on towards perfection." To multiply passages in support of this opinion would be a mere waste of our own time and our reader's patience; we shall therefore content ourselves with adducing one example from the *Paedagogus* of Clement of Alexandria. "When we were regenerated," he says, "we received at once that perfection which we earnestly desired, for we were enlightened, that is to say, were brought to the knowledge of God." He then gives an account of the baptism of Christ, of whom he says, that "he was perfected by Baptism only, and sanctified by the descent of the Spirit;" to which he immediately adds, "the very same thing happens with respect to us, of whom the Lord was made a pattern. Being baptized, we are illuminated; being illuminated we are made sons; being made sons we are perfected; being perfected we are made immortal. *'I have said ye are gods, and all sons of the Most High.'* This work is called by many names, Grace, Illumination, Perfection, the Laver. It is called the Laver, because by it we wash away the defilement of our sins; Grace, because by it the punishment of our sins is remitted; Illumination, because by it that holy and saving light is discerned, that is to say, by it we clearly behold the Deity; and we call that Perfection to which nothing is wanting. We alone, on our first beginning to approach the confines of life, are already perfect."† In this passage the learned reader will discern a plain allusion to the language employed in the celebration of the higher Eleusinian mysteries; and no one, we suppose, will contend that such a change, as is here implied, takes place in the mind and under-

* *Apol. i.* p. 94, D.

ἡ ἀμαρτανία πέντες γούιν εὐθὺς τὸ τέλειον ἀπειλήφαμεν, οὗ ἕνεκεν ἐσπεύδομεν. ἐφατίσθημεν γάρ· τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπιγινῶναι τὸν Θεόν. . . τελειούται δὲ τῷ λουτρῷ μόνῳ, καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τῇ καθάρσει ἀριμάζεται. . . τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ συμβαίνει τοῦτο καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς, ὡν γέγονεν ὑπογραφή ὁ κύριος· βαπτίζεσθαι, φωτίζομεθα· φωτιζόμενοι, υἱοποιούμεθα· υἱοποιούμενοι, τελειούμεθα· τελειούμενοι, ἀπαθανατιζόμεθα. Ἐγὼ, φησὶν, εἶπα, θεοὶ ἐστε, καὶ υἱοὶ ἰψίστου πάντες, καλεῖται δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο χάρισμα, καὶ φάτισμα, καὶ τέλειον, καὶ λουτρὸν. λουτρὸν μὲν, δι' οὗ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀπορρύντομεθα· χάρισμα δὲ, ὃ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ἐπιτίμια ἀνείται· φάτισμα δὲ, δι' οὗ τὸ ἄγιον ἐκεῖνο φῶς τὸ σωτήριον ἐπισπτεύεται, τοῦτέστιν δι' οὗ τὸ θεῖον ὁρῶσθαί μιν· τέλειον δὲ, τὸ ἀπροσδεὲς φαιμέν. . . μόνον δὲ ἄρα οἱ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι τῶν ἔργων τῆς ζωῆς, ἥδε τέλειοι.—*Paedag. lib. i.* c. 6. pp. 113, 114. Edit. Oxon. Compare with this the passage in Cyprian's epistle to Donatus (the first in the Oxford edition) beginning "Ego cum in tenebris atque in nocte cæcā jacerem."

standing of baptized infants. The term regeneration, as connected with baptism, and applied to *them*, must therefore be restricted to its first sense, as denoting the new relation which they acquire towards God through Christ, as children of his adoption and grace, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven.

With respect to the Eucharist, the language of Justin presents a greater difficulty; for his expressions, concerning the consecrated elements, if they are strictly taken, can neither be reconciled with the tenets of our own Church, nor with those of the church of Rome. It was then the custom, as we learn from him, to bring the newly initiated convert into the Church, that he might have the benefit of the united prayers of his fellow Christians, and might communicate with them in the holy Eucharist; another proof, be it observed, if proof were wanting, that in the preceding passage he is speaking exclusively of adult baptism. We again make use of the Bishop of Lincoln's translation.

“ After we have thus washed *him* who has expressed his conviction and assented to our doctrines, we take him to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled; in order that we may offer up prayers in common for ourselves and for the baptized person, and for all others in every place, that having learned the truth we may be deemed worthy to be found walking in good works and keeping the commandments, so that we may attain to eternal salvation. Having ended our prayers we salute each other with a kiss. Bread is then brought to that brother who presides, and a cup of wine mixed with water; and he taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; and employs some time in offering up thanks to him for having deemed us worthy of these gifts. The prayers and thanksgivings being ended, all the people present express their assent by saying, Amen; which, in the Hebrew tongue, answers to *γένοιτο* in the Greek. The president having given thanks, and the people having expressed their assent, they who are called by us Deacons give to each of those present a portion of the bread and of the wine mixed with water, over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and carry away a portion to those who are absent. And this food is called among us *εὐχαριστία*: of which no one is allowed to partake who does not believe, that what we teach is true, and has not been washed with the laver (of baptism) for the remission of sins and unto regeneration, and does not live as Christ has enjoined. For we do not receive it as common bread, and common drink; but in the same manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, being made flesh through the word of God, hath both flesh and blood for our salvation; so we are also taught that the food over which thanksgiving has been pronounced by the prayer of the word which came from him, by which food, undergoing the necessary change, our flesh and blood are nourished, we are taught, I say, that this food is the flesh and blood of the Incarnate Jesus. For the Apostles, in the memoirs

composed by them, which are called Gospels, have declared that Jesus gave him this injunction—that having taken bread and given thanks, he said, *Do this in remembrance of me, this is my body*; and that in like manner having taken the cup and given thanks, he said, *This is my blood*; and that he distributed the bread and wine to them alone.”—pp. 85—87.

In this account of the celebration of the Eucharist there are several points deserving of notice. We learn from this passage, compared with what he says a little afterwards respecting the religious observances of Sunday, that, in Justin's time, the public prayers of the Church were always concluded with the administration of the Lord's Supper; that water was always mixed with the eucharistic wine, as it still is both in the Greek and Latin Church, and always was in every church under heaven till the period of the Reformation:* that the deacons conveyed a portion of the consecrated food to those who were absent; that none were allowed to partake of this communion except baptized believers, who lived as Christ enjoined; and, lastly, that the eucharistic elements were believed to be the flesh and blood of the Incarnate Son of God.

The Fathers, however, are to be understood in a figurative sense, when they speak of the bread and wine in the Eucharist as the body and blood of Christ. Happily they have not left this point doubtful. The language of Justin, when he says, that “in the same manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, being made flesh through the word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation; so we are also taught, that the food over which thanksgiving has been pronounced by the prayer of the word which came from him . . . is the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus”—this language is evidently not meant for a close and exact comparison,

* Cyprian contends, that the mixture of water with the wine is indispensable; that without it the sacrament is destroyed. “Aguas namque populos significare, in Apocalypsi scriptura divina declarat, &c. Quod scilicet perspicimus et in sacramento calicis contineri. Nam quia nos omnes portabat Christus, qui et peccata nostra portabat, videmus in aqua populum intelligi, in vino verò ostendi sanguinem Christi. Quando autem in calice vino aqua miscetur, Christo populus adunatur, et credentium plebs ei in quem credidit copulatur et conjungitur. Quæ copulatio et conjunctio aquæ et vini sic miscetur in calice Domini, ut commixtio illa non possit ab invicem separari. In sanctificando calice Domini, offerri aqua sola non potest, quomodo nec vinum solum potest; nam si vinum tantum quis offerat, sanguis Christi incipit esse sine nobis: si verò aqua sit sola, plebs incipit esse sine Christo: quando autem utrumque miscetur, et adunatione confusa sibi invicem copulatur, tunc sacramentum spiritale et cæleste perficitur.”—*Epist. lxiii.* pp. 153, 154. N. B. According to Cyprian, the people, represented by the water, were in the eucharistic cup, in the very same sense as Christ, represented by the wine, was in the cup; *i. e.* figuratively. He finds the very same mystery in the bread, into the composition of which water enters; and maintains, that it is just as great a perversion of the Eucharist to offer wine without water, as meal without water, instead of bread. He concludes the Epistle with a strong exhortation to Cæcilian “in Dominico calice *miscendo* et offerendo, custodire traditionis Dominicæ veritatem.”

but is a very loose and general illustration of the sacramental change, in virtue of which the eucharistic elements are the body and blood of Christ, and are no longer received as common bread and common drink. Justin's meaning may be illustrated by a passage in the fourth book of his contemporary Irenæus;—he is arguing against both the Jews and heretics, that they could not offer to God an acceptable sacrifice—the Jews, because their hands were full of blood, and they received not the Word, by whom the offering is made to God; the heretics, because they denied both the Father and the Son—"for how," he reasons, "can they believe that the bread over which thanksgivings are offered is the body of their Lord, and the cup the cup of his blood, if they do not confess that he is the Son of the Creator of the world, that is to say, His Word, by whom the tree produces its fruit, the fountains flow, and the earth brings forth the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear."* He then proceeds to ask, "how they can presume to deny, that that flesh which is nourished by the body and blood of Christ is capable of immortality;" and argues that the Eucharist itself confirms the doctrine of the resurrection—"For as that bread which is from the earth, when it has received the invocation of God, is no longer *common* bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthly and a heavenly; so also our bodies, when they have received the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, but have the hope of an eternal resurrection."† Between this passage and that of Justin there are many points of close resemblance. In both, it will be remarked, that the sacramental bread, after consecration, is said to be no longer *common* bread. If they had held the doctrine of Transubstantiation, must they not have said, it was no longer bread? They never suspected that the substance of the bread did not remain, even though they believed that it was made the body of Christ. Their language, take it how you will, can hardly be reconciled with the modern tenet of the church of Rome, but taken literally, tallies very closely with the Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation. That it is not so to be taken may, however, be clearly proved by comparing it with the more explicit declarations of other Fathers of the second century, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian.

* "Quomodo autem constabit eis, cum panem in quo gratiæ actæ sunt, corpus esse Domini sui, et calicem sanguinis ejus, si non ipsum fabricatoris mundi Filium dicunt, id est, Verbum ejus, per quod lignum fructificat," &c. *Contra Hær. lib. iv. c. 17. p. 251.*

† Πῶς τὴν σάρακα λέγουσιν εἰς φθορὰν χωρεῖν, καὶ μὴ μετέχειν τῆς ζωῆς, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ τρεφομέναν; . . . ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄετος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄετος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγίγνεται καὶ οὐρανίου, οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μὴκέτι εἶναι φθαρτὰ, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνα ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα. *Id. § 5.*

The first of these Fathers had such a strong propensity for detecting mysteries and hidden meanings in every passage of Scripture, that if any thing like the doctrine of Transubstantiation had been broached in his day, we may be quite certain that he would have delighted to expatiate on it, and that it would have met us, in some shape or other, in almost every page of his writings. But it so happens, that in nearly every instance where he has occasion to speak of the mystery of the Eucharist, he has taken care to tell us, that it is called the body and blood of Christ only in an allegorical and spiritual sense. For example, in the fifth chapter of the first book of his *Pedagogue*, in his attempts to explain away the obvious meaning of 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2, which interfered with the point which he had in hand, (to show that sincere Christians are always represented in Scripture as babes, or children) he says, that γάλα, *milk*, may mean the preaching of the Gospel, and βρῶμα, *meat*, faith, which is more than hearing; (for the text, as he says, p. 118, is not to be interpreted after the Jewish manner, i. e. literally, but figuratively—) and then he proceeds, “Our Lord in another place, in the Gospel of St. John, has delivered this doctrine in another manner, by *symbols*; saying, ‘Eat my flesh, and drink my blood;’ evidently speaking *allegorically* of the drink of faith and of the promise.”* There is a passage in the second book very similar to this, where in arguing against the Eucratites, who used water only in the celebration of the Eucharist, he tells them, that Christ “as certainly partook of wine” (in instituting this rite) “as he partook of our human nature. For he blessed the wine, saying, ‘Take, drink; this is my blood, the blood of the vine:’ *allegorically* representing by that holy juice of gladness, the Word, which was shed for many for the remission of sins.”† Again, in the fifth book of the *Stromata*, he interprets the above text of St. Paul in the same figurative manner: “If the Apostle,” he says, “calls milk the food of children, and meat that of perfect men, milk must be understood to signify that catechetical instruction which is the first nurture of the soul; and meat, the epoptic contemplation—the very flesh and blood of the Word—that is, the comprehension of the Divine power and essence. . . . Thus he imparts of himself to those who *spiritually* partake of this food. . . . For the meat and drink of the Divine

* Ἀλλαχόθι δὲ καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίῳ, ἐτέρως ἐξήνεγκεν διὰ συμβόλων φάγεσθαι μου τὰς σάρκας, εἶπαι, καὶ πῖεσθαι μου τὸ αἷμα· ἐναργὲς τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς εὐαγγελίας τὸ πόσιμον ἀλληγοῦν.—*Pædag.* lib. i. c. 6, p. 121.

† Εὐ γὰρ ἴστε, μετέλαβεν οἴνου καὶ αὐτός, καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρωπος καὶ αὐτός, καὶ εὐλόγησεν γὰρ τὸν οἶνον, εἰπὼν, Λάβετε, πῖετε· τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν τὸ αἷμα, αἷμα τῆς ἀμπελῆς τοῦ Λόγου, τὸν περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχεόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εὐφροσύνης ἅγιον ἀλληγορεῖ νόμα.—*Lib.* ii, c. 2. p. 186.

Word is the knowledge of the Divine Essence.”* It would be no very easy matter to reconcile these opinions of Clement with the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and, we repeat, that if he could have found any support, however slight, for such a mystery, in the practice of the Church, in the words of Scripture, or in the arcana of his master Pantænus, we should have found him expatiating upon it with peculiar satisfaction, whenever he had occasion to make mention of the Eucharist.

The language of Tertullian is still more explicit, and it is always the same. He never leaves room to doubt in what sense he calls the bread and wine in the Eucharist the body and blood of Christ. Thus, in his treatise *De Oratione*, which is a commentary on the Lord's prayer, in that clause, “Give us this day our daily bread,” he remarks, that though it may be taken literally “we may rather understand it in a spiritual sense. For Christ is our bread, because Christ is life, and bread is life. ‘I,’ says he, ‘am the bread of life:’ and a little above, ‘The bread is the Word of the living God, which came down from heaven.’ And also because in the bread his body (*censetur*) is considered: ‘This is my body.’ In asking, therefore, for our daily bread, we pray for a perpetual and inseparable union with the body of Christ.”† Again, in his treatise *Adversus Judæos*, in enumerating the prophecies which foretold the crucifixion of Christ, he quotes Jer. xi. 19, almost in the very words of the Latin Vulgate, *Venite, mittamus in panem ejus lignum*, &c., of which prophecy “Christ,” he says, “has revealed the meaning, calling bread his body, as the prophet before had *figuratively* called his body, bread.”‡ In the tract *De Resurrectione Carnis* (c. viii. p. 330) he says, that in the Eucharist our “*flesh* is fed with the body and blood of Christ, as our souls are nourished by God:”§ and again, (c. xxxv.) in a comment on John vi., which is too long to quote in full, he says, “Christ, therefore, having affirmed that it was the Word that

* Εἰ τοίνυν τὸ μὲν γάλα τῶν νηπίων, τὸ βρῶμα δὲ τῶν τελείων τροφή πρὸς τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἴρηται, γάλα μὲν ἡ κατήχησις, οἷον· πρώτη ψυχῆς τροφή, νοηθήσεται· βρῶμα δὲ, ἡ ἐποπτικὴ θεωρία σάρκες αὐταὶ καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Λόγου, τουτέστι, καταληψίς τῆς θείας δυνάμεως καὶ οὐσίας. . . . οὕτως γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ μεταδίδωσι τοῖς πνευματικώτερον τῆς τοιαύτης μεταλαμβάνουσι βρώσεως. . . . βρώσις γὰρ καὶ πόσις τοῦ θείου Λόγου, ἡ γνώσις ἐστὶ τῆς θείας οὐσίας—Strom. v. c. 10. pp. 685, 686.

† “Quamquam ‘Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie,’ spiritualiter potius intelligamus. Christus enim panis noster est; quia vita Christus, et vita panis. Ego sum, inquit, panis vitæ. Et paulò supra: Panis est sermo Dei vivi, qui descendit de cœlis. Tum quod et corpus ejus in pane censetur: Hoc est corpus meum. Itaque petendo panem quotidianum, perpetuitatem postulamus in Christo, et individuitatem à corpore ejus.”—De Orat. c. vi. pp. 131, 132.

‡ “Sic enim Christus revelavit, panem corpus suum appellans, ejus retro corpus in panem Prophetes figuravit.”—Adv. Jud. xi. p. 196.

§ “Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur.”—De Resurrectione Carnis, c. viii. p. 330, B.

gave life, because the Word is spirit and life, called the same Word his flesh; for the Word was made flesh; and it is therefore earnestly to be desired for the sake of life, to be *devoured by hearing, and ruminated by the understanding, and digested by faith*.* In the first book against Marcion, Christ, he says, most highly honoured the works of the Creator (whom that heretic blasphemed) by making use of them in his own sacraments; "for he did not reject the water of the Creator, in which he washes his disciples; nor the oil, with which he anoints them; nor the union of honey and milk, with which he nurses them; nor the bread, by which he *represents* his own body."† In the third book, referring, as in his tract against the Jews, to Jer. xi. 19, he tells Marcion, "Even in *your* gospel God has revealed what he here means by bread, calling it his body; so that from hence you may understand that he has applied *the figure* of his body to bread," &c.‡ And in the fourth book, still more explicitly, he says, that the eucharistic bread was a figure of our Lord's body just as the paschal lamb was a figure of Him. It is Tertullian's object, in this book, to prove against Marcion, that Christ was sent forth from the Creator, the God of Israel; and this point he establishes by showing, that the prophecies and types of the Old Testament were exactly fulfilled in his person. Amongst other proofs he mentions the Passover, by which, he says, "the law prefigured his passion," and which Christ himself earnestly desired to celebrate, before he was led forth as a lamb to the slaughter, and thus fulfilled "that figure of his salvific blood." In the very same sense, Christ, he proceeds to argue, "made that bread which he took, and distributed to the disciples, to be his body, saying, 'This is my body,' that is, a figure of my body."§

* "Itaque sermonem constituens vivificatorem, quia spiritus et vita sermo, eundem etiam carnem suam dixit; quia et sermo caro erat factus; proinde in causam vitæ appetendus, et devorandus auditu, et ruminandus intellectu, et fide digerendus."—De Res. Carn. xxxvii. p. 347, C.

† "Sed ille quidem usque nunc nec aquam reprobavit Creatoris, qua suos abluit; nec oleum, quo suos ungit; nec mellis et lactis societatem, qua suos infantat; nec panem, quo ipsum corpus suum representat; etiam in sacramentis propriis egens mendicitatibus Creatoris."—c. xiv. p. 372, B.

‡ "Hoc lignum et Hieremias tibi insinuat, dicturis prædicans Judæis, Venite, mittamus lignum in panem ejus, utique in corpus. Sic enim Deus in evangelio quoque vestro revelavit, panem corpus suum appellans, ut et hinc jam intelligas corporis sui figuram panem dedisse, cujus retro corpus in panem Prophetes figuravit, ipso Domino hoc sacramentum postea interpretaturo."—c. xix. p. 408, C.

§ "O legis destructorem, qui concupierat etiam Pascha servare! Nimirum vervecina illum Judaica delectaret? An ipse erat, qui tanquam victimam adduci habens, et tanquam ovem coram tondente sic os non aperturus, figuram sanguinis sui salutaris implere concupiscebat? Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupisse edere Pascha ut suum (indignum enim ut quid alienum concupisceret Deus) acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis, corpus illum suum fecit; hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei."—c. xl. p. 457, D.

These passages, which are clear and unequivocal, may suffice to show, that the Christians of the second century plainly understood, that Christ spoke allegorically and figuratively, when he called the bread and wine in the Eucharist, His body, and His blood. To those who wish to carry the inquiry farther we would recommend Bishop Morton's treatise *De Eucharistia*. In the whole range of polemical theology we should find it difficult to mention any other work of which the whole argument is so complete, so convincing, so unanswerable. No person, on either side of the question, should attempt to enter on this branch of the controversy between the Reformed Churches and the Church of Rome, without very carefully studying this work of Bishop Morton's; and we are disposed to think, that he who should take the pains to translate this treatise into English, for the benefit of those who are less learned, would, perhaps, render a greater service to the cause of truth than he could hope to effect by any original lucubrations of his own.

In what manner Sunday, or the Lord's Day, was observed by the Christians of the second century, is an inquiry of no little interest. The scanty notices of this subject to be collected from their writings induce a suspicion, that the religious celebration of this day was regarded by them, as resting rather on ecclesiastical tradition than on any Divine precept. They seem to have been utterly strangers to the opinion, that the observances of the Jewish Sabbath were transferred in the Christian church to the first day of the week, either by Divine authority, or Apostolical practice; though, at the same time, it is evident that, even from the Apostles' days, this day was kept with peculiar sanctity and honour, as a day holy to the Lord, in commemoration of the work of creation, which he began thereon, as well as of his resurrection from the dead. The account which Justin gives of the religious observance of Sunday, as he calls it, is thus translated by the Bishop of Lincoln.

“ On the day called Sunday, there is an assembling together of all who dwell in the cities and country; and the Memoirs of the Apostles and the Writings of the Prophets are read as long as circumstances permit. Then, when the reader has ceased, the president delivers a discourse, in which he admonishes and exhorts (all present) to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray; and as we before said, prayer being ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president offers prayers in like manner and thanksgivings, according to his ability; and the people express their assent by saying Amen; and the distribution of that, over which the thanksgiving has been pronounced, takes place to each, and each partakes, and a portion is sent to the absent by the Deacons. And they

who are wealthy, and choose, give as much as they respectively deem fit; and whatever is collected is deposited with the president, who succours the orphans and widows, and those who through sickness or any other cause are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and in a word takes care of all who are in need. But we meet together on Sunday because it is the first day, in which God, having wrought the necessary change in darkness and matter, made the world: and on this day Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead. For he was crucified on the day before that of Saturn; and on the day after that of Saturn, which is the day of the Sun, having appeared to the apostles and disciples, he taught them the things which we now submit to your consideration."—pp. 88, 89.

"We learn" (says the learned prelate) "moreover from the passage above recited, that on the first day of the week, or as Justin styles it, the *day of the Sun, the brethren met together for the purposes of religious worship; and he assigns as the reason for the selection of that particular day, that on it God began the work of Creation, and Christ rose from the dead. So long as the converts to the Gospel were principally of Jewish origin, it is reasonable to suppose that, as they attended the service of the Temple, and frequented the Jewish synagogues, so they kept the Jewish Sabbath; holding, however, meetings for religious worship on the first day of the week, in commemoration of Christ's resurrection from the dead. The admission of the Gentiles into the Church was quickly followed by the controversy respecting the necessity of observing the Mosaic ritual—a controversy carried on, as we collect from the writings of the New Testament, with great bitterness; one consequence of which was, that the converts, whether Jew or Gentile, who believed that the injunctions of the ceremonial law were no longer obligatory, soon ceased to observe the Sabbath; some even went the length, as Justin informs us, of attaching criminality to the observance, as bespeaking a species of return from Christianity to Judaism. Bearing, however, in mind that one reason assigned by Moses for the sanctification of the Sabbath was, that on

*"The reader will observe that Justin calls the first day of the week *ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέρα*, and the last *ἡ κρονική*. Dion Cassius, in *Pompeio*, c. 6, says that the Romans derived the practice of assigning the names of the planets to different days from the Egyptians, and that it had become in a certain degree national among them, *καὶ ἤδη καὶ τοῦτο σοφίσαι πάτριον τρόπον τινὰ ἔστιν*. Whether the Egyptians, having received the computation of time by weeks from the Jews, applied the names of the seven heavenly bodies, then known to be immediately connected with our system, to the days of the week; or whether their observation of the heavenly bodies first led them to compute time by periods of seven days, may be doubtful; but it appears certain that the computation was made subservient to the purposes of astrology. Dion has recorded two explanations of the manner in which the names of the heavenly bodies came to be assigned to the different days. The early Christians, if of Jewish extraction, retained, if of Gentile, adopted the Scriptural computation by weeks; and finding the astronomical or astrological names of the days of the week generally received throughout the Roman Empire, in their Apologies addressed to the heathen naturally used those names. Selden, in the 13th and following Chapters of the third Book of his work, *De Jure Naturali*, &c. which we recommend to the careful perusal of those, who, whatever be the side they espouse, shall hereafter engage in the controversy respecting the institution of the Sabbath, collected all that can be found on this not uninteresting subject."—pp. 94, 95.

the seventh day God rested from the work of creation, they added to the original reason for observing the first day of the week—the commemoration of Christ's resurrection—another, that on that day God commenced the work of creation. Thus far, and thus far only, can it in my opinion be truly said, that the Lord's Day was substituted in the place of the Jewish Sabbath: at first it was observed in conjunction with the Sabbath, and with a reference only to the resurrection."—pp. 94—97.

If to the above account of Justin's we add from Tertullian, that Sunday was dedicated to joy—that it was observed as a day of festivity,* we shall have collected all the information on the subject which the Fathers of the second century afford. Their writings supply not the slightest intimation that the Lord's day was observed by them, in obedience to any positive divine precept enjoining it; or that the observance of the seventh day, or of one day in seven, was enjoined to our first parents, and through them to all mankind; or that the sabbatical constitutions of the Mosaic law were of any force at all in the Christian church; but they furnish abundant proofs of their opinion that the institution of the Sabbath was given to the Jews only; that it was not observed by the Patriarchs before the Law; that it was utterly abrogated, together with the other ceremonial appointments of the Law, by the introduction of a newer and better covenant; and that the observance of it indicated a reprehensible desire of returning from Christianity to Judaism.

Those who maintain the perpetual obligation of the Sabbath contend, that when God had completed the work of his creation, he blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, and appointed it to be kept as a day of holy rest by Adam and all his posterity; and they say, that in the command, "*Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy*,"† there is a clear reference to the original institution in Gen. ii. 3. The whole of this argument proceeds on mere gratuitous assumption, and has no support from Scripture. That God blessed that day on which he rested from the labour of creation is certain—he made it, if we may so speak, a festival in heaven, "when the morning-stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy;"‡ but that he appointed every succeeding seventh day to be observed thenceforth by Adam and his descendants, can neither be proved from Scripture, nor gathered from it in the way of probable inference; for there is not in

* "*Æque si diem Solis lætitiæ indulgemus*," &c.—*Apologet.* xvi. p. 16, B. "*Alii plane, humanius, Solem Christianum Deum æstimant, quod innouerit ad orientis partem facere nos precationem, vel die Solis lætitiæ curare.*"—*Ad Nat.* c. xiii. p. 50, A. "*Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare.*"—*De Corona*, c. iii. p. 102, A.

† *Exod.* xx. 8.

‡ *Job*, xxxviii. 7.

Scripture the faintest hint, that the Sabbath was observed by Adam, or Abel, or Seth, or Enoch, or Noah, or Melchizedek, or Abraham, or any saint or patriarch from the creation to the Exodus. But, we are told, it is implied in the Sinaitic precept, "Remember the Sabbath-day," that an injunction to keep the Sabbath holy had been already given prior to the delivery of this commandment; and it is quietly taken for granted, that this prior injunction is, in some way or other, comprised in the simple enunciation of the fact, that God, having finished the creation in six days, "blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made." To this it would be a sufficient answer, that the emphatic word "*Remember*" might be intended only to draw attention more strongly to the fourth commandment, which is acknowledged by the Jews to be the most important of all the precepts of their Law. But, in truth, the injunction to observe the Sabbath was given to the Israelites before the delivery of the Law from Sinai. The statute and the ordinance which God made for them in Marah,* were, according to the most ancient and universal tradition of the Jews, the two precepts, to keep holy the Sabbath and to honour their parents; in the repetition of the Decalogue, which is given by Moses in the book of Deuteronomy, these two precepts, and these only, are therefore enforced by the additional injunction—"Keep the Sabbath-day, honour thy father and thy mother; *as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee.*"† The fact that the observance of the Sabbath was appointed to the Israelites before they came to Sinai, rests not, however, on any rabbinical tradition, but is plainly asserted by Moses himself, who tells us,‡ that when the people "came unto the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai," the Lord rained down bread for them from heaven, giving them day by day a supply sufficient for their daily sustenance, but on the sixth day a double portion. When the rulers of the congregation reported this remarkable occurrence to Moses, he informed them, that God had given them this double measure in order to enable them to keep the morrow, as a holy Sabbath, as the Lord had enjoined them; and though the manna which fell on other days could not be reserved till the following morning, he bade them lay by a portion of what they gathered on the sixth day for their sustenance on the seventh, with an assurance, that as no manna would fall on the Sabbath, the portion kept for that day should be sweet and fit for food; and when some of the people, still unbelieving, went out on the seventh day, as usual, to gather, "the Lord said unto Moses, How

* Exod. xv. 25.

† Deut. v. 12. 16.

‡ Exod. xvi. 22—30.

long refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws? See, for that the Lord hath given you the Sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days: abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day. So the people rested on the seventh day."

From this plain narrative it appears, that the Sabbath was given to the Israelites (and given to them for the first time, as an institution with which they were wholly unacquainted) whilst they were encamped in the station between Elim and Sinai; and in the circumstances of the story we may discover a very sufficient reason why the emphatic word *remember* was prefixed to the fourth commandment of the Decalogue. The Jews, who, in this respect at least, may be admitted to be the best interpreters of their own law, uniformly maintained that the Sabbath, like circumcision, was given exclusively to them, as the sign* of the covenant which God had made with them; that it belonged in no sense to the Gentiles; and that it was not lawful even for the proselytes of the gate to observe it. When that covenant, of which the Sabbath was a sign, was abrogated, the Sabbath itself was of course abrogated with it. This is confessed; but it is said that the observance of the seventh-day sabbath, is transferred in the Christian Church to the first day of the week. We ask, by what authority? and are much mistaken, if an examination of all the texts in the New Testament, in which the first day of the week, or the Lord's day, is mentioned, does not prove that there is no divine or apostolical precept enjoining its observance, nor any *certain* evidence from Scripture that it was in fact so observed in the time of the Apostles.

With respect to the Jewish Sabbath, the conduct of our Lord, who, be it remembered, was born under the Law, was very remarkable. We learn from many passages in the Gospels, that "it was his custom" to frequent the public worship of the Synagogue on the Sabbath days; but, in all other instances, he appears to have treated the scrupulous observance of the Sabbatical laws with studied disrespect. The diseases which he miraculously cured were all chronic; but he encouraged the sick to come to him to be healed on the Sabbath, though they might just as well have waited till the morrow; and if they lay on couches, he commanded them in every instance to carry them away. Thus too he justified his disciples in gathering the ears of corn on the Sabbath to satisfy their hunger, though their doing so was unquestionably a breach of the Sabbath: and this he did for two very important reasons; first, to show that "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath;" and secondly, that he,

* Exod. xxxi. 12—17. Compare Ezek. xx. 12, 20.

the Son of Man, as " Lord of the Sabbath," had the same power to abrogate it as he had at first to command its observance.

It deserves also to be noticed, that though in his Sermon on the Mount, and on many other occasions, he enforced and enlarged the other precepts of the Decalogue, he never enjoined the observance of the Sabbath on his disciples, nor gave them the slightest intimation that he designed the observation of it, under any modifications, to be continued in his Church. Accordingly we shall search the Scriptures in vain, either for any apostolical precept appointing the first day of the week to be observed in the place of the Jewish Sabbath, or for any unequivocal proof that the first Christians so observed it.

There are only three, or at most four, places of Scripture in which the first day of the week is mentioned, after our Lord's Ascension; and only one of these from which it can be certainly inferred that the disciples met on that day for the purposes of public worship. The two first passages are John xx. 19, and, *perhaps*, v. 26, which merely tell us, that on the first day of the week the disciples were assembled with closed doors for fear of the Jews. From these texts alone we could not with any safety conclude that the disciples met together for any religious purposes. The next passage is Acts xx. 7. " Upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them." All that St. Luke here tells us plainly is, that on a particular occasion the Christians of Troas met together on the first day of the week to celebrate the Eucharist, and to hear St. Paul preach. This is the only place in Scripture in which the first day of the week is in any way connected with any acts of public worship, and he who would certainly infer from this solitary instance, that the first day of every week was consecrated by the Apostles to religious purposes, must be far gone in the art of drawing universal conclusions from particular premises. From 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, we learn that St. Paul had given orders to the Churches of Galatia and Corinth to make collections for the poor on the first day of the week; and Rev. i. 10, St. John tells us, " I was in the spirit on the Lord's day." This is *all* the positive information which the Scriptures afford respecting the observance of the first day of the week.

The want of all apostolical precept, either enjoining the observance of the Lord's Day in lieu of the Jewish Sabbath, or directing in what manner and for what purposes it ought to be observed, is the more remarkable when we consider that the great importance which the Mosaic Law attached to the times and circumstances of divine worship made it more necessary for the Apostles to notice these points, especially in their addresses to

their Jewish converts. But neither in the Epistle to the Hebrews, nor in any of the exhortations to the practical duties of Christianity, with which most of his Epistles are concluded, has St. Paul once mentioned this subject; neither did the Apostles, in their council at Jerusalem, think proper to include the mention of the Lord's Day among those things which it was necessary for the Gentiles to observe.

Such is the profound silence of Scripture on this head, that, except from the uniform tradition and practice of the Church (which in this, as in many other instances, is our best guide to Scripture truth) we could not certainly have known, that the Apostles set apart the first day of every week for the purposes of religious worship, in commemoration of the resurrection of Christ, for the celebration of the Eucharist, and for the relief of the necessities of the poor. These, Justin informs us, were the ends for which Christians assembled on the Lord's Day. His account is not only in perfect harmony with Scripture, but it supplies the deficiencies of the Scripture narrative, and justifies us in inferring, from the scattered notices of this subject in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul, that the Lord's Day was consecrated by the Apostles themselves to these pious and charitable uses. If, to this account, we add the testimony of Tertullian, that Sunday was dedicated by Christians to festivity and joy, we shall have collected nearly all that can be known of the manner in which the Lord's Day was celebrated in the primitive Church. This much, however, is certain; that as there is no divine or apostolical precept enjoining the mode in which the Lord's Day ought to be observed, we can follow no better guide than the tradition and usage of the Catholic Church. Much, therefore, is left to the authority of every particular Church, in defining the circumstances of the public worship on that day; and something is left to the conscience of every private Christian, in deciding in what manner the remainder of the day should be spent after the public worship is ended. The reasonableness of devoting this day to God's service is so evident, and its conduciveness to our spiritual improvement is so undeniable, that every good man will use his liberty in this respect with the utmost caution, and, rather than give offence even to his weaker brethren, will carefully conform to the customs of his country, and to the very prejudices of his fellow Christians.

The opinion that the Lord's Day should be observed by Christians with sabbatical strictness, and that all the precepts commanding the observation of the Jewish Sabbath were transferred by God himself to the first day of the week in the Christian Church, was first broached in this country about the year 1594,

by Dr. Bound, a puritan divine, and ever since that time has had many followers. To what a length this man and his fanatical adherents carried their notions the following passage may show.

"They were so hardy," says Collier, "as to say, 'That to do any servile work or business on the Lord's Day, was as great a sin as to kill a man, or to commit adultery . . . That to throw a bowl on the Lord's Day was as great a sin as to kill a man . . . That to make a feast, or dress a wedding-dinner in the same, was as great a sin as for a father to take a knife and cut his child's throat . . . And that to ring more bells than one on the Lord's Day was as great a sin as to commit a murder.'"^{*}

How different was the feeling of our Reformers may be seen by referring to the act 5 and 6 Edward VI. c. 3, which was passed for the regulation of the holidays to be observed in the Church of England; and other acts which were subsequently passed in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. for the better ordering of lawful Sunday sports, which had been immemorably used, but had fallen into great disorder, and gave occasion to much riot and profaneness.

It should be remembered, however, that in by-gone days, when Christians, as in Tertullian's time, devoted their Sundays to joy, none were permitted to partake of the common sports who had not been partakers of the common worship.

We have been so long occupied in examining the evidence of Justin, respecting the religious observances of the Christian Church in the middle of the second century, that we must here conclude our remarks. To complete the series of the Fathers of this century, from Justin to Tertullian (the first and the last whose writings the Bishop of Lincoln has undertaken to illustrate) Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria are all that now remain. Whether the very learned prelate has any design of illustrating their works, or whether his more important avocations will prevent his accomplishing this arduous task, we are altogether ignorant; but we know of no divine who has more fully proved that he possesses the varied learning, the candid judgment, and the sound discretion—all of which would be indispensably required in him who should attempt to analyze and to elucidate the profound and *gnostic* writings of the disciple of Pantænus.

^{*} Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 11, book vii. p. 644. He quotes Heylin, Hist. Presbyt. lib. x. for these examples of Puritanical theology.

ART. VII.—*Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828.* By Captain Basil Hall, Royal Navy. 3 vols. 12mo. Cadell and Co., Edinburgh; Simpkin and Marshall, London: 1829. 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

CAPTAIN BASIL HALL has been long known to the public as a very ingenious and lively traveller, and the work now before us will strengthen and perpetuate his title to that appellation. His disquisitions on politics and morals will be approved by some and blamed by others, but his narrative must be universally entertaining; so entertaining, indeed, that most readers will grumble at the repeated interruptions which it experiences from graver and more questionable matter. His *Travels in North America* might furnish ample materials, and a fair excuse, for an essay upon the Western World. But at the present moment we are not prepared for an investigation of this nature. We propose to let Captain Hall speak for himself; and he speaks so well, that we cannot cater better for the amusement and instruction of our friends than by allowing him to tell his story in his own words. The object for which he sought the American shore is detailed in the following passage.

“ In former days, I confess, I was not very well disposed to the Americans; a feeling shared with all my companions on board, and probably also with most of my superiors. But as the duties of a varied service, in after years, threw me far from the source at which these national antipathies had been imbibed, they appeared gradually to dissipate themselves, in proportion as my acquaintance with other countries was extended, and I had learned to think better of mankind in general. Thus, in process of time, I came to view with regret the prevalence in others of those hostile sentiments I had myself relinquished. My next anxiety naturally was, to persuade others that there really were no just grounds for the mutual hostility so manifestly existing between America and England. To speak more correctly, I could not help believing, that, in spite of the great differences in the geographical and political situation of the two countries, there must still be so many circumstances in which they agreed, that if the merits of both were respectively explained, there would spring up more cordiality between them; a state of things which I took it for granted must be advantageous to both countries.

“ These speculative views were further confirmed by the report of the Americans I met with from time to time, all of whom gave the most animating and unqualified praise to their country and its institutions; accompanied, invariably, by vehement denunciations against the whole race of travellers, whose statements they represented as being, without exception, false and slanderous, and, consequently, as doing their country no justice. So much, indeed, was I persuaded of the truth of these statements, that, from a desire to think well of the country, I avoided

reading any of the *Travels* in question, and rather chose to form my opinions mainly from the accounts of the Americans themselves.

“ At length, on the occurrence of an interval of professional leisure, I resolved to investigate this interesting subject for myself ; for I found very few people in England of my way of thinking. Accordingly I set out for America, with the confident expectation, not only of finding ample materials for justifying these favourable impressions adopted from the Americans, but of being able, by a fair statement of the facts of the case, to soften in some degree the asperity of that ill-will, of which it was impossible to deny the existence, and which was looked upon by many persons in both countries as a serious international evil.

“ Probably, therefore, there seldom was a traveller who visited a foreign land in a more kindly spirit. I was really desirous of seeing every thing, relating to the people, country, and institutions, in the most favourable light ; and was resolved to use my best endeavours to represent to my countrymen what was good, in colours which might incline them to think the Americans more worthy of regard and confidence than they generally were esteemed in England. It was also part of my project, if possible, to convince the Americans themselves that the English were willing to think well of them, and were sincerely anxious to be on good terms, if they could only see just grounds for a change of sentiment. Such were the hopes and wishes with which I landed in America.”—vol. i. pp. 3—5.

These hopes and wishes were not accomplished ; and Captain Hall's three volumes must be read in order to understand the grounds of his disappointment. Whether those grounds are or are not sufficient, is a question which we shall refrain from discussing. But it strikes us that a different result might have been attained, if the inquirer had put Britain entirely out of the question, and confined himself to making acquaintance with America. The great cause of jealousy and ill-will between the two countries is the habit of comparing themselves constantly with each other. Nothing can spring from such irritating contrasts but mutual and inveterate dislike. And they who desire to diminish national antipathies, which are unworthy of civilized and Christian nations, should set about it by exhorting each party to rest contented with their own lot, and to look upon the other as connected with them by origin, language, and religion, but in political principles and practices utterly and irreversibly unlike.

Among the curiosities of New York we have the following description of moving a house.

“ I was so fortunate as to see, during my stay at New York, the curious process of moving a house bodily along the ground, an operation, as far as I know, peculiar to that place. The merit of this curious adaptation of well known mechanical operations belongs to Mr. Simeon Brown, who has very kindly explained the whole process to me, and by his permission I shall endeavour to give an account of it.

“Every one has heard of moving wooden houses; but the transportation of a brick dwelling is an exploit of a different nature. I shall describe simply what I saw, and then tell how the details were managed. In a street which required to be widened there stood two houses much in the way, their front being twelve feet too far forward. These houses, therefore, must either have been taken down, or shifted back. Mr. Brown undertook to execute the less destructive process. They were both of brick, and built together, one being forty feet deep, and twenty-five feet front; the other thirty-two feet deep, and twenty-two feet front. They were of the same height, that is to say, twenty-two feet from the ground to the eaves, above which stood the roof and two large stacks of brick chimneys; the whole forming a solid block of building, having two rows, of six windows each, along a front of forty-seven feet by twenty-two. This was actually moved in a compact body, without injury, twelve feet back from the street. I watched the progress of the preparations on the 25th of May with great interest; but unfortunately, just as the men were proceeding to the actual business of moving the screws, I was obliged to run off to keep an appointment with the Mayor and Corporation; and when I came back, three or four hours afterwards, the workmen had gone away after moving the buildings thirty inches; which fact I ascertained by measurements of my own. On the next day, with equal perversity of fate, I was again called off to join a party going to New Jersey; and on my return two days afterwards, I had the mortification to find the work completed. The houses were now exactly nine feet and a half from the position in which I had left them a few days before.”—vol. i. pp. 38, 39.

“Such is the security of these operations, that no furniture is ever removed from the houses so transported. The inhabitants, I am told, move out and in as if nothing were going on. This, however, I did not see.

“Mr. Brown was once employed to remove a house from the top to the bottom of a sloping ground; and, as no additional impulse from screws was here required, he resolved to ease the building down, as sailors call it, by means of a tackle. Unfortunately, about the middle of the operation, the strop of one of the blocks broke, and the operator, who was standing on the lower side of the building, was horrified by the apparition of the house under weigh, and smoking by its friction, right down upon him. With that vigorous presence of mind which is compounded of thorough knowledge and a strong sense of the necessity of immediate action, and without which courage is often useless, he dashed a crow-bar, which he happened to have in his hand at the time, into a hole accidentally left in one of the ways, and leaping on one side, watched the result. The momentum of the enormous moving body was so great, that it fairly drove the iron bar, like a cutting instrument, for a considerable distance through the fibres of the timber. The main point, however, was gained, by the house being arrested in its progress down the hill; and the able engineer, like an officer who has shown himself fertile in resource, reaped more credit from the successful application of a remedy

to an evil not anticipated, than if all had gone smoothly from the commencement."—vol. i. pp. 43, 44.

The account of the Penitentiary at Sing Sing on the Hudson River, at the distance of thirty miles from New York, is highly important. But we have room for the general result only, and must refer our readers to the work itself for the rest less interesting details.

"I have yet seen nothing in any part of the world in the way of prisons which appeared to be better managed than this establishment. It is no easy task to bring people who are well disposed under the influence of strict discipline; but when the parties to be wrought upon are wicked and turbulent by nature, and altogether unaccustomed to restraint, the difficulty is considerably augmented. This problem, however, has been, I think, pretty nearly solved in America.

"I had been told, in a general way, that several hundred convicts were employed at this spot, in the construction of a prison in which they themselves were eventually to be confined; but I could scarcely credit the accounts which described the degree of order and subordination maintained amongst a set of the most hardened ruffians anywhere to be found. Accordingly, although prepared in some degree, my astonishment was great when I approached the spot, and saw only two sentinels pacing along the height, from whence I looked down upon two hundred convicts at work. Some of these were labouring in a large marble quarry, others in long wooden sheds surrounding the spot, and some were engaged at various parts of the new prison, an extensive stone building running parallel to the river, about one-third of which had been finished and made habitable.

"Captain Lynds, the superintendant, for whom we had brought a letter, joined us on the edge of the cliff, and begged us to walk down, that we might see what was going on, and judge, by personal inspection, whether or not the accounts we had heard were exaggerated.

"There was an air of confident authority about all the arrangements of this place which gave us a feeling of perfect security, though we were walking about unarmed amongst cut-throats and villains of all sorts. There was something extremely imposing in the profound silence with which every part of the work of these people was performed. During several hours that we continued amongst them, we did not hear even a whisper, nor could we detect in a single instance an exchange of looks among the convicts, or what was still more curious, a sidelong glance at the strangers. Silence in fact is the essential, or I may call it the vital principle of this singular discipline. When to this are added unceasing labour during certain appointed hours, rigorous seclusion during the rest of the day, and absolute solitude all night, there appears to be formed one of the most efficacious combinations of moral machinery that has ever perhaps been seen in action."—vol. i. pp. 51—53.

Among the constant annoyances to which the travellers are exposed, and which are mentioned, perhaps, somewhat oftener

than necessary, we find an amusing notice of the self-laudatory habits of the people.

“ At this early stage of the journey, I find from my notes that the most striking circumstance in the American character, which had come under our notice, was the constant habit of praising themselves, their institutions, and their country, either in downright terms, or by some would-be indirect allusions, which were still more tormenting. I make use of this sharp-edged word, because it really was exceedingly teasing, when we were quite willing and ready to praise all that was good, and also to see every thing, whether good or bad, in the fairest light, to be called upon so frequently to admit the justice of such exaggerations. It is considered, I believe, all over the world, as bad manners for a man to praise himself or his family. Now, to praise one's country appears, to say the least of it, in the next degree of bad taste.

“ It was curious to see with what vigilant adroitness the Americans availed themselves of every little circumstance to give effect to this self-laudatory practice. I happened one day to mention to a lady, that I had been amused by observing how much more the drivers of the stages managed their horses by word of mouth than by touch of the whip. Upon which she replied, ‘ Oh yes, sir, the circumstance you relate is very interesting, as it shows both intelligence in the men, and sagacity in the animals.’ This was pretty well; but I merely smiled and said nothing, being somewhat tickled by this amiable interchange of human wisdom and brute sagacity. The lady's suspicions, however, instantly took fire on seeing the expression of my countenance, and she answered my smile by saying, ‘ Nay, sir, do you not think the people in America, upon the whole, particularly intelligent?’

“ Thus it ever was, in great things as well as in small, on grave or ludicrous occasions; they were eternally on the defensive, and gave us to understand that they suspected us of a design to find fault, at times when nothing on earth was farther from our thoughts.”—vol. i. pp. 109, 110.

The description of the newly-settled territory, through which the Captain passed on his road from New York to Lake Erie, is in his best and most graphic style.

“ The country during this day's journey, though not quite so recently settled as some we had seen before, presented nearly the same mixture of wide oceans of impervious looking forests, dotted over, here and there, with patches of cleared land under every stage of the agricultural process. Some of the fields were sown with wheat, above which could be seen numerous ugly stumps of old trees; others allowed to lie in grass, guarded, as it were, by a set of gigantic black monsters, the girdled, scorched, and withered remnants of the ancient woods. Many farms were still covered with a most inextricable and confused mass of prostrate trunks, branches of trees, piles of split logs, and of squared timbers, planks, shingles, great stacks of fuel; and often, in the midst of all this, could be detected, a half-smothered log-hut without windows or furniture, but well stocked with people. At other places we came upon ploughs, always drawn by oxen, making their sturdy way amongst the

stumps like a ship navigating through coral reefs, a difficult and tiresome operation. Often, too, without much warning, we came in sight of busy villages, ornamented with tall white spires, topping above towers in which the taste of the villagers had placed green Venetian blinds; and at the summit of all, handsome gilt weather-cocks, glittering and crowing, as it seemed, in triumph over the poor forest.

“ ‘ Driver ! ’ I called out upon one occasion, ‘ what is the name of this village ? ’

“ ‘ Camillus, sir. ’

“ ‘ And what is that great building ? ’

“ ‘ That is the seminary—the polytechnic. ’

“ ‘ And that great stone house ? ’

“ ‘ Ob, that is the wool-factory. ’

“ In short, an Englishman might fancy himself in the vale of Stroud. But, mark the difference :—at the next crack of the whip—hocus, pocus !—all is changed. He looks out of the window—rubs his eyes, and discovers that he is again in the depths of the wood at the other extremity of civilized society, with the world just beginning to bud in the shape of a smoky log-hut, ten feet by twelve, filled with dirty-faced children, squatted round a hardy-looking female, cooking victuals for a tired woodsman seated at his door, reading, with suitable glee, in the *Democratical Journal of New York*, an account of Mr. Canning’s campaign against the Ultra-Tories of the old country.”—vol. i. pp. 135, 136.

At Canandaigua we have the following brief notice of the ecclesiastical affairs of New York, which we recommend to the serious attentions of those churchmen, whether British or American, who are shocked at the existence of an Established Church.

“ On Sunday we attended the afternoon service in the Episcopal Church. In America, the clergymen are chosen by their congregations, and may be dismissed at pleasure; a practice which has some good, and some bad effects. But it is not of Church discipline I mean to speak just now. The gentleman, who preached on the day in question, was in the unpleasant predicament just alluded to. After three years’ service his parishioners, it seems, became tired of him; and though no cause was assigned, as far as I could learn, the congregation intimated to him that they had no further occasion for his services. On this day, accordingly, he was to preach his farewell sermon. Much interest was naturally excited to know in what temper he would make his adieu. It was the opinion of many persons, whom I heard speaking of the circumstance, that he had been rather hardly dealt with, since he had zealously and faithfully performed all the duties of his station. No one seemed to know in the least what line he was about to take; for he had the unusual good sense to keep his own counsel. His opponents, if they had really no charge against their pastor, may have been a little uneasy; and his friends, I could easily discover, were very anxious. I happened to be living amongst his well-wishers, and naturally floated along with the tide which bore me, and became quite a party man—no very uncommon case—without knowing anything of the matter.

“ The text, which was pithy and rather angry, gave us some alarm, and we expected to hear the rattling of a severe storm over our heads. The judicious preacher, however, disappointed his enemies, and gratified his friends ; for while there was just enough in the text to show that he felt the severity of his sentence, the discourse itself breathed nothing but the truest Christian charity. By not even mentioning the word forgiveness, he studiously avoided showing that he was conscious of being injured ; thus leaving any reproachful inferences to be drawn in secret by those who knew the truth, whatever that might be. It struck me that his congregation, on the mere strength of his having taste and discretion enough, and I may add humility, not to set up a whining justification when no specific charge was made, ought to have voted him into the pulpit again.

“ His salary had been 500 dollars, or about 100 guineas a-year, and upon this fortune he had of course married. He was now left, however, without one dollar of income, and without a church. In any other country such a contingency in a man's affairs would be disastrous indeed ; but in America, where the field is comparatively unoccupied, a man of his stamp is quite sure, I was told, to get employment again, almost immediately, in some line or other.

“ It was not till long afterwards that I had the means of studying the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, though well worthy of attention. In the meantime, we had abundant ocular demonstration of the respect paid to the subject of religion ; for scarcely a single village, however small, was without a church. It was hinted to me, indeed, shily, that these churches were built as money speculations, and were not erected by the villagers themselves. But this, supposing it to be true, confirms, I think, instead of weakening the position ; for it is obvious that the speculators in church-seats must reckon upon a congregation ; and if there was not a steady religious sentiment prevalent amongst the population, these adventurers would be sure to lose their money.—Take it either way, it is clear that good must be the result.”—vol. i. pp. 149—151.

Previously to taking leave of the Erie Canal, Captain Hall furnishes us with the following particulars respecting it.

“ Lockport is celebrated over the United States as the site of a double set of canal locks, admirably executed, side by side, five in each, one for boats going up, the other for those coming down the canal. The original level of the rocky table-land about Lockport is somewhat, though not much, higher than the surface of lake Erie, from which it is distant, by the line of the canal, about thirty miles. In order to obtain the advantage of having such an inexhaustible reservoir as lake Erie for a feeder to the canal, it became necessary to cut down the top of the ridge on which Lockport stands, to bring the canal level somewhat below that of the lake. For this purpose a magnificent excavation, called the Deep Cutting, several miles in length, with an average depth of twenty-five feet, was made through a compact horizontal limestone stratum — a

work of great expense and labour, and highly creditable to all parties concerned.

“ The Erie Canal is 363 miles in length, 40 feet wide at the surface, 28 at bottom, and 4 feet deep. There are 83 locks of masonry, each 90 feet long by 15 wide. The elevation of Lake Erie above the Hudson at Albany is about 555 feet; but the lockage up and down on the whole voyage is 662 feet.

“ This great work, which was commenced on the 4th of July, 1817, was completed in eight years and four months, and cost about nine millions and a half of dollars, or somewhat more than two millions sterling. A considerable sum has been since expended annually in repairing occasional breaches, and in rendering various parts more substantial than was thought necessary at first. These expenses were always calculated upon; but it was considered an object of primary importance in every point of view, to open the canal, from end to end, and bring it into actual use as soon as possible; even though some parts of it might not have been completed with the utmost degree of perfection. The result showed the wisdom of this proceeding, as the receipts from the tolls have greatly exceeded the anticipated amount; and accordingly have furnished the canal commissioners with adequate means for bringing the whole into the proper condition. Property of every kind has risen in value, as might have been expected, in all those parts of the country through which the canal passes, and a vast increase, both of exports and imports, has taken place in those sections of the state which lie between the Hudson and the lakes, all tending to increase the wealth and importance of the State of New York.”—vol. i. pp. 172—174.

We pass over the description of Niagara and its wonders as old and well-known friends, and confine our extracts from the Canadian portion of the town to an interesting account of the civilization of an Indian tribe, and to some very important information respecting the emigrants recently located in the Upper Province.

“ On our way to York, the capital of Upper Canada, on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, we made a turn off the road, to visit a village recently erected on the banks of the river Credit, and inhabited by the tribe of Mississaguas.

“ Till within the last three or four years, these Indians were known in that part of Canada as the most profligate, drunken, and it was supposed, irreclaimable of savages. Such, indeed, was their state of wretchedness, that the total and speedy extinction of the whole tribe seemed inevitable. All this was attributed to other causes than poverty; for the annual distribution of goods to the tribe, either as a bounty from the crown, or as a consideration for lands which they had ceded, was most ample; whilst their neighbourhood to populous settlements insured them a ready market for their game or fish, if they had been industriously disposed. They owned also a fine tract of land, reserved for their exclusive use. But it seems they were lost in a state of continual intoxication, brought on by drinking the vilest kind of spirits, obtained by bartering the clothes and other articles annually served out to them by government.

“ Such a state of things, of course, attracted much attention, and many plans were suggested for ameliorating their condition ; but none succeeded in reclaiming these miserable objects, till, about three or four years ago, Sir Peregrine Maitland, then governor of Upper Canada, conceived the idea of domesticating these Indians on the banks of the river Credit. The ground, accordingly, was soon cleared, commodious houses were built, and implements of husbandry, clothes, and other things, given to the new settlers. These wretched people were induced to take this step chiefly by the influence of a missionary of the name of Jones, whose mother was a Mississagua, and his father a white man. Jones, it appears, had fallen in with some persons of the Methodist persuasion, who, with the zeal and sagacity by which they are so much distinguished, had imparted to him not only strong religious feelings, but had taught him to see how usefully he might be employed in reclaiming his Indian brethren from the degradation into which they had fallen. It happened, fortunately, that just at the moment, owing to some circumstances which I forget, he had acquired a considerable degree of influence amongst the tribe in question ; and his own virtuous efforts being opportunely seconded by the government, the result, so far as we could judge, was wonderful.

“ From living more like hogs than men, these Mississaguas had acquired, when we saw them, many domestic habits. They had all neat houses, made use of beds, tables and chairs, and were perfectly clean in their persons, instead of being plastered over with paint and grease. They were, also, tolerably well dressed, and were described as being industrious, orderly, and, above all, sober. Most of the children, and a few of the older Indians, could read English ; facts which we ascertained by visiting their school ; and I have seldom seen anything more curious. The whole tribe profess Christianity, attend divine service regularly, and, what is still more to the purpose, their conduct is said to be in character with their profession. Instead of hunting and fishing for a precarious livelihood, they now cultivate the ground ; and in place of galloping off to the whisky shop with their earnings, lay them up to purchase comforts, and to educate and clothe their children. Such at least were the accounts given to us.

“ We examined the village minutely, and had some conversation with the schoolmaster, a brother of Mr. Jones, the person to whose exertions so much of the success of this experiment is due. The number of Indians at the Credit village is only 215 ; but the great point gained, is the fact of reformation being possible. The same feelings and disposition to improve are extending rapidly, I am told, amongst the other tribes connected with the Mississaguas, and chiefly amongst the Chipewas of Lake Simcoe, and those of Rice Lake.

“ I had frequent opportunities afterwards, during the journey, of conversing with persons well acquainted with the Indians of North America, and I was sorry to observe, that faint hopes were entertained as to any permanent improvement being possible in the condition of these poor people. When I described what I had seen at this village, the persons I spoke to could not deny, they said, that by the care of government, and

especially of disinterested and zealous people, willing to take personal trouble in teaching them the arts of civil life, they may be brought, apparently, to a considerable state of civilization; but that, sooner or later, they are always found to relapse, when the hand that guides them is withdrawn.

“ I confess I am unwilling to adopt so discouraging a notion; and I still think, after all I have seen and heard, that, by some means or other, the Indians might be reclaimed. This, however, can be accomplished, as I conceive, only by allowing them to mingle with the whites, to possess individual property, as well as political rights, and thence they might come, in time, to understand the practical value of religious and moral duties; obligations which are manifestly useless to such people, or to any people, when preached merely in the abstract.”—vol. i. pp. 257—261.

The result of Captain Hall's inquiries respecting emigration is, that to the poor labouring man it has proved, and will generally prove, a great blessing; but he does not recommend a settlement *in the Bush* to ladies and gentlemen. The accounts of experiments of this kind which have been made by the latter are among the most curious portions of the work. A half-pay officer, with a wife and three children, and nothing to live upon but a hundred pounds a-year, borrows £200, expends half the sum in implements of husbandry, &c., and sets sail from Bristol.

“ We sailed on the 3d of May, 1819, and after a tedious voyage to Quebec, and some detention afterwards in getting up the country, we arrived at the village of Cobourg, in the district of Newcastle, on the 19th of July. The whole of my expenses, for voyage, provisions, and all other travelling charges, amounted to £100 : 8s., so that on my arrival I had a very small sum left. However, my quarter's pay came round, I was in a cheap country, and, moreover, found a most warm and hospitable reception in the house of my old and esteemed friend. As a new township on the Rice Lake was about being surveyed, and I had not means to purchase a cleared farm near my friend, I determined to wait till the survey was finished, and try the Bush—as the woods here are called. This was in the month of December of the same year. I then obtained the grant of land my rank in the naval service entitled me to. In February, 1820, I contracted with two men to put me up a log-house, twenty-eight feet by twenty, and thirteen logs, or as many feet high; to roof it with shingles, and to board up the gable ends; and to clear off one acre about the house, to prevent the trees from falling on it, for all which I paid them 100 dollars. This shell of a building had merely a doorway cut out of the middle; and when my friend and the clergyman of Hamilton drove out in a single sleigh with me, to see it, and we took our dinner at one end and our horse at the other, on a miserably cold day in the month of March, it looked wretched enough; but as it was the first but one, so it was the last in the township. Whilst the snow and ice were good, I moved all my effects, got boards sufficient to finish

my house, and a six months' stock of provisions out; and on the 8th of May took my family into their pile of logs in a Canadian forest.

“ ‘ I will own, for a time our situation appalled me, and to my then unformed judgment in Bush matters, it seemed a hopeless struggle; but I was out with my family, and as I did not want for energy, I set to work in earnest. To two Americans I let a job to chop four acres and a half, at six dollars an acre; and at the same time, a man whom I had occasionally employed at home followed me out, and came to hire. During the course of the summer, he felled and chopped up three acres more: my cleared acre I planted with potatoes, a little corn, and turnips: my stock consisted of a cow and yoke of steers three years old, with the management of which I was totally unacquainted when I bought them; but if a man will give his mind to any common thing of the kind, and not think it a hardship, it is surprising what he may do, as in this case after a few days I found no difficulty.

“ ‘ I was now anxious to get my house made habitable as soon as possible, and a carpenter being employed not far off, I endeavoured to engage him to put in the windows and door; but finding that he wished to take advantage of my situation, I determined to do it myself, and thus was forced to learn the business of a carpenter. This I considered no hardship, as I had always been fond of the use of tools, and had, previous to my leaving England, taken several lessons in turning. During the summer, I got my house chinked, or filled the interstices between the logs with pieces of wood to make the inside flush or smooth, and to prevent the mud used as plaster on the outside from coming through. I then put in the windows and door, laid the floors, and partitioned off the lower part of the house into two good rooms; on wet days employed my man to dig a cellar under the house; in short, before the winter, I had made the log-house comfortable within, and, with the addition of some white-wash, smart without.

“ ‘ In August we cut some coarse grass in a beaver meadow close by, sprinkling salt through the little stack as we made it; after this we logged up and cleared three acres of the land I had chopped, and by the latter end of September had it sown with wheat; the logging, though heavy, I did with my hired man and steers, and before the winter, had it fenced with rails. Here, it may be remarked, I did not get much land cleared, but by doing little, and that partly with my own hands, I gained experience; and I would strongly advise gentlemen settling in Canada with small means, to commence clearing slowly, and with as little expense as possible.

“ ‘ In the fall, or autumn, I put up a log-kitchen, and a shed for my cattle; during the winter, I employed my man in chopping three acres more, in which I now and then assisted him, and soon became very expert in the use of the axe, felling the trees to the most advantage to assist their burning, and to save trouble in logging. With my beaver-meadow hay, and the fir tops of the fallen trees, my cattle were kept fat all the winter. In the spring, three acres more were cleared, fenced, and cropped with corn, potatoes and turnips; and where log-heaps had been burnt, the ashes were hoed off, and planted with melons and

cucumbers; a small patch was fenced off for a nursery, and apple-seeds sown, trees which are now ten and twelve feet high. I also put out several of the wild plum-trees of the country, which now bear abundance of fine fruit. From this time about five acres yearly have been added to my farm, taking great care, in clearing off my land, never to destroy a log that would make rails, by which means the fence always came off the field cleared; and although they are small—from four to six acres—the fences are all six feet or nine rails high. Here I will remark, it is a great fault to split rails small, an error that most new settlers persist in. In the spring of 1822, my attention was turned to making a flower and kitchen garden. Round the latter I made a straight fence with cedar posts, and thirteen rails high, which is at this day stocked with every kind of fruit tree to be had in the neighbourhood, which flourish beyond my expectation. My stock of animals has been gradually increasing, and to my other stock I have added horses and sheep, with poultry of all kinds.

“ ‘ In the year 1825 I had repaid the money I borrowed, by leaving back a small part of my half-pay every quarter, and had received a deed for 600 acres of my land, on which I had performed the settlement duty, which cost me £30. My farm is now increased to thirty-six acres. I have the deed for the remaining 200 acres of my land; also deeds for town and park lots in the rapidly-settling town of Peterborough; and, as my family have increased to six, and are growing up, I am just now about building a frame-house, thirty-six feet by twenty-six in the clear, two stories high, with a commodious kitchen behind, the timber and shingles for which I have bought by disposing of a mare, after using her for five years, and breeding a pair of horses from her. With my own exertions—being able to do most of the carpenter's work inside—and about £100, I expect to get it finished.

“ ‘ Some of my first chopped land is now nearly clear of stumps. I am planting out an orchard of apple-trees, raised from the seed sown by myself; have a good barn and stable, with various other offices; in short, feel that I have surmounted every difficulty. A town is growing up near me, roads are improving, bridges are built; one of the best mills in the province is just finished at Peterborough, another within three miles of me. Boards, and all descriptions of lumber, are cheap—about five dollars 1000 feet, four saw mills being in operation. Stores, a tannery, distillery, and many other useful businesses, are established, or on the eve of being so, at Peterborough; on the road to which, through Otanabee, the Land Company, the clergy, and some private individuals, have some of the best land in the province for sale, at from 7s. 6d. to 10s. per acre. The price of land generally, except on the roads, is about 5s. per acre.

“ ‘ I was the first settler in the township, and almost before a tree was cut down; now there are nearly 2000 acres cleared, and 125 families, consisting of 500 souls. On parallel lines, at the distance of three quarters of a mile apart, roads, of from thirty-three to sixty-six feet wide, are cut and cleared out by the parties owning the land all through the township, which will ultimately be of the greatest benefit, and are so

now to those settlers near them. They have been much cavilled at, and found fault with, by land speculators, and persons having large grants; but I never yet heard an actual settler complain of them. One great objection urged against them was, that a second growth of trees would spring up along these cleared avenues or roads, and be worse than that removed; but, from strict observation, I find this fallacious, as the second growth is always a different wood, generally poplar, cherry, elder, &c., with sprouts from some of the old stumps, and so thick that they cannot come to any size; while every year there is destroying, by slow but sure means, stumps that will take twenty or thirty years to get rid of.

“ ‘ I have now given an indifferent sketch of my settlement in the woods, from which, I think, it will be seen, that even a person not brought up to labour, and under many disadvantageous circumstances—such as going far back in a settlement, want of roads, bridges, mills and society, and having a sum of money to repay—still it will be seen that, with a good heart, and an industrious turn, a gentleman of small income may better his situation. And I certainly will say, that any person with the same means, and who will turn his hand to anything he can that is not dishonourable, will do well to follow the same course; and I think that such will not injure their country by leaving it. For example, while in England, on half-pay, nearly all my income went for food; here it nearly all goes for clothing of British manufacture. My family is supported with respectability and comfort, having abundance of all the necessaries of life within my farm, and my pay enabling me to supply all other requisites. Here we can keep the door of hospitality open, without inconvenience, and find leisure to visit our friends, and enjoy ourselves in a pleasant way, keeping a pair of good horses, sleighs, &c. &c.’ ”—vol. i. pp. 326—333.

We intended to confine our extracts to these serious matters; but there is one little story so characteristic of the writer, and of the manner in which he continues to entertain his readers by lively descriptions of trifling occurrences, that we cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing it.

“ A little before sunset, when still six or eight miles from our sleeping place, we emerged from the forest, and found ourselves most unexpectedly in one of the prettiest little valleys of America. A dark-coloured, sleepy-looking stream of water, called *La Riviere Rouge*, the drainings, probably, of some marsh, was flowing very slowly past, in tortuous bends, through a meadow which was confined by steep banks of red earth, bristled at top with underwood, out of which, a little removed from the brink, rose groups or clusters of straight-stemmed pines, as far up and down the glen as its windings would admit of our seeing.

“ The western part of the valley was dropping fast into shade as the sun went down; while the opposite side was still lighted up, except at two or three places where the shadows, having crossed the stream, were beginning to creep up the bank. Accordingly, as far as masses of light and shade, and variety of tints and forms went, the conditions of the picturesque were liberally supplied. But a painter, who, like a farmer,

is seldom quite satisfied with the gifts of nature as they come to his hand, might possibly have wished to superadd a bridge as a feature to the landscape; and so certainly did we, though from a cause unconnected with the fine arts. The water, we found to our dismay, was too deep to ford; and as there appeared to be no ferry-boat, we were placed in a most awkward dilemma.

"On reaching the spot where a bridge once stood, but stood no longer, we observed a little boy, paddling in a canoe not twice his own length, very busily engaged in transporting a most unwilling horse across the river. We had some interest in this matter, and watched the young captain's proceedings attentively. He first carried over the rider, with the saddle and bridle, in his nut-shell vessel; then returned to make a rope fast to the horse's head; after which he paddled himself back again to the opposite shore, where he tugged away manfully at the line, while his companion, another little urchin about ten years of age, brought up the rear, hallooing and driving the terrified steed into the flood.

"I must say I did not much admire this sort of navigation, which looked more like playing at ships than real service; but as there was no better to be had, we plucked up what courage we could muster, and trusted ourselves, one at a time, in our gallant young commodore's rickety bark, and all reached the other side in safety. The next job was to ferry the baggage over; and this effected, the horse was towed across, *secundum artem*, by the nose—an operation of some delicacy both to actors and spectators. Lastly came the transportation of the waggon, and here all my seamanship served only to show the hazard incurred of losing the whole conveyance. If the rope, which was what we call at sea inch-and-a-half line, or ratlin stuff, but old and much worn, had given way, as I fully expected it would, when the waggon was half channel over, and nothing in sight but four or five inches of the railing above the water, we must have bivouac'd where we were on the left bank of the Rouge, or Roosh, as it is called, which, however picturesque, was not exactly the place we should have selected for our night's quarters.

"Fortunately we succeeded in dragging the carriage across, and when the fore wheels fairly touched the bank, I thought, of course, that all our difficulties were over. But the united strength of all the party, males and females, young and old, combined, could not budge it more than a foot out of the water. I don't know what we should have done, had we not spied, near the landing place, a fathom or two of chain, one end of which our active little commanding officer soon tied to the carriage, and the horse being hitched, as the Americans term it, to the other, we drew it triumphantly to land, with a cheer which made the forest ring again."

—vol. i. pp. 268—271.

We must now proceed with our gallant sailor into the troubled sea of American politics. His account of the never-ending, still-beginning elections and canvassings, tallies with what has been stated elsewhere upon the same subject.

"During our stay at Albany, we went frequently into company, especially to dinners and to evening parties, both large and small, which

afforded us the most agreeable opportunities of seeing and judging of the state of domestic society; one feature of which ought to be mentioned, as it meets a stranger's observation in every quarter of that wide country. I mean the spirit of party—not to call it politics—or rather, to define it more correctly, the spirit of electioneering, which seems to enter as an essential ingredient into the composition of every thing.

“The most striking peculiarity of this spirit, in contradistinction to what we see in England, is, that its efforts are directed more exclusively to the means, than to any useful end. The Americans, as it appears to me, are infinitely more occupied about bringing in a given candidate, than they are about the advancement of those measures of which he is conceived to be the supporter. They do occasionally advert to these prospective measures, in their canvassing arguments in defence of their own friends, or in attacks upon the other party; but always, as far as I could see, more as rhetorical flourishes, or as motives to excite the furious acrimony of party spirit, than as distinct or sound anticipations of the line of policy which their candidate, or his antagonist, was likely to follow. The intrigues, the canvassings for votes, all the machinery of newspaper abuse and praise, the speeches and manœuvres in the legislature, at the bar, by the fireside, and in every hole and corner of the country from end to end, without intermission, form integral parts of the business—apparently far more important than the candidate's wishes—his promises—or even than his character and fitness for the office.

“All these things, generally speaking, it would seem, are subordinate considerations; so completely are men's minds swallowed up in the technical details of the election. They discuss the chances of this or that state, town, or parish, or district, going with or against their friend. They overwhelm one another with that most disagreeable of all forms of argument—authorities. They analyse every sentence uttered by any man, dead or alive, who possesses, or ever did possess, influence; not, it must be observed, to come at any better knowledge of the candidate's pretensions as a public man, but merely to discover how far the weight of such testimony is likely to be thrown into their own scale, or that of the opposite party.

“The election of the President, being one affecting the whole country, the respective candidates for that office were made the butts at which all political shafts were aimed, and to which every other election was rendered subservient, not indirectly, but by straight and obvious means. It was of no importance, apparently, whether the choice to be made at any given election were that of a governor, a member to Congress, or to the Legislature of the State—or whether it were that of a constable of the obscure ward of an obscure town—it was all the same. The candidates seldom, if ever, that I could see, even professed to take their chief ground as the fittest men for the vacant office—this was often hardly thought of—as they stood forward simply as Adams men or Jackson men—these being the names, it is right to mention, of the two gentlemen aiming at the Presidency. Although the party principles of these candidates for any office, on the subject of the Presidential election, could not—nine cases in ten—afford any index to their capacity for

filling the station to which they aspired, their chance of success was frequently made to hinge upon that matter exclusively. Thus the man who could bring most votes to that side of this grand, all-absorbing Presidential question which happened to have the ascendancy for the time being, was sure to gain the day, whether he were or were not the best suited to fill the particular vacancy.

"More or less this interference of Presidential politics in all the concerns of life, obtained in every part of America which I visited. There were exceptions, it is true, but these were so rare, that the tone I have been describing was assuredly the predominant one everywhere. The consequence was, that the candidates for office, instead of being the principals, were generally mere puppets—men of straw—abstract beings, serving the purpose of rallying points to the voters from whence they might carry on their main attack in the pursuit of an ulterior object, which after all was equally immaterial in itself, but which served for the time being to engross the attention of the people as completely as if it were of real consequence to them. In these respects, therefore, the Presidential contests in America resemble those field sports in which the capture of the game is entirely subordinate to the pleasures of its pursuit."—vol. ii. p. 59—62.

On the practice of drinking drams, and the misery and pauperism which are produced by it, we have the following remarks :

"In all other countries with which I have any acquaintance, the use of ardent spirits is confined almost exclusively to the vulgar ; and though, undoubtedly, the evil it causes may be severe enough, it certainly is not, upon the whole, any where so conspicuous as in the United States.

"In the course of the journey, such ample means of judging of these effects lay on every hand, that I speak of them with great confidence when I say, that a deeper curse never afflicted any nation. The evil is manifested in almost every walk of life, contaminates all it touches, and at last finds its consummation in the alms-house, the penitentiary, or the insane institution ; so that, while it threatens to sap the foundation of every thing good in America—political and domestic—it may truly be said to be worse than the yellow fever, or the negro slavery, because apparently more irremediable. Dram drinking has been quaintly called the natural child and the boon companion of democracy ; and is probably not less hurtful to health of body, than that system of government appears to be to the intellectual powers of the mind.

"Fortunately, however, the sober-minded part of the American population, who are fully alive to the enormity of this growing and frightful evil, are making great efforts to check its progress. At the same time I must confess, that as yet I have not heard in conversation, nor seen in print, nor observed any thing myself in passing through the country, which promises the least alleviation to this grievous mischief, of which the origin and continuance, I suspect, lie somewhat deeper than any American is willing to carry his probe. The habit, according to my view of the matter, is interwoven in the very structure of that political society which the Americans not only defend, but uphold as the very

wisest that has ever been devised, or ever put in practice, for the good of mankind. At present, however, my object is to deal chiefly with the fact, though I may remark in passing, that in a country where all effective power is placed—not indirectly and for a time, but directly, universally, and permanently—in the hands of the lowest and most numerous class of the community, the characteristic habits of that class must of necessity predominate, in spite of every conceivable device recommended and adopted by the wise and the good men of the nation.

“That I am not overstating the facts of this case, will be seen from the following extracts from the First Report of the “American Society for the Promotion of Temperance,” established at Boston on the 10th of January, 1826:—

“ ‘The evils arising from an improper use of intoxicating liquors, have become so extensive and desolating, as to call for the immediate, vigorous, and persevering efforts of every philanthropist, patriot, and Christian. The number of lives annually destroyed by this vice in our own country is thought to be more than thirty thousand; and the number of persons who are diseased, distressed, and impoverished by it, to be more than two hundred thousand; many of them are not only useless, but a burden and a nuisance to society.

“ ‘These liquors, it is calculated, cost the inhabitants of this country annually, more than forty millions of dollars; and the pauperism occasioned by an improper use of them, (taking the commonwealth of Massachusetts as an example,) costs them upwards of twelve millions of dollars.’—p. 8.

“ ‘The society is in hopes, that by ‘some system of instruction and action, a change may be brought about in public sentiment and practice in regard to the use of intoxicating liquors; and thus an end be put to that wide-spreading intemperance which has already caused such desolation in every part of our country, and which threatens destruction to the best interests of this growing and mighty republic.’—p. 4.

“ ‘The same Report contains many very curious extracts from official and other documents, all bearing more or less testimony to the enormity of this evil, but which are too long to extract. The following paragraphs, however, are so remarkable in themselves, independently of their connexion with this subject, that I think it right to give them a place without abridgment.

“ ‘The number of paupers received into the alms-house at Philadelphia, in 1823, was 4908	expenses in dollars 144,557
in 1824 5251 198,000
in 1825 4394 201,000
in 1826 4272 129,383

Total in four years 18,825 expenses 672,940

“ ‘The alms-house at New York, and the penitentiary connected with it, has about 2000 inmates constantly, at the annual cost of about a hundred thousand dollars. Nearly all these people are addicted to intemperance.

“ ‘From a Report made to the legislature of New Hampshire in 1821,

by a committee, it appears that the maintenance of the poor in that state has cost them, from 1799 to 1820, 726,547 dollars—average annual expense, 36,327 dollars. In Massachusetts there are 7000 paupers, whose support costs the state 360,000 dollars. From a Report made to the legislature by the Secretary of State, in the year 1822, it appears that there were then 6896 permanent, and 22,111 temporary paupers, whose support cost that year 470,582 dollars.

“ ‘ By means of these data we estimate the number of paupers in the United States at two hundred thousand, whose support costs annually ten millions of dollars. We coincide in opinion with the managers of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism in the city of New York, who, in one of their Reports, say, “in the production of crime and pauperism, ardent spirits may justly be called the cause of causes.” ’—First Annual Report of the American Temperance Society, printed at Andover, 1828, pages 64 and 65.

“ It would be well, I think, if those writers and orators—on both sides of the Atlantic—who are so prompt at every moment to visit with unmitigated censure the operation of the English Poor Law system, would take the trouble to look at some of these things. The abuses of the Poor Laws are no doubt often grievous; and certainly I have no intention of becoming the champion of such departures from their original intention. That sort of argument, indeed, which derives its merit from recrimination, like the celebrated dispute touching the relative colour of the pot and kettle, may not always elicit important truths, but may sometimes do good, by making inconsiderate people think and inquire, before they speak.”—pp. 83—88.

The account of the celebrated preacher, Dr. Channing, and of the progress of his opinions, is worthy of particular attention.

“ As our object on arriving at any place was always to see, as soon as possible, whatever was most remarkable, we gladly availed ourselves of a friend's convoy to one of the Unitarian churches, on the next day, Sunday, the 7th of October, when a celebrated champion of these doctrines was to preach.

“ A considerable change, it appears, had taken place at Boston, of late years, in the religious tenets of the inhabitants; and Unitarianism, or, as I find it called in their own publications, Liberal Christianity, had made great advances, chiefly under the guidance of this distinguished person.

“ The pastor had just returned to his flock after an absence of some months, and took advantage of the occasion to review, in a rapid manner, the rise and progress, as well as the peculiar nature, of the doctrines he so powerfully advocates. He struck me as being in many respects a very remarkable preacher, particularly in the quietness or repose of his manner. How far this proceeded from the simplicity of his thoughts, or from the unaffected plainness of his language, I cannot exactly say; but the power which it gave him of introducing, when it suited his purpose, occasional passages of great force and richness of expression, was one of which he availed himself with much skill. It was manifest, indeed, that

the influence he held, or appeared to hold, over the minds of his hearers was derived mainly from their reliance on his sincerity, whatever some of them might have thought of his doctrines. The tone of his voice was familiar, though by no means vulgar; on the contrary, it might almost be called musical, and was certainly very pleasing to the ear; but whether this arose from the sounds themselves, or from the eloquent arrangement of the words, I never thought of inquiring, as I was carried along irresistibly by the smooth current of his eloquence.

“ He began by greeting his friends with great suavity of address; and if there did appear a little touch of vanity in the implied importance which he attached to all that concerned himself in the eyes of his flock, it partook not in the slightest degree of arrogance, but was very allowable, considering the real influence he had so long enjoyed. Indeed, from what I saw and heard, I should think he rather fell short than exceeded the limits to which he might have safely gone, when speaking to his congregation of the feelings, the hopes, and the fears which rose in his mind on returning to his wonted duties, with health somewhat repaired, but not restored. At first, this familiarity of tone, and almost colloquial simplicity of expression, sounded so strangely from the pulpit, that the impression was not altogether favourable, but there soon appeared so much real kindness in all he said, that even we, though strangers, were not untouched by it.

“ He then gradually embarked on the great ocean of religious controversy, but with such consummate skill, that we scarcely knew we were at sea till we discovered that no land was in sight. After assuring us that he had been called to the front of the battle, though in truth he was a man of peace, and a hater of all disputation, he described, with singular effect, the impression left on his mind, one day recently, by hearing a discourse in a country church where narrow views of mental liberty had been inculcated. Nothing certainly could be more poetical than the contrast which he drew between the confined doctrines he had heard within the walls, and what he eloquently called the free beauties of thought and of nature without.

“ By the time the preacher reached this part of his discourse, our curiosity was much excited, and I, for my own part, felt thoroughly caught, and almost prepared to go along with him into any region he pleased to carry me.

“ He next gave us an account of his share in the progress of the controversies to which he alluded, and explained again and again to us, in a variety of different shapes, that his great end in advocating the Unitarian, or Liberal doctrines, was to set the human mind entirely free on religious subjects, without any reference, he earnestly assured us, to one sect more than to another, but purely to the end that there might be, in the world at large, the fullest measure of intellectual independence of which our nature is capable. He spoke a good deal of the Christian dispensation, to which, however, he ascribed no especial illuminating powers, but constantly implied, that every man was to judge for himself as to the degree and value of the light shed by Revelation. Reason and conscience, according to his view of the matter, ought to be our sole

guides through life, and the efficacy of our Saviour's atonement was not, as far as I could discover, even once alluded to, except for the purpose of setting it aside. He earnestly exhorted his hearers not to rely entirely upon the Scriptures, nor upon him, their pastor, nor upon any other guides, human or divine, if I understood him correctly, but solely upon the independent efforts of their own minds. Our Saviour, as 'the first of the Sons of God,' he held up as an example worthy of all imitation; but the indispensable necessity of his vicarious sacrifice was clearly denied.

"The Christian religion, he told us, as first preached by the Apostles, was well suited to those early times; but, according to him, it soon became corrupted, and was never afterwards purified, even at the Reformation. Much, therefore, still remained to be done; and one step in this great work, he led us to infer, was actually in progress before us, in the extension of Unitarianism.

"As it is quite foreign to my purpose to enter into the details of this controversy, I have merely mentioned, as impartially as possible, what seem to be the leading points of a doctrine which has obtained a complete ascendancy in one of the most enlightened parts of the country, and is rapidly spreading itself over the United States, in spite of the efforts of the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches. Under their banners, indeed, I have the satisfaction of saying, there are collected men of the most eminent piety, and ardent devotion to the service of religion, who, I am well convinced, from all I saw and heard, are as zealously bent on defending the sacred cause intrusted to their hands, as any body of men in the world. I make this assertion respecting the American Clergy without reservation of any kind; for it is my firm belief, after the most attentive observation and inquiry, that, as far as in them lies, the cause alluded to will not be neglected."—p. 112—116.

The manufacturing progress and prospects of the United States, form a very curious subject of inquiry and speculation; and Captain Hall's account of the American Manchester fully deserves to be extracted.

"On the 12th of October, we made an expedition from Boston to the largest manufacturing establishment in New England, or, I suppose, in America, at Lowell, on the banks of the Merrimack. This river had been allowed to dash unheeded over the Falls in that neighbourhood, from all time, until the recent war gave a new direction to industry, and diverted capital heretofore employed in commerce or in agriculture, into the channel of manufactures. A few years ago, the spot which we now saw covered with huge cotton mills, smiling villages, canals, roads, and bridges, was a mere wilderness, and, if not quite solitary, was inhabited only by painted savages. Under the convoy of a friendly guide, who allowed us to examine not only what we pleased, but how we pleased, we investigated these extensive works very carefully.

"The stuffs manufactured at Lowell, mostly of a coarse description, are woven entirely by power looms, and are intended, I was told, chiefly for home consumption. Every thing is paid for by the piece, but the

people work only from daylight to dark, having half an hour to breakfast and as long for dinner. The whole discipline, ventilation, and other arrangements, appeared to be excellent; of which the best proof was the healthy and cheerful look of the girls, all of whom, by the way, were trigged out with much neatness and simplicity, and wore high tortoiseshell combs at the back of their heads. I was glad to learn that the most exemplary purity of conduct existed universally amongst these merry damsels—a class of persons not always, it is said, in some other countries, the best patterns of moral excellence. The state of society, indeed, readily explains this superiority: in a country where the means of obtaining a livelihood are so easy, every girl who behaves well is so sure of being soon married. In this expectation they all contrive, it seems, to save a considerable portion of their wages; and the moment the favoured swain has attained the rank of earning a dollar a day, the couple are proclaimed in church next Sunday, to a certainty. The fortune, such as it is, thus comes with the bride; at least she brings enough to buy the clothes, furniture, and the other necessities of an outfit.

“Generally, however, these good folks, as well as many of the more wealthy class of the community, do not think of setting up an establishment of their own at first, but live at boarding-houses. This apparently comfortless mode of life is undoubtedly far the most economical; besides which, it saves the mistress of the family from the wear and tear of domestic drudgery, always unavoidably great in a country where menial service is held to be disgraceful. What happens when a parcel of youngsters make their appearance, I forgot to inquire; but before that comes about to any great extent, the parties have probably risen in the world;—for every thing in America relating to population seems to be carried irresistibly forward by a spring-tide of certain prosperity. There is plenty of room—plenty of food—and plenty of employment; so that, by the exercise of a moderate share of diligence, the young couple may swell their establishment to any extent they please, without those doubts and fears, those anxious misgivings, which attend the setting out of children in older and more thickly-peopled countries! In America, an urchin, before he is much bigger than a cotton bobbin, is turned to some use. By and by, when he gets tired of school, he turns mutineer, buys an axe, and scampers off to the western forests, where he squats down on the first piece of land which pleases him. He forthwith marries, and rears up a nest-full of children, who in due course of time play a similar round of independent pranks, and reap the same roving sort of success, in the same broad world which is all before them, where to choose their place of unquiet rest.

“On the 13th October, at six o'clock in the morning, I was awakened by the bell which tolled the people to their work, and on looking from the window, saw the whole space between the ‘Factories’ and the village speckled over with girls, nicely dressed, and glittering with bright shawls and showy-coloured gowns, and gay bonnets, all streaming along to their business, with an air of lightness, and an elasticity of step, implying an obvious desire to get to their work.”—pp. 134—137.

The sentiments of Captain Hall upon the state of the American Navy, are given to us when he visits the arsenal at Boston.

“ In the Navy yard we saw two line-of-battle ships, one frigate, and one sloop of war, on the stocks; all ready to be put into the water at a month or six weeks' notice. The frames of these fine ships were of live oak, as well as the keels, transoms, and other essential large timbers, including the beams before and abaft the masts; the rest was white oak. The line-of-battle ships were about the size of his Majesty's ship *Ganges*, but without poops. A dry dock, which when completed is to be 210 feet long, is in progress, under the management of a skilful engineer whom I had the satisfaction of meeting on the spot. With that absence of all idle concealments which I found every where in America, this gentleman produced his plans before me, and we discussed together the pros and cons of such matters, as if the whole were merely an abstract question of scientific engineering,—to the entire oblivion of national rivalries. Nothing, certainly, is more agreeable than such confidence.

“ While we were chatting away in this familiar style, we were joined by the naval officer in command of the station, an old and valued friend of mine, with whom I had formed an acquaintance in other countries, such as no circumstances of peace or war, I trust, will ever diminish.

“ The naval officers of America form, necessarily, as it always appeared to me, a class somewhat more distinct than any other from the rest of the community; for they are the only persons in the country whose whole lives are passed in permanent habits of subordination. In fact, they are almost the only men by whom the practical value of those inequalities in rank, which the rest of the American world deride, are admitted to be important. Every one, I suppose, is aware, that a ship of war whose discipline is not strict, especially in those branches of it which consist in keeping up strong lines of distinction amongst the officers, must, as a matter of course, be worse than useless; for, instead of being able to do the country honour, she cannot fail to bring it into disgrace, at moments of trial. Of the truth of these principles all parties in America are so well aware, that any tampering with naval discipline, whatever may be done in the army, has not been seriously thought of; consequently, a very rigid system—probably not too rigid, but still a very strict system—continues to be observed in their ships of war. The effect even of this, indeed, would be inconsiderable upon persons exposed to it only for a time; but when applied to the whole life, it must of necessity give a distinguishing character to the whole class subjected to its influence.

“ I have reason, indeed, to believe, from what I saw and heard, that the American discipline, especially as applied to officers, is more stern than in the British navy, and for a reason which, I think, will be admitted the instant it is stated. With us, the supply of officers comes from a society not only familiar with the theory of ranks, if I may say so, but practically acquainted with those artificial distinctions in authority, the acknowledgment of which forms the very life and soul of a fleet. Consequently, whether it be at first starting, or in after years of

professional life, naval officers with us meet with nothing, in their intercourse with general society on shore, to weaken the habit of subordination taught on board ship. The details of obedience may be different afloat and on shore—just as the duties are essentially different—but the principle of paying respect to the distinctions of rank, without any attendant feeling of degradation, is thus quite easily kept up amongst English officers, at all times and seasons, whether they be on the water or on land. But a young American officer, when he comes on shore to visit his friends, and goes to the back woods, or front woods, or any where, indeed, will hear more in one day to interfere with his lessons of dutiful subordination, than he may be able to recover in a year of sea service. Unless, therefore, the system of discipline on board be not only very strict, but of such a nature as to admit of no escape from its rules, the whole machinery would fall to pieces. Democracy, in short, with its sturdy equality, will hardly do afloat!

“I heard a story at Washington, which is in point to this argument. A midshipman of an American ship of war, having offended in some way or other against the rules of the service, fell, of course, under his captain's displeasure, and was reprimanded accordingly. The youth, however, not liking this exercise of authority, announced his intention of ‘appealing to the people;’ which determination was forthwith reported to head-quarters. By return of post an order came down to say, that Mr. So-and-so, being the citizen of a free state, had a perfect right to appeal to the people; and in order to enable him to proceed in this matter without official entanglement, his discharge from the navy was enclosed.

“Great care is taken in the selection of persons wishing to enter the navy; and these gentlemen are also exposed afterwards to frequent and rigorous examinations; by which means incompetent persons are excluded. Be the causes, however, as they may, I can only state, that the American naval officers are pleasant persons to associate with; and I reflect with great pleasure on the many professional acquaintances I was fortunate enough to make in that and other countries. I also look forward with equal confidence to meeting them again, being well assured, that whatever the nature of our intercourse may be—as national foes or as national allies, or merely as private friends—I shall have thoroughbred officers and gentlemen to co-operate or contend with.”—pp. 145—149.

A succinct and useful history of what is termed in the United States ‘the Presidential question,’ concludes with the following important observations:—

“Such then is the structure of the American constitution, in its two most important particulars—the Legislature and Executive. As to how far it is likely to be permanent, or how far the changes which have already been made both in the constitution itself, and in the practice of the states with respect to the mode of choosing a president, are wise or unwise, the ablest American authorities are divided in opinion. Indeed most parties admit that this branch of the constitution is open to im-

provement. 'The election of a supreme executive magistrate for a whole nation,' says a high authority, 'affects so many interests, addresses itself so strongly to popular passions, and holds out such powerful temptations to ambition, that it necessarily becomes a strong trial to public virtue, and even hazardous to the public tranquillity.'

"In short, the most important element in the whole fabric of the American Government, the key-stone of the arch, or that which all writers agree is the most dangerous to tamper with, is by no means well fixed in its place. It underwent a change, as I have already stated, so recently as 1804, by the twelfth amendment of the constitution; and as that alteration has not led to the practical improvements anticipated, the propriety of a further change is now one of the most common topics of discussion. From all I could hear, it seems by no means improbable that the choice of the president will ere long be made by a general ticket over the whole Union, without the intervention of any specific body of electors chosen in the states respectively. After which, the next step will be to abridge the period of holding the office, and not to allow of any re-election—both favourite projects at present."—pp. 264, 265.

A debate in Congress is reported in the author's very best manner.

"The motion seemed appropriate to the day, 8th of January, the anniversary of that victory; and there is no saying how far such a proposal might have been received, had it been left purely to his own merits. But this was not the course of any American debate which it was my fortune to hear.

"A gentleman, who was standing by me, asked what I thought of the suggestion; to which I answered, that there could be nothing more reasonable, and begged to ask in my turn, if he thought there could be any objection started in the House.

" 'Wait a little while,' said he, 'and you'll see; for,' he continued, 'you know the whole depends upon the presidential politics of the House?'

"I said I did not know.

" 'Surely,' he replied, 'you are aware that General Jackson is a candidate for the Presidency;—now, if this motion succeeds, it will be what is called "a sign of the times," and, so far as the opinion of Congress goes, will help on one side the grand object of all men's thoughts at this moment. But you will see ere long, that the Adams party will, in some way or other, entangle this question, and prevent its getting through the House. They are in a minority, it is true; but you are aware how much torment the weaker party can always give the stronger, if they set about it systematically. Indeed,' he observed, 'I should not be surprised if this little matter, which the good sense of the House, if it were fairly taken, would discuss and settle in ten minutes, may not, under the fiery influence of party spirit, last as many days; for there is no knowing beforehand whether a debate with us is to last a day, or a week, or even a month. So I beg you to watch the progress of this one.'

"The proposer of the measure concluded his speech by saying, that, as there could be no doubt of its adoption, he begged to propose Mr. Washington Alston, of Boston, as the artist who ought to execute the work, not only from his being the most skilful painter in the country, but from his being a native of the same State with General Jackson, namely, Tennessee.

"I had no notion that the debate would run off upon this point, because the gentleman named was, beyond all question, the best artist in America. Besides which, there was some address, I was told, in having pointed out an artist residing in the North, to perform the service; a degree of consideration which it was thought would conciliate the members from that quarter, who were mostly in favour of Mr. Adams.

"These small shot, however, failed to hit their mark, as will be seen by the following observations of a gentleman from one of the Eastern States, which I extract from the debate, as given in the *National Intelligencer*, chiefly to show their rambling style of discussion.

"He said he should not have risen, had not the resolution moved by the honourable gentleman from South Carolina designated the name of the artist to be employed. When it was recollected that Mr. Trumbull, the gentleman who had executed the paintings now in the Rotundo, was a native of the State which he represented on that floor, he trusted his honourable friend would excuse him if he ventured to suggest, that no course ought to be pursued, in this stage of the business, which went to exclude the employment of that venerable and patriotic individual in executing any paintings that might be ordered. If the artist to whom the gentleman had alluded, was a native of the same State with the hero of our second war, the artist he himself had named had been an actor in his own person in the war of the Revolution. He had been a prisoner, and had suffered severely in that contest; and he must be permitted to say, that great injustice had been done him, from the manner in which his paintings had at first been displayed. They were placed in a small and obscure room, beneath our feet, and the artist had the mortification to know, that the most unkind and most unfeeling strictures had there been passed upon them, in consequence of this their disadvantageous location. His fame had suffered, his feelings had suffered, and all his friends who knew the circumstances, had suffered with him. It was with pride and pleasure, he said, that he had witnessed their removal to a situation more worthy of their excellence, and he had witnessed the tears of joy glistening in his venerable eyes, under the consciousness that, at last, justice had been done him. He admitted, very willingly, the high merit of Mr. Alston; but, if Congress should conclude, in this matter, to depart from the class of our revolutionary worthies, there were other native artists, besides Mr. Alston, who would desire not to be precluded from a chance of employment. He therefore moved the following amendment:—To strike out the name of "Washington Alston," and to insert the words "some suitable artist."

"The debate for some time turned on the merits of this amendment, though it wandered every now and then into the presidential question,

and its innumerable ramifications, many of which were nearly unintelligible to a stranger. At length another Eastern State member rose, and cast amongst the disputants a new apple of discord, or rather a new sort of mystification and discursive eloquence. He said, 'that while he did not refuse to do homage to the great and acknowledged merit of Mr. Alston, he wished to suggest a further amendment of the resolution, which was,—“That it might be made to embrace the battles of Bunker's Hill, Monmouth, Prince Town, and the attack on Quebec.”'

"This proposal, whether it were seriously intended for the consideration of the House or not, was followed by one obviously meant as a bitter jest against one of the parties in the House. In the State for which the member who spoke last was the representative, it appears there had been, during the late war with England, a disposition expressed by some persons for opening pacific negotiations with the enemy, or in some way thwarting the measures of government. A meeting, known by the name of the Hartford Convention, was accordingly assembled, at the very moment of the battle of New Orleans. The gentleman who now rose, therefore proposed to amend the amended amendment, by moving, 'That another painting be placed alongside that of the victory of New Orleans, representing this meeting, which was in full session at the same time.'

"Several members now made speeches, and most of them so entirely wide of the mark, that, I venture to say, any one coming into the House, and listening for half an hour, would not have been able to form a probable conjecture as to the real nature of the topic under discussion.

"Things were at last getting very heavy, when a little more spirit was thrown into the debate, by some one making a proposal for a further extension of the honours proposed. 'I have often thought,' said one of the gentlemen who addressed the House, 'that our naval victories were entitled to some notice, as well as the military exploits of the army, and that Congress could not better occupy several of the vacant panels in the Rotundo, than by filling them with some of the chivalrous triumphs of the navy, that had conferred so much honour and glory on the country. I hope, therefore, the navy will not be altogether forgotten on this occasion, and that the House will agree to adopt an amendment I shall offer, in the following words:—"That the resolution embrace such of the victories achieved by the navy of the United States, as in the opinion of Congress should be selected for national commemoration."'

"I naturally felt some professional interest in this part of the debate, and was therefore greatly disappointed when a member got up and proposed an adjournment, although it was only two o'clock. The motion was lost—Ayes 91; Noes 92. But the hour allotted for the consideration of resolutions having expired, it was necessary, before resuming the debate, to move that the rule restricting this time be for this day suspended. The question being taken, the Ayes were 122, the Noes 76; and as the majority did not amount to two-thirds, the motion was lost, and the House adjourned.

"The same subject was taken up next day at noon, and discussed for four hours; during which time several new amendments were proposed,

including all the important battles that had been fought in that country, and many of which I had never heard the names before. The object of the members on both sides seemed to be merely to thwart, by every means, the wishes of their political antagonists, and to wear one another out by persevering opposition. This tenacity of purpose on trifles, is a game which can be played by any one, and at all times, as there is never a want of opportunity for provocation. Indeed, every man who has had to transact real business, must have found that, even when both parties really wish to have a matter settled, there must generally be some compromise—some mutual concession—something of what is familiarly called ‘giving and taking,’ in order to smooth away the difficulties incident to the very nature of our being, and the boundless complication in our interests. But when a deliberative body come to discuss a question in a spirit of avowed misunderstanding, without the smallest wish to agree, the result, as far as actual work is concerned, may easily be conceived. Yet I defy any imagination, however active, to form a just conception of the rambling and irritating nature of a debate in Congress, without actually attending the House of Representatives.”—vol. iii. pp. 50—57.

“Eventually the original motion came to be considered, after all the amendments had been demolished one after another. It likewise was lost by 103 against 98, which I was surprised at, as the Jackson party, the opposition, who brought it forward, had a clear majority in the House. But the subject had been so completely mystified and overloaded with extraneous matter during the debate, that there was no possibility of disentangling it from these burdens; and their darling objects, procrastination and speech-making, being accomplished, the original point, which went to make it a pure electioneering question, was soon entirely lost sight of.”—p. 59.

When the course of our traveller's tour leads him into the great slave-holding States, Georgia and the Carolinas, he makes particular and detailed accounts of the condition of the unhappy cultivators of the soil. The number of negro slaves in the United States had been stated in the first volume.

“The numbers of the free and the slave population of the United States are given in Watterston's tables, page 7, as follows:—

Whites and all other free persons, estimated to the	
1st of January, 1828	9,510,307
Slaves at the same date	1,838,155

Total population	11,348,462
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which shows that the slaves form very nearly one-sixth part of the whole.”—p. 139.

The distinguishing feature between American and British slaves is, that the former increase with great rapidity, while the latter are either nearly stationary, or decreasing. Captain Hall's remarks upon the question respecting slavery in general, as well as upon the state and prospects of the American slaves in particu-

lar, are sensible; but they hold out little or no hope of a speedy abolition.

“ The gentlemen of the South sometimes assert, that the slave population are rather happier than the labouring classes in the northern parts of their own Union, and much better off than the peasantry of England. There is no good purpose served by advancing such pretensions. They are apt to excite irritation, sometimes ridicule; and while they retard the cause of improvement, substantiate nothing in the argument, except the loss of temper. It signifies little to talk of the poor laws of England, or the pauperism in the great cities on the American coast; for, after all, such allusions apply to a small portion only of the labouring classes; whereas, in a slave-holding country, the whole working population are included in this humiliating description. For, as I before observed, it can be shown that a slave is merely a pauper—and a very thankless pauper too. Must he not be supported—and is he not in fact supported by others? Does not his situation superadd to the mischievous effects of ill-administered poor laws, many collateral evils which it is difficult to separate from the nature of slavery? Have not ignorance, irreligion, falsehood, dishonesty in dealing, and laziness, become nearly as characteristic of the slave, as the colour of his skin? And when these caste marks, as they may almost be called, are common to the whole mass of the labouring population of the States in question, it is certainly not quite fair to place them on a level with the free New Englanders of America, or the bold peasantry of Great Britain! That the slaves, taken in the aggregate, are better fed than many individual poor families in Great Britain, or in Ireland, may be true; but this holds as well in the case of cattle, and the fact proves no more in the one case, than in the other, for it is obvious enough that both cattle and slaves are fed with the same view—the mere maintenance of their physical force.

“ I have not only heard this doctrine insisted upon in company—that the slaves are better off than the freemen alluded to—but I have seen it maintained in grave legislative resolutions. I must say, however, that nothing appeared to me so indiscreet, or more thoroughly fraught, unintentionally perhaps, with satire upon the whole system of public affairs in that country.

“ So long as men, women, and children are kept in ignorance, under the positive mandate of the law—and are driven to the fields to work like cattle—so long as husbands and wives, and mothers and children, are liable to be sold, and actually are sold every day, to separate masters—and so long as no slave can select his place of residence, his task-master, or his occupation, or can give testimony in a court of justice, or legally hold any property, or exercise, by inherent birthright, any of the other functions of a reasonable creature—it certainly is very impolitic, to say the least of it, in the gentlemen of a country where the population are so circumstanced, to force the rest of the world upon such comparisons. The cause of the planters of the South may have, and I really think has, excellent ground to stand upon, if they would but keep to it steadily. But the slave-holders weaken the whole foundation of

their reasoning by such hollow pretences, as no reasonable person, even amongst themselves, can seriously maintain."—vol. iii. pp. 182—184.

"One of the results which actual observation has left on my mind is, that there are few situations in life where a man of sense and feeling can exert himself to better purpose than in the management of slaves. So far, therefore, from thinking unkindly of slave-holders, an acquaintance with their proceedings has taught me to respect many of them in the highest degree; and nothing, during my recent journey, gave me more satisfaction than the conclusion to which I was gradually brought, that the planters of the Southern States of America, generally speaking, have a sincere desire to manage their estates with the least possible severity. I do not say that undue severity is nowhere exercised; but the discipline, taken upon the average, as far as I could learn, is not more strict than is necessary for the maintenance of a proper degree of authority, without which the whole frame-work of society in that quarter would be blown to atoms. The first and inevitable result of any such explosion, would be the destruction of great part of the blacks, and the great additional misery of those who survived the revolt.

"The evils of slavery are, indeed, manifold. Take a catalogue of the blessings of freedom, and having inverted them all, you get a list of the curses of bondage. It is twice cursed, alas! for it affects both parties, the master and the slave. The slave, in bad hands, is rendered a liar and a thief, as a matter of course; he is often systematically kept in ignorance of all he ought to be acquainted with, from the truths of religion to the commonest maxims of morality;—he is sometimes treated like the beasts of the field, and like them, only better or worse, according to the accidental character of his proprietor. On the other hand, there is in our nature a mysterious kind of reaction, which takes place in all circumstances, from the oppressed to the oppressors, the result of which is, that no man can degrade another without, in some degree, degrading himself. In Turkey, for example, where the women are systematically debased—what are the men? I have the less scruple in taking this view of the matter, because it is one, which though not quite new to me, was brought to my notice on many occasions by the planters themselves, who, almost without exception, admitted to me with perfect frankness, that there was more or less of a deleterious effect produced on their own character by the unfortunate circumstances inseparable from their situation. They are compelled, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to maintain a system, often in the highest degree revolting to their better nature. Like officers on service, they are forced on many occasions to repress their best feelings, and act with a sternness of purpose, which, though every way painful to them, cannot be relaxed for one instant."—vol. iii. pp. 227—229.

"The idle things I have heard on the subject of slavery, by people who had not seen a dozen black men in their lives, have sometimes reminded me of a pompous fellow who pretended to be a great sailor, till being once cross-questioned as to what he would do in a gale of wind, if it were necessary to take in the main-topsail,—‘O, sir,’ said he, ‘I would man the tacks and sheets—let all fly—and so disarm the gale of

its fury !' Now, it is just in this fashion that many well-meaning people hope to disarm this hard slavery tempest of its terrors, by the mere use of terms which, in truth, have not the smallest application to the subject.

"The planters, who are men of business, and know better how to treat the question, set about things in a more workman-like style. Their first step is to improve the condition of the negro; to feed and clothe him better—take better care of him in sickness—and encourage him, by various ways, to work cheerfully. The lash, it is true, must still, I fear, be used; but it may be handled with more method, and less passion. These things, properly brought about, beget generous sympathies in both parties; for here, too, the reaction I spoke of formerly, soon shows itself—the slave works not only more, but to better purpose, and as the master feels it his interest, it soon becomes his pleasure to extend the system further—which again leads to fresh advantages, and fresh reactions, all of the same salutary description.

"The effect of better treatment raises the character of the slave, by giving him better habits, and thence invests him, not exactly with a positive or acknowledged right to such indulgencies, but certainly with a tacit or virtual claim to them. This is a great step in the progress of improvement; because the slave will now try, by good conduct, to confirm the favours he has gained, and to draw them into established usages. The master's profit, in a mere pecuniary point of view, arising out of this introduction of something like a generous motive amongst his dependents, I have the very best authority for saying, is in most cases indubitable. If experience proves that such consequences follow kind treatment, and that human nature is not dissimilar in the case of the blacks from what it is in every other, these advantages, which at first may be only casual, or contingent upon the personal character of a few masters, must in time become the usage over the plantations generally. Thus one more step being gained, fresh improvements in slave discipline—taking that word in its widest sense—would then gradually creep in under the management of wise and benevolent persons, whose example would, of course, be imitated, if the results were productive. This progress, I have strong reason to believe, is now in actual operation in many parts of America. Better domestic habits are daily gaining ground amongst the negroes, slowly but surely. More intelligence, better morals, and more correct religious feelings and knowledge, are also steadily making their way amongst that unfortunate race of human beings; and in no instance, I am told, have these improvements taken place without additional profit, and additional security, to the master."—vol. iii. pp. 234—237.

"It was my good fortune to observe, on more than one plantation, several excellent modifications of slave discipline, and at first I felt grieved to see their utility confined to insulated spots. But I learned in time to understand why it was best to keep things quiet, until the experiments in question, though very plausible in appearance, had been tried under a variety of circumstances. 'Then, but not till then,' said my friends, 'if these things really be good, they will gradually creep along, and be generally adopted by our brother slave-holders.'"—p. 240.

"Much is said in the South of the mischief done by the irksome and

persevering exertions of the abolitionists both in America and abroad; yet I question greatly if the evil arising from such attempts at interference be in fact considerable. In many cases, I have no doubt, they have done good, by compelling the slave-holders to look about them, and to disentangle themselves from some awkward accusations, originally, perhaps, but too well founded. In many instances, certainly, the charges made have been utterly false; while, in others, the accusations have been so true, that the planters have been in a manner forced to apply the proper remedies. In some instances, too, of which I heard more than once, the planters have actually come to a knowledge of abuses existing on their own property, of which they had no suspicion, till roused to investigate the matter by a wish to prove the falsehood of some of these very attacks.

"In concluding this important subject, I feel bound to say, that, as far as I could investigate the matter, the slave system of America seems to be in as good a condition—that is to say, in as fair a train for amelioration—as the nature of so dreadful a state of things admits of. With respect to external interference, the planters will probably not be the worse for an occasional hint, even though it be rude and unpalatable. On the other hand, the abolitionists must make up their minds to suffer great, and almost constant disappointments. Between the two, impartial and cool-headed men, who, without any particular views, sincerely wish well to their fellow-creatures—black as well as white—planters as well as slaves—will confine their hopes, and their exertions, to what they know is practicable, consistently with justice to all parties, and the laws of common sense."—vol. iii. pp. 246, 247.

But we must not borrow further from these amusing and instructive pages. The reader may be assured that many other passages may be found quite as worthy of notice as those which we have selected. The accounts of the cotton plantations, of the pine barrens, of the Indian game at ball, of the Mississippi at New Orleans, and of the voyage up that river by steam, are given in Captain Hall's best manner. All these, however, must be sought for in the work itself; and we must confine ourselves to some brief remarks upon the general execution of it, and upon its results.

There is one considerable fault, which runs through the greater part of the three volumes—a want of condensation. The information and entertainment communicated by Captain Hall, might be communicated almost always in fewer words than he has used; and sundry trite remarks upon the duties of a traveller are repeated more than once. Again, with respect to the merits and demerits of America, we cannot help feeling that on the latter head more is meant than meets the ear. In every state, and almost in every town, Captain Hall forms acquaintances and friendships with abundance of delightful people. And yet when he comes to speak of the general effect of Transatlantic laws,

customs and institutions, he condemns them *en masse* as productive of the gravest and most universal mischief. The only mode in which we can reconcile these apparently opposite opinions, is by supposing that he has refrained from noticing much that was objectionable in American society.

His strictures upon politics are also somewhat questionable. Captain Hall cannot be less partial to a democracy than we are. And we need say no more of our loyalty and churchmanship, than that we hope and believe they are as warm and sincere as his. But we doubt whether he has argued these important subjects in the manner best calculated to establish his own opinions, or to make converts of those who differ from him. It was hinted at the beginning of this article, that he was somewhat too fond of making comparisons between the United States and Great Britain. With a view to making peace between them this is injudicious; with a view to forming a just estimate of their constitutions, it is inconclusive. Such is the essential difference between the two countries, that it is unreasonable to condemn the institutions of the one because they would not suit the other. The political situation of America can never be truly ascertained by calculating the longitude from the meridian of Greenwich. Nothing but experience can enable men to speak, positively, respecting the consequences of a system so unlike every thing else that has been witnessed in the world. And if we confine ourselves to speculating upon probabilities, our speculations should be founded, not upon European practice, but upon the general principles of human nature. In short, such inquiries ought to be as profound as the sagacity of man can make them, and then in all probability they will fail of success. Superficial examination will more surely be disappointed, but may console itself by reflecting that it is disappointed at much less expense. The Americans repeatedly told Captain Hall, that he did not understand their public character. In this, we believe, they were wrong, for he seems to have formed a true estimate of it. But they had a plausible pretence for charging him with ignorance, because he rested his main objection to what he saw in the new country, upon the injurious effects which such things must produce in the old. How justly he thinks, and how forcibly he argues, respecting the nature and effect of the institutions of his own country, may be seen from the following extracts, with which we close our review. All we have meant to say in the foregoing strictures is, that such a mode of reasoning, unanswerable as it must always be in Europe, is not strictly or logically applicable to America.

“ ‘ At all events,’ said the American, ‘ I am sure you will admit, that if we are without loyalty, in your sense of it, we are greatly better off

than you, in having freed ourselves from the burden of an Established Church !'

" 'As I don't much like comparisons,' was my answer, 'I wish rather that you had put your questions about the Church as you did about loyalty.'

" 'Well, then, of what use is your Established Church?'

" 'It is infinitely useful,' I replied, 'in preserving the purity of religious doctrine, which ought to be the first consideration in every country;—and it is useful in alliance with the state, in maintaining the purity of political practice;—while, in private life, it is no less efficacious in giving confidence and uniformity to virtue, and true dignity to manners.'

" My friend opened his eyes, stared, but said nothing. Although he looked quite incredulous, I went on.

" 'The Established Church, by its numbers, its wealth and its discipline has acquired great power. I do not speak of the churchmen only you must understand, but include in the term that immense mass of the community, who, being as much in earnest as any churchmen can possibly be, co-operate with them, heart and hand, in preserving the Protestant religion in its purity. They are far too large a body, and too much scattered, to be influenced by any sudden wind of doctrine, and therefore they go on with a degree of regularity eminently conducive to right-mindedness in religious matters, not only as they are themselves affected, but as the whole community is affected. These influential members of the Church, indeed, are so thickly distributed, and as it were dovetailed into the framework of our social body, that society at large cannot move unless the Church goes along with it.'

" 'Yes, that is all very well for your Church of England people—but what say the dissenters?'

" 'They are, in my opinion, nearly as much benefited by the Establishment as any other members of the community.'

" 'How can that possibly be?'

" 'In this way. You will grant me that it is of great consequence to the dissenters that religion should be steadily and powerfully encouraged, or, if I am not using a word too familiar for the occasion, should be made the permanent fashion of society; by which I mean, that it should not be allowed to descend from its proper station, or be considered in any light but as the first and most important of all our duties. Now, I conceive the influence of the Established Church applies here with great force, and affords as it were a defence to the general cause of religion, similar to what the ocean does to the island in which we live. Besides which, the Church not only exhibits a magnificent example of religious doctrine, but furnishes a model of clerical manners and learning, which in practice—I beg you to observe most particularly—is tacitly admitted to be so eminently characteristic of the service of such a cause, that no sectarian has any chance of success, unless more or less he acquire the knowledge and adopt the habits of this great pattern. I can say with perfect truth, that after having seen a good deal of the world, I do not believe there is any other instance of so large a body of men, amongst whom there will be found such exemplary purity of manners and of conduct in

all respects, as in that of our clergy. Exceptions will and must occur as long as our nature is imperfect. But whether the character which I have ascribed to the clergy in general be caused by the nature of their duties, or spring from their interests, or be created and continued by long habit, such is the fact. Upon the whole, there is, perhaps, no greater blessing which England enjoys than that of having so many men, whose conduct and attainments are undoubtedly far above the average, established as permanent residents all over the country.'

" 'Yes,' said he, 'this looks very fine; but again I ask, what do the sectarians themselves say?'

" 'I do not know,' I replied, 'what they say; but I believe I may venture to assert that every sensible man amongst them knows right well, that if the Established Church were gone, they must go too. Any political tempest that should shake the Establishment, might, in the first instance, tear the sectarians to pieces. The sectarians, therefore, of every denomination, are very wise to accept, and are happy to enjoy, her noble shelter in the meantime. They have also, I am well convinced, much pride and pleasure in the companionship; for there must be at heart the deepest sympathy between them. They are rooted in one common earth, and although their altitude may, to appearance, be somewhat different, they all lift their heads to one common sky.'

" 'This I can partly understand,' he said; 'but what possible good can arise from the union of Church and State? Is not the expense of the Establishment a very great weight to the country?'

" 'Surely it is; but so is the ballast to a ship; and without it she would upset. To spread canvass alone is not to sail fast, or, at all events, is not the way to ensure the object of the voyage. And so it is with governments. Both statesmen and seamen must have something unseen to counterpoise their external exertions; otherwise they inevitably run adrift, and mar the fairest opportunities of advancing the public service.'"—vol. iii. pp. 398—402.

" 'In this sense the Church may be said to act the part of the fly-wheel in a great engine. By its ponderous inertia, it prevents the machinery from flying forwards upon any sudden accession to the impelling power; and, in like manner, when the nation begins to grow languid or indifferent to its duties, the same irresistible momentum carries on the movement with admirable uniformity—so that the whole proceeds with smoothness and consistency, in spite of the inequalities of the force applied, or of those in the work to be performed. Statesmen of extraordinary talents do sometimes rise up, and carry all before them so completely for a little while, that casual observers might, upon these occasions, fancy the Church tottered, or that its influence was essentially lessened. But the tide of opinion, which has only ebbed a little, is sure to make again, and, as it flows, to bear back the country with it—simply because those principles, which direct the stupendous authority alluded to, are integral parts of the national character, and, I may add, of our nature itself. They have been collected together from the experience of all ages, and they are embodied with us in that particular form which seems best adapted to the practice of those duties which religion inculcates.'"—pp. 403, 404.

“ ‘To borrow one more illustration from the sea, I should say, that the Established Church may be compared to the rudder, and the country, with its multifarious arrangements of society, to the ship. Nothing on board—below or aloft—tall masts, spreading sails, angry cannon, the ungovernable elements, or still more contentious crew, can be turned to proper account if the helm be neglected. So it is with the regular, almost unseen instrumentality of the Church in State affairs; and such is the mutual advantage between it and the country.’ ”—pp. 405, 406.

ART. VIII.—*The Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge, D.D. illustrative of various Particulars in his Life hitherto unknown; with Notices of many of his Contemporaries; and a Sketch of the Ecclesiastical History of the Times in which he lived.* Edited, from the Original MSS., by his Great-Grandson, John Doddridge Humphreys, Esq. London: Colburn and Bentley. 2 vols. 8vo.

FATHERS and mothers are, for the most part, well aware of the annoyance to which they may be subjected by imprudent sons or daughters; and a long-sighted parent also feels that grandchildren may, by possibility, bring dishonour upon his grey hairs. But there are few who look far enough into futurity to discern what may be effected in the course of a century by the indiscretion of a great-grandson. It is in this relation that the editor of the work before us stands towards Dr. Doddridge, and the wound which has been inflicted by a pious hand upon the memory of a respected ancestor, is enough to put every man upon his guard against the effects of a meddling, busy-body spirit, entering into possession even of his remotest descendants.

It happens that Dr. Doddridge deserves and enjoys a very uncommon reputation. He is one of the very few Non-conformists who, during the long period of a hundred and sixty years, have established a permanent theological reputation in this country. His devotional and practical works, although founded upon the doctrine of the Puritans, not of the Church of England, are much and deservedly esteemed, and his Family Expositor is to be found in almost every library. There is no disposition in any quarter to depreciate the character or the remains of such a man. But we cannot understand how that character is to be raised by presenting the public with the manifold follies contained in Mr. Humphreys's volumes. The advocates for Dr. Doddridge may plead in his defence, that most of the absurdities brought to light by his great-grandson were perpetrated in early youth. And there is much weight in the plea. In fact, it would put an end to the whole case, were it possible to explain why copies of such childish

productions should have been taken and preserved. As a record of all the silly things which a young man said and did, the work is one of those detestable panders to the gossiping appetite of the day, against which grave persons of all classes would do well to protest. As a mirror which reflects many peculiar features of the Nonconformist countenance, both in former ages and in our own, some little interest attaches to the publication, though the result of it will be very different from that which is anticipated by Mr. Humphreys. We shall present our readers with a few specimens first of the polite and facetious, and secondly, of what may perhaps be termed the Ecclesiastical portion of the correspondence.

The Table of Contents prepares the reader for something out of the common way. The seventh letter, addressed to a young lady, is said to be "more amusing than important." "Some account of the Divinity course at Kibworth," is immediately followed by an epistle to a second young lady, in which the youthful preacher "sportively assumes the filial relation, and with due gravity affects to entreat her advice on some singular points of etiquette; to which is subjoined a confession more frank than ears maternal are wont to receive." A letter to Mrs. Banks on private devotion is succeeded by another to Miss Farrington, in which he "tenderly upbraids her silence, and relates the incident of having composed verses in a dream." To Miss Hannah Clark the Doctor is "tender and pathetic." In short, he is by fits "sportive and affectionate;" "affectionate and pious;" "polite and friendly;" "tender and respectful;" "tender, candid, and deliberate;" "polite and pious;" "laconic, but circumstantial;" "kind, but firm;" "direct and forcible," and "ironical within the verge of friendship." Whatever Dr. Doddridge and his letters may be, the ruling passion of his descendant may be ascertained from these samples of his handywork. "It is affectations." But we must draw the curtain, and introduce our young Nonconformist minister in *propria personâ*.

TO MRS. REBECCA ROBERTS.

April 7, 1722.

"MADAM,

"I am charmed with the honour you do me in making me your correspondent. I have just been reading over your letter for the twentieth time; and I profess, without the least shadow of a compliment, that it is written with so much gaiety, wit, and good-nature, that I do not know how to make you the acknowledgments it deserves. I am now setting myself to scribble something in return; but as it is impossible to come up to your spirit, either in writing or conversation, I shall lay aside all pretension to wit and humour, and think myself very happy if I can talk common sense.

"My dear mamma has so much personal merit, and has always treated me with so much goodness, that it is impossible I should not be

very much concerned to hear she has been indisposed. But really, madam, you take the readiest way to comfort me in my affliction; and I cannot so heartily lament the indisposition of Mrs. Farrington herself, now it has laid a foundation for a correspondence with Mrs. Roberts. I assure you, madam, that as Sancho Pancha said to the duchess, who once drew back, 'I stick like a bur;' and as for the future, I shall always pay my respects to my mamma and my aunt at the same time; so I hope, whenever she favours her son with a line, or rather we will say with a hundred lines, it will be the best way to enter into articles with her, and allow myself to converse with her one hour in a day with the utmost freedom, and then I fancy she will be contented. However, madam, I will try the method you propose, and in a few days you shall be informed of the success.

"Your rules of behaviour are certainly very judicious. But the business of kissing wants a little further explanation. You tell me the ladies have resigned their claim to formal kisses at the beginning and end of visits. But I suppose they still allow of *extemporary* kissing; which you know a man may be led into by a thousand circumstances which he does not foresee. I cannot persuade myself that this pretty amusement is entirely banished out of the polite world, because, as the Apostle says in another case, even nature itself teaches it. I would not for the world be so unmannerly as to ask my aunt, whether she has not been kissed within this fortnight; but I hope I may rely on her advice, and that she will not deceive me in a matter of such vast importance. For my own part, I can safely say, I look upon this, as well as the other enjoyments of life, with a becoming moderation and indifference. Perhaps, madam, I could give you such instances of my abstinence as would make your hair stand on end! I will assure you, aunt, which is a most amazing thing, I have not kissed a woman since Monday, July 10th, 1721, about twelve o'clock at night; and yet I have had strong temptations both from within and from without. I have just been drinking tea with a very pretty lady who is about my age. Her temper and conversation are perfectly agreeable to mine, and we have had her in the house about five weeks. My own conscience upbraids me with a neglect of a thousand precious opportunities that may never return. But then I consider, that it may be a prejudice to my future usefulness, and help me into farther irregularities (not to say, that she has never discovered any inclination of that nature), and so I refrain. But to-morrow I am to wait upon her to a village about a mile and a half from Kibworth, and I am sensible it will be a trying time. However, I shall endeavour to fortify my mind against the temptations of the way by a very careful perusal of your letter, and my mamma's of the 31st of October.

"I am extremely glad that it is but three weeks to the beginning of our vacation; for I long to see you, and my relations at Bethnal Green, with an impatience that I know not how to express. I wish, madam, I could fix the day when I am first to wait on you, that you might take care to be undressed to receive me. You know it is my misfortune to be extremely out of countenance at the sight of a fine suit of clothes,

especially when an agreeable lady appears in them. I am sensible this is a weakness that every minister of the Gospel ought to endeavour to conquer, if he expects his labours should meet with any success, and accordingly I have been using the means. The lady whom I mentioned above is very decent all the week, but, according to our country fashion, dresses best on a Sunday; and so I spend an hour every Sunday morning in looking upon a sort of habit which they call a brocade, which she generally wears on that day. But I have still some dreadful apprehensions of seeing you dressed, and I hope you will mercifully provide against them. I am charmed with the thoughts of spending another day with my cousin Robson; but then you tell me I must furnish myself with something to make my company agreeable. Alas! madam, you quite mistake my abilities. My modesty and other imperfections instruct me to be on the obscure side; and at best you know there is very little gallantry to be expected from a scholar. I have not had an opportunity of making many observations upon the female world; but I am ready to imagine, from the little I have seen, that a man may have read all Aristotle's works, except his Masterpiece, and all Plato's, but his pun upon kissing, and yet not be at all fit to entertain a room full of ladies. However, there is a book called the *Lady's Cabinet Opened*, and another *Callipædia*, which, it seems, they are extremely fond of; and I design to set apart a whole week before the vacation for the perusal of them. But I am afraid they will not carry me completely through; and so I think to wait upon you and mamma the first week that I come to town; then, madam, you will fix the time of my meeting with my cousins, and give me some instructions how to entertain them; which will be received with the utmost respect and observance by, Madam,

Your most dutiful Nephew,
and obedient humble Servant,

P. DODDRIDGE.

"P.S. My homily upon Love is not yet finished; so far from that, it is not yet begun. I am very sorry that you would not favour me with your thoughts upon a subject to which it is impossible you should be a stranger. I am forced to go about it without any manner of female assistance, and so I am afraid I shall make but little of it. However, I shall go to work in a few days, and hope when I come to London that it will be ready to kiss your fair hands. My humble duty to mamma; service to my sister and cousin Robson. You tell me they have been nearer Death than Marriage. Poor ladies! I am extremely glad they are recovered; and hope that they were spared in mercy to the rising generation. I remember I viewed their eyes with a great deal of attention, and could not discover any danger of death to themselves, though there might be a great deal to those that gazed at them without very philosophical precaution. When I see them again I will take them under more exact examination. In the meantime, madam, take care of your own eyes, which seem calculated to do a world of mischief."—vol i. pp. 107—111.

There is another letter much to the same effect in the second

volume, and it is of some importance in the history of this part of Dr. Doddridge's life. A matrimonial engagement with Miss Catharine Freeman had been recently broken off by the lady, who was "most unreasonably jealous" of his attention to a certain Miss Jennings. The Doctor and his Great-Grandson affirm that the latter attachment was purely platonic; and the following letter (vol. ii. pp. 130, 131.) is introduced as a proof, we presume, of this fact.

"TO MISS JENNINGS.

June 25th, 1726.

"MY DEAR,

"I am obliged to you for your letter, and in the main I thank you for it. But I believe you may easily see by my looks that I thought there was a little too much severity in it. For my own part I admire you so much, and love you so dearly, that I cannot bear to hear you find fault with me without some discomposure and uneasiness. However, it is worth our while to bear the trouble of hearing of our faults, as it may be the means of engaging us to correct them.

"As for kissing, I frankly acknowledge there is something very impertinent in it occasionally, that is, when it recurs *too* frequently, (though, when you called it a mean thing, there was an air of gravity and superiority, which would have looked much more graceful in mamma!) But you abundantly atone for it in blushing while you read this. However, I plainly tell you, that you are so pretty, and I am so fond, that I must and will have a kiss now and then; nor is there any way of curing me of the inclination, but by putting on a very demure face when you have no provocation, except you complain of being too much beloved, and then indeed it will be a most friendly remedy. Yet, as fond of that genteel amusement as you may imagine me, I never languish for the kiss of a frowning fair! I conclude this important head, with begging that my dear little girl would soon be as indulgent in her grants, as I am moderate in my demands.

"By the by, I have a pepper-corn of advice for you; and that is, that you go to bed sooner than you commonly do. This may have a good influence both on your health and your temper; for I have frequently observed, that about forty minutes after eight the dear little infant begins to grow pettish for want of sleep, and can hardly persuade herself to bestow one smile upon her humble servant, who perhaps for the former part of the day has been her happy favourite.

P. DODDRIDGE."

But enough of kissing, let us turn to Nonconformity. The extraordinary merits of popular election in the appointment of ministers, and the absence of all intrigue, jealousy, or other worldly motives, may be satisfactorily established from the following portions of Doddridge's confidential correspondence with his friends and advisers. He was invited when a very young man to settle at Coventry as assistant to a Mr. Warren. The breaking off of the negotiation is related in the following terms.

" TO MR. CLARK.

May 25, 1725.

" REV. SIR,

" I have received your letter, and am very glad to hear that you concur with me in your sentiments with relation to Coventry. I still think, that if the people had been all of one mind, it would have been as agreeable a settlement as I could have desired; but Providence had ordered it otherwise, and I have determined for Kibworth, and hope you will not disapprove of my choice when you hear the reasons for it.

" There are some people at Coventry of considerable interest, and very active, that are nearly related to Mr. Smith, and have always been very desirous that he should assist Mr. Warren. I was told by several considerable persons that he had now given up this project, perceiving that the main body of the congregation could not possibly be brought to fall in with it; but they have since taken up a new scheme, by which they hope to carry their point; which is, that none should be concerned in the choice of an assistant but those that subscribe twenty shillings a year. It is certain that the rest of the people upon whom the salary principally depends, will never be persuaded to consent to this; and if they should, it is at least an equal chance that Mr. Smith would not be chosen upon these terms; but I perceived it would be some time before the affair was determined, so that I thought I could not honourably keep the Kibworth people any longer in suspense."—
vol. i. pp. 234, 235,

The conduct of Doddridge in this, and, indeed, on all similar occasions appears to have been perfectly proper. But the little flock of conscientious dissenters were actuated by motives which we do not care to name. Nor is this a singular instance of the spirit in which the Nonconformist congregations were supposed, or we might perhaps say, known to act.

" TO THE REV. SAMUEL CLARK.

" REVEREND SIR,

Jan. 21, 1728.

" I may well be ashamed to think how long I have delayed answering your last, by Mr. Auther, which was equally kind and instructive, but I have an apology which is more weighty than I could have wished. I never went through a greater variety of perplexing events in my life than since the beginning of the last month. I have not time to give you a particular history of them, which would easily fill several sheets; and it is the less necessary that I should, as I am not without some hope of seeing you at St. Albans in a few weeks; and so I will content myself with telling you, in a general way, that I was sent for to Nottingham by the Independent church there, and while I was making them a visit to enquire into the circumstances of the affair, I had a proposal privately offered me of a settlement with Mr. Hughes and Mr. Whitlock, at the great meeting, on terms which, I thought, would have been a means of uniting the breaches amongst them, which are now grown wider than ever. In these circumstances.

by Mr. Some's advice, I declined the invitation from Mr. Bateson's church, which I should not indeed have accepted, had no such proposal been made from the others; but the thing now rests in an entire silence, and it is strongly suspected by some who are my very good friends, that the overture from the other congregation was made with a politic design of preventing my fixing with Mr. Bateson, which would probably have drawn off some considerable persons from them.

"I have the satisfaction of having acted a very disinterested and friendly part in the whole affair, but am very uncertain how it will end.

"It is my happiness to be very easy at home, my friends and my books give me such agreeable entertainments as leave me but little to wish for as to this world, except the enjoyment of your company and of such a wife as Mrs. Clark. In the mean time, sir, I rejoice in the thought of your happiness, and most heartily wish its continuance, being with sincerest respect and affection,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged and most humble Servant,

PHILIP DODDRIDGE."—vol. ii. p. 408.

It may be said that the suspicions of the writer were on this occasion unfounded, and perhaps they were. But his observations acquaint us with the opinion entertained among dissenting ministers themselves, respecting the method of their appointment. A letter from the Doctor Samuel Clark of St. Albans, Doddridge's great friend and instructor, may serve to put the matter in a still clearer light.

"I understand that you have been appointed to preach at Nottingham, and that before you came the body of the people were for Mr. Hughes. I am sorry to hear he has met with such ill treatment, and that attempts are made to blast his character by a forged letter, in the name of several of the ministers at London, which occasioned an application to me for his true character, when I did him justice. It gives a sad prospect when such methods are made use of in the choice of ministers. I assure myself, from the part you have done upon other occasions, that you will employ all your interest and influence for the promoting of peace and union."—vol. ii. p. 438, 439.

We find in the sequel that Dr. Clark's information proved incorrect. His experience however had taught him to credit the scandalous tale which has been quoted, and doubtless there have been instances to justify his credulity.

At p. 450 of vol. ii. we have an example of political interference in the call of a dissenting teacher.

"The affairs of Northampton are undetermined. Mr. Tingey seemed inclined to return to them after he had left them, and concealed his dismissal for some time, but that is a great secret. I am well assured, but was much surprised to hear, that my Lord Halifax's

resentment of the part which Mr. Tingey acted in the last election at Northampton, was at the bottom of his removal, and turned the scales. So strangely are the most distant events connected."

Poor Doddridge had other troubles to encounter, besides those arising from Miss Kitty's jealousy, Miss Jennings's pettishness, or the cabals of the various congregations with whom he entered into correspondence. He was condemned by the Calvinists for his moderation; and a most orthodox clerk at Kettering absented himself from chapel when Doddridge preached, lest his ears should be polluted by the sound of some of "good old Mr. Baxter's divinity." On another occasion the wise men of Ware declined inviting him to be their pastor, because he used the Lord's Prayer. On some other occasion it is reported that his sermon consisted of little more than a repetition of "Do, do, do:"—the very antipodes it would appear to the preacher, who, not many years ago preached in Doddridge's town, Northampton, (alas! from the pulpit of a Church,) and having asked with the affrighted jailer, "What shall I do to be saved?" answered, "*Do!* why, do nothing."

In short, Doddridge's good sense, moderation, Christian charity, and zeal, would have made him a valuable minister of the Church of England if he had not been born a Nonconformist. The volumes before us, ridiculous as they are, must tend to raise the character of the principal personage concerned in the opinion of every candid reader. We find that he was imperfectly educated, egregiously flattered, and eminently successful, yet was he a modest, laborious man, truly devoted to God and godliness; and only to be pitied for being the progenitor of a gentleman, who has deemed it expedient to publish his love-letters, and for being mixed up with the vulgarity, intolerance, and intrigues of the Dissenters.

ART. IX.—*A Charge delivered in July, 1829, at Stokesley, Thirsk, and Malton, to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Cleveland; and printed at their request. By the Ven. and Rev. Leveson Venables Vernon, M.A. Stokesley.*

MR. VERNON has devoted the greater portion of this Charge to the subject of the *Clergy Mutual Assurance Society*, and the Institution cannot be more satisfactorily ascertained than from his perspicuous and forcible exposition of it.

"For these reasons, and in order that the Clergy, like the brethren at Thessalonica, may 'walk honestly towards them that are without and have lack of nothing:' a Society has been recently instituted, whose object is to facilitate and encourage a system of insurance among them.

which, by the sacrifice of a small annual payment, will secure to them a certain provision against the accidents to which flesh is heir. It is denominated the *Clergy Mutual Assurance Society*, and is recommended by the patronage of all our Bishops, as well as aided by their subscriptions; the advantages which it offers to a Clergyman whose income is small, will be best explained by considering them under two heads:—first, with respect to himself; and secondly, with respect to his family. With respect to himself, he is liable to be disabled from the performance of his duty by sickness; what then is to be done? for a time he may obtain assistance from his friends and neighbours. but if its duration be unfortunately prolonged, they cannot continue it without too much neglecting their own duties: it is necessary therefore to engage some one who looks for remuneration; but he has nothing to spare for this purpose out of an income which is not more than sufficient for his ordinary needs. If any one be alarmed at such a prospect, as doubtless he reasonably may, the remedy is at hand: by paying a certain annual sum to the Society, he will be relieved from any apprehensions on this subject. For instance, by the payment of £1 9s. 6d. every year, from his first entrance into orders, he may ensure an allowance at the rate of £52 during the whole continuance of his illness as far as his seventieth year: after which other regulations offer him similar advantages. But when *that* period arrives, which the Psalmist considered the ordinary limit of human life, other anxieties arise; unless God has blessed him with a vigour unnatural to his years, the veteran soldier of Christ may feel that his strength is wasted, and his activity has passed away, and he is no longer capable of exertions which once were only a light labour to him, while the full tide of health flowed through his youthful veins. He may feel the sad conviction that his performance of the Service is becoming painful both to himself and to his flock; that the indistinctness of his utterance, or the feebleness of his voice, is destroying his usefulness in the pulpit; that, in short, his increasing infirmities disable him from attending as much as he could wish to the duties of his parish, and consequently he may desire to resign a situation, the functions of which he cannot satisfactorily discharge; but how can he afford it? the living may not supply a sufficient provision for him, if a salary is to be taken out of it for the maintenance of a curate; or if he chance himself to be a curate, he is left destitute of all resource for the future. He who wishes to secure himself from the disagreeable and perplexing contingency which I have described, may guard against it by an assurance: if, for instance, he pays £1 11s. 6d. annually, from the age of twenty-one, he is entitled to an annuity of £52 a year, after the age of seventy; and what if God should take him away before that period arrives—he has the consolation on his death-bed of reflecting, that he has been contributing to the relief of his aged brethren, as they would have done to him, if his life had been prolonged.

“I now come to the second class of advantages offered to the clergy, by the scheme of mutual assurance; those advantages which relate more immediately to their families. The apprehension of leaving a wife or children behind, without any means of support, or at least, with means

very inadequate to their necessities, must wring the heart of many an anxious parent : however much he may resolve to save out of his small income by painful self-denial, yet, after all, the precarious tenure by which we hold our lives must make success uncertain ; but even should he ultimately succeed in securing a certain provision for them, success may have been purchased at too dear a cost : if an excess of solicitude, which it is easier to reprehend than to restrain, prevents him from exemplifying the liberality which it is his business to inculcate ; if the sway of domestic affection closes the hand which charity calls upon him to open ; if his usefulness is curtailed, and his influence impaired, and his ministry less regarded from these causes, the private advantage will doubtless have been purchased too dear, at the expense of detriment to the church of Christ. But suppose the object attained ; suppose that a provision is secured for the widow or the orphan ; yet when the day arrives which must reduce them to that desolate condition, it may be seriously diminished by the heavy charges incidental to their removal from a place which is no longer their home ; and perhaps the expense of a long sickness and a sad funeral is to be defrayed : and then there is the charge for dilapidations ; a charge which ought indeed, both in prudence and in justice, to be kept low by constant attention to repairs : but sometimes this is forgotten, and sometimes the necessity is unnoticed and unknown, till the valuer brings his estimate. He who wishes to save his family from these inconveniences, at a time when he will no longer be able to assist them personally, may ensure 50*l.* at his death, by the annual payment of about 1*l.* from his first entrance into orders ; or any multiple of 50*l.* at the same rate, as far as 500*l.* During his lifetime the principal embarrassments that affect a clergyman, with respect to his family, are the education of his children, the means of setting his sons forward in the world, on account of the expense attending their entrance into most professions, and creditable branches of business, and of providing something in the shape of dowry for his daughters : these are heavy burthens upon a small life income, and may occasion considerable distress in various ways, if no fund is reserved for such purposes : here then the Mutual Assurance Society steps in to his assistance, and offers no small advantages to a provident father :—for instance, the payment of about 18*l.* at once, on the birth of a child, or the annual payment of a guinea and a half, entitles the child to an endowment of 50*l.* at the age of twenty one ; a premium somewhat higher entitles him to the same sum at the age of fourteen. This assurance may be effected by any of the child's friends, or relations, who are interested in its behalf as well as by the parents ; and it is a very liberal rule of the Institution, that if a person dies having endowed a child, and no one is willing to continue to pay the annual premiums, all the annual premiums which may have been paid for the endowment will be returned for the benefit of the child, if living, at the time the endowment would have become due.

“ So far all the benefits which I have detailed depend solely upon the system of Mutual Assurance, and are regulated by calculation, and recommended by motives of prudence ; and doubtless there are many to whom such facilities of escaping from some of the sorest ills that beset

their path through life will be acceptable in a high degree : but are they the only persons interested ? are they who still cannot afford to avail themselves of its terms excluded from the Society ? or are their wealthier brethren unconcerned in its establishment, because they need not its assistance ? I should scarcely have thought it necessary to occupy your attention so long with its details, if that had been the case ; but associated as we are in the same Ministry of the Gospel, and brethren in the same family of Christ's Church, surely we are linked together by stronger ties than prudence : to use the argument of St. Paul, we are all ' Members of one body,' and should ' have care one for another,' and ' whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it, or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.'—(1 Corinthians, xii. 26.) And if it is expected of all who are rich in this world, that they be ready to give and glad to distribute, much more is it incumbent upon those who are Ministers of Christ to aid their brethren by voluntary contributions.

" The views of the Society upon this subject I will give in their own words :—' As the intent of this Society is to comprehend within itself Assured Members *from all classes* of the Clergy, and as only those in better circumstances may be enabled to make full provision by adequate Assurances, it is proposed to raise a distinct Fund by means of Legacies, Donations, and annual Voluntary Subscriptions, to be called " the Fund in aid," so that Clergy with small incomes and large families, may be assisted in making their Assurances ; and be provided, as well as their Wives, Widows, and Children, with other advantages when occasion may require.' Thus then the gates of charity are thrown open to all—to some as contributors—to others as receivers : but it is a charity subservient to prudence ; it is a charity which gives no encouragement to thoughtlessness or extravagance, nor hurts the feelings of any to whom its advantages are extended ; it is a charity which, co-operating with a little timely care, will relieve many of the servants of Christ from that distressing thought for the morrow which their Master forbids :—for he who has adopted the precautions which a wise foresight dictates, may trust his affairs to Providence with cheerfulness and confidence ; and though evil days may arrive unforeseen, yet it will be sufficient to groan under them when the storm bursts ; for sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof : and in the mean time, he will run his race with greater alacrity and finish his course with greater joy, when free from the load of apprehensions with which the infirmities of nature, and the cares of a family, so often clog the heart."

We sincerely hope that Archdeacon Vernon's benevolent wishes may be accomplished ; and that the Clergy in general may be convinced of the manifold advantages of the system which he so ably explains and recommends.

STATE OF THE DIOCESES

IN

ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER INCLUSIVE.

PREFERRED.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Canterbury.			
Margate, Trinity, C. . .	Kent . .	Francis Barrow .	Vic. of Margate.
York.			
Flintham, V.	Notts . .	Cha. John Myers	Trin. Coll. Cambridge.
Golcar, C.	W. York .	T. B. Holt . .	Vic. of Huddersfield.
Middleton, V. and } Old Byland, C. . . }	N. York .	C. Mackereth . }	Archd. Wrangham, Rev. A. Cayley, and Dr. T. Smith.
Weaverthorpe, V. . .	E. York .	W. Cockburn .	The Dean & Chapter.
Weston, V.	W. York .	Wm. Carter . }	Governors of Sedberg Gram. School.
London.			
Christ Church, New- gate Street, V. and } St. Leonard's, Foster Lane, R. . . . }	Middlesex .	Geo. Preston . }	Governors of St. Bartholomew Hospital, and Dn. and Ch. of Westminster, <i>alt.</i> The latter this turn.
Paddington, P. C. . .	Middlesex .	A. M. Campbell	The Lord Bishop.
Shenfield, R.	Essex . .	Mr. Yorke . .	Countess de Grey.
Durham.			
Heddon-on-the- Walls, V. . . . }	Northumb.	J. A. Blackett .	Lord Chancellor.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Winchester.			
Archdeaconry in } Cath. Church of . }	Winchester	C. James Hoare	The Lord Bishop.
Monk Sherborne, <i>V.</i> . }	Hants . .	J. B. Maude . .	Queen's Coll. Oxford.
Worlingham, <i>V. with</i> } Chelsham, <i>C.</i> . . }	Surrey . .	John Dalton . }	A. D. Weyvill, Esq. a minor.
Wangor.			
Llangwyfan, <i>R.</i> . .	Denbigh .	R. L. A. Roberts	The Lord Bishop.
Bath and Wells.			
Winford, <i>R.</i>	Somerset .	F. H. Brickenden	Worcester Coll. Oxon.
Bristol.			
Bridport, <i>R.</i> }	Dorset . .	R. Broadley . .	Earl of Ilchester.
(by Dispensation.) }	Dorset . .	J. Hampden . .	Earl of Shaftesbury.
Hinton Martel, <i>R.</i> . .			
Chester.			
Field Broughton, <i>C.</i> . .	Lancaster .	Wm. Wilson . .	Ld.G.A.H.Cavendish.
Northenden, <i>R.</i> . . .	Chester . .	John Pedder . .	Dean and Chapter.
Over Darwen, <i>C.</i> . . .	Lancaster .	G. Park	Vic. of Blackburn.
Chichester.			
Barlavington, <i>R. and</i> } Egdean, <i>R.</i> }	Sussex . .	John Crosthwaite	Earl of Egremont.
Ely.			
West Wratting, <i>V.</i> . .	Cambridge.	J. T. Watson . .	The Dean & Chapter.
Exeter.			
Ashreigny, <i>R.</i>	Devon . .	Geo. Johnson . .	Rev. G. Johnson.
Buckerell, <i>V.</i>	Devon . .	E. Ellis Coleridge	Dean and Chapter.
Churstow, <i>V. with</i> } Kingsbridge, <i>V.</i> . . }	Devon . .	Francis Pott . .	Lord Chancellor.
Exeter, St. Mary Ma- } jor, <i>R.</i> }	Devon . .	J. F. Turner . .	Dean and Chapter.
Fremington, <i>V.</i> . . .	Devon . .	Wm. Cha. Hill .	Rev. W. C. Hill.
Lanreath, <i>R.</i>	Cornwall .	Richard Buller .	John Buller, Esq.
Pelynt, <i>V.</i>	Cornwall .	Henry Dyke . .	J. Buller, Esq.
Shebbeare, <i>V. with</i> } Sheepwash, <i>C.</i> . . }	Devon . .	P. D. Foulkes .	Lord Chancellor.
Thelbridge, <i>R.</i>	Devon . .	R. T. Bradstock	W.W.Woodward, Esq.
Winkleigh, <i>V.</i>	Devon . .	Henry Wright .	Dn. & Ch. of Sarum.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Gloucester.			
Brimsfield, R. with Cranham, R.	Gloucester .	Wm. Moore . .	Mrs. Pitt.
Newcastle-under-Lyne, St. George's, C.	Stafford . .	J. H. Cotterill .	P. C. of Newcastle.
Swindon, R.	Gloucester .	Samuel Raymond	Rev. W. Romney.
Lich. & Coventry.			
Uttoxeter, V.	Stafford . .	C. F. Broughton	D. & Cns. of Windsor.
Vicarial Stall in Cath. Church of	Lichfield .	T. G. Parr . .	The Lord Bishop.
Winkworth, V.	Derby . .	E. S. Remington	Dean of Lincoln.
Lincoln.			
Barkston, R.	Lincoln . .	Hen. Cleveland	Preb. of N. Grantham, in Cath. Church of Sarum.
Prebendal Stall in the Cath. Church of	Lincoln . .	Rev. E. Smedley	The Lord Bishop.
Hoggeston, R.	Bucks . .	Rich. Grape, M.A.	Worcester Coll. Oxon.
Leicester, St. Martin, V.	Leicester .	Hon. H. D. Erskine	Lord Chancellor.
Norton-by-Twycross, R.	Leicester .	Hon. Alfred Curzon	Lord Chancellor.
Upton All Saints, V.	Lincoln . .	H. Massingberd	Sir W. Ingleby, Bart.
Llandaff.			
Llangwinor, C.	Glamorgan.	W. Llewellen .	Lord Vernon.
Llantwd Vaird, C.	Glamorgan.	H. J. Thomas .	D. & C. of Gloucester.
Norwich.			
Barmer, C.	Norfolk . .	E. John Senkler	T. Kerslake, Esq.
Bexwell, R.	Norfolk . .	John H. Sparke	Bishop of Ely.
Burgh Castle, R.	Norwich .	Charles Green .	Lord Chancellor.
Charsfield, P. C.	Suffolk . .	Wm. Browne .	W. Jennens, Esq.
Crimplisham, P. C.	Norfolk . .	Houghton Spencer	Bishop of Ely.
Burrough, R.	Norfolk . .	Fra. E. Arden .	W. Repton, Esq. and Rev. F. E. Arden.
Creeting, All Saints, R.	Suffolk . .	John Briggs . .	Eton College.
—— St. Mary, R.			
—— St. Olave, R.			
Fakenham, R.	Suffolk . .	J. B. Sams, jun.	Duke of Grafton.
Filtingham, R.	Suffolk . .	Edward Frere .	Right Hon. J. H. Frere.
Great Saxham, R.	Suffolk . .	Thomas Mills .	Trustees.
Hackford, R.	Norfolk . .	Philip Gurdon .	T. T. Gurdon, Esq.
Horham, R.	Suffolk . .	W. B. Mack . .	Rev. W. Mack.
Houghton-in-the-Hole, V.	Norfolk . .	Strick. E. Neville	Marq. Cholmondeley.
Irstead, R. with Barton Turf, V.	Norfolk . .	John Gunn . .	The Lord Bishop.
New Buckenham, C.	Norfolk . .	J. F. Franklin .	Parishioners.
Preston, St. Mary, V.	Suffolk . .	W. H. Shelford .	Emanuel Coll. Camb.
Thetford, St. Peter, R.	Norfolk . .	J. Sworde . .	Earl of Albemarle.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Oxford.			
Shilton, <i>V.</i>	Oxford . .	Arthur Neate .	Rev. T. Neate.
Peterborough.			
Barnwell, <i>R.</i>	Northampton	R. Moore Boulton	Lord Montague.
Sulgrave, <i>V.</i>	Northampton	Wm. Harding .	Rev. W. Harding.
Wadenhoe, <i>R.</i>	Northampton	John Shillibeer .	Robert Roberts, Esq.
Salisbury.			
North Newington, <i>V.</i> } with Little Knoyle, } <i>C.</i> }	Wilts . .	J. S. Stockwell }	Preb. of Beminster, Secunda in the Cath. Church.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	Salisbury .	Edward Berens .	The Lord Bishop.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	Salisbury .	W.S.Goddard, D.D.	The Lord Bishop.
Rushall, <i>R.</i>	Wilts . .	E. H. G. Williams	Bp. of Sarum, by lapse.
St. David's.			
Llandnydd, <i>P. C.</i> . .	Cardigan .	C. Griffith . . }	Pr. of Llandnydd in Coll Ch. of Brecon.
Worcester.			
Astley, <i>R.</i>	Worcester .	W. H. Havergal }	Mrs. M. H. Cookes, and G. Magnay, Esq.

Burrow, E. J. D.D. to be Joint Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, *vice* Rev. A. M. Campbell, resigned.

Gell, Philip, to be Minister of St. John's, Derby.

Rasleigh, G. Cumming, to a Fellowship of Winchester College.

CHAPLAINSHIPS.

Baring, Frederick, to be Domestic Chapl. to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence.

Braham, W. H. S. to be Chaplain to H. R. H. the Duke of Sussex.

Carver, James, to be Chaplain to the City of London Lying-in Hospital.

Champnes, Charles, to be Domestic Chaplain to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence.

Fancourt, W. L. D. D. to be Chaplain to the Borough Gaol of Leicester.

Norton, W. A. to be Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon. Lord Crewe.

Powell, William Frederick, to be Domestic Chaplain to H. R. H. the Duke of Sussex.

Simpson, John Holt, to be Chaplain to His Majesty's Government in St. Michael's and the Azore Islands.

West, Joseph, M.A. to be one of the Chaplains of the Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxfordshire.

SCHOOLS.

Bayly, W. G. to the Head Mastership of Midhurst School.

Bird, Charles, to the Head Mastership of Leominster Grammar School.

Duningham, John, to the Head Mastership of Cuckfield Grammar School.

Kidd, Thomas, to the Head Mastership of Norwich Grammar School.

Newbold, F. S. to the Head Mastership of Macclesfield Grammar School.

Valpy, Francis, to the Head Mastership of Reading School.

SCOTLAND.

The King has been pleased to present the Rev. Robert Jamieson to the Church and Parish of Westruther, in the Presbytery of Lander and County of Berwick,

vacant by the transportation of the Rev. Dr. W. Fleming to the Church and Parish of Old Kilpatrick.

ORDAINED.

BATH AND WELLS.

By the Lord Bishop, Oct. 4.

DEACONS.

Edw. Pickering Williams, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Betts, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Roger Smith, B.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.

Edward William Batchelor, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

Seth Berge Plummer, B.A. University College, Oxford.

Henry Roberts, B.A. St. Edmund Hall, Oxford.

Francis Warre, B.A. Oriel College, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

James Hutchinson, B.A. St. John's College, Oxford.

William Marriott Leir, B.A. and S.C.L. Wadham College, Oxford.

Henry Digby Serrell, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

George Bodley Warren, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

John Jowison, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

John Dixon Hales, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Charles Hayes, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Charles Edward Kennaway, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Edward Alexander Webber, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Robert Smith Bower, B.A. Jesus Coll. Cambridge.

ELY.

By the Lord Bishop, in the Chapel of the Palace, Nov. 8.

DEACONS.

Richard Foley, M.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

W. H. Shelford, M.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

W. B. Colbeck, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

T. Burnett Stuart, M.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Robert Barrick, M.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Edward A. Smedley, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Abel Chapman, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Thomas Riddell, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Charles John Myers, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Hodgson, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Edward Peacock, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

William Potter, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

Wodehouse Berney A. Raven, B.A. }
from the Bishop of Norwich. }

PRIESTS.

Henry Arlett, M.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

William Farley Wilkinson, M.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Edward Bates, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.

Richard Taylor, B.A. Queen's College.

William Keeling, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

EXETER.

At a Private Ordination by the Lord Bishop in the Chapel of his Palace, Oct. 25.

DEACONS.

John Symon Avery, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

John Clerke, B.A.

J. C. Crowley, B.A. Wadham College, Oxford.

R. S. Hawker, B.A. Magdalen College, Oxford.

George Innes, B.A. Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford.

John Ley, M.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

J. H. Stockham, B.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

William Wellington, B.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

J. S. Cookesley, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

F. Parker, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

G. F. Arthur, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

R. F. Bradstock, M.A. University College, Oxford.

W. Farwell, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

John Huyshe, M.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.

E. Pole, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

J. Fisher Turner, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

J. S. Frobisher, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

W. Morshead, B.A. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

LINCOLN.

By the Lord Bishop, at Buckden,
September 20.

DEACONS.

James L. Brown, B.A. University College, Oxford.

Vicesimus Knox Child, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

Henry Danvers Clarke, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

Thomas B. Lancaster, B.A. Merton College, Oxford.

Charles Delmé Radcliffe, B.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.

George A. Robinson, Christ's College, Cambridge.

Right Hon. Lord Wriothlesley Russell, M.A. Trinity College.

George W. Straton, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Matthew Carrier Tompson, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

Robert H. Webb, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

Thomas Whitworth, B.A. Christ Coll.

Alleyne H. Barker, B.A. Christ Coll. }
from the Bishop of Bristol. }
Charles Parker, B.A. Queen's Coll. }
from the Bishop of Oxford. }

NO. XIII.—JAN. 1830.

PRIESTS.

Norris Cogswell, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Edward H. Dawson, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

John Hull, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

Alexander Manning, B.A. Catharine Hall, Cambridge.

Joseph Maude, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

Frederick Morgan, B.A. St. John's College, Oxford.

R. Broome Pinniger, M.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

John Rogers, B.A. Trinity College, Dublin.

Charles Pratt Terrot, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Cornelius Thompson, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

J. Deane Waite, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.

Thomas Woodruff, B.A. St. John's College, Oxford.

NORWICH.

At a General Ordination in the Cathedral Church, Sept. 27.

DEACONS.

W. John Aislabie, Trinity College, Cambridge.

Henry Milles Astley, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

James Goodwin, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

John Gunn, M.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

John Hodgson, B.A. Jesus College, Oxford.

G. H. Hely Hutchinson, M.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

John Deadley Monney, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Francis Morse, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Edmund Pepys Nottidge, S.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

George Platt, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

W. Sprigge, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

Francis Steward, B.A. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

Augustus J. Tharp, B.A. Christ's College, Cambridge.

Thomas Walpole, B.A. Balliol College, Oxford.

Robert Whiting, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

R

George Brewster, St Edmund's Hall, Oxford.

Edward Everard Blencowe, B.A. St. Alban's Hall, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

John Alexander Blackett, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

Edward Millard, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

James Miller Brown, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Lionel Buller, M.A. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

William Chaplin, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

T. Jennings Cooper, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Edward Frere, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

T. Edward Hankinson, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Richard Hart, B.A. Trinity College, Dublin.

George Hogg, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

John Munnings Johnson, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

William Pratt, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

F. George Rawlings, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Bradfield Sanders, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

OXFORD.

By the Lord Bishop, Oct. 4, at Christ Church.

DEACONS.

Philip Henry Vind, B.A. Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

James Beauchamp, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.

George Chester, B.A. Tabadar of Queen's College.

Thomas Barton Hill, B.A. Wadham College, Oxford.

Henry Vaughan, B.A. Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

Arthur Neete, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

Charles Palaret, M.A. Michel Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford.

Joseph Askew, M.A. Queen's College, Oxford, (Old Foundation.)

Geo. Riggs, M.A. Chaplain to Queen's College, (Old Foundation.)

Joseph Corpe, B.A. Chaplain of New College, Oxford.

W. F. Audland, M.A. Chaplain on the Old Foundation of Queen's College, Oxford.

PETERBOROUGH.

In the Cathedral Church, on Sunday, Nov. 1.

DEACONS.

Charles Egerton Dukensfield, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

G. Rigg, B.A. St. Peter's Coll. Camb. }
By Let. Dim. from the Bishop of Lincoln. }

PRIESTS.

Edward Dudley, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

W. Harding, B.A. University College, Oxford.

James Horwood Harrison, B.A. Merton College, Oxford.

W. D. Philpot, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

John Gunn, M.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

W. Cope, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

SALISBURY.

By the Lord Bishop, in the Episcopal Palace, on Sunday, Oct. 11.

DEACONS.

Walter Ashfordby Trenchard, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

W. Wyndham Tatam, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

W. Bowling, B.A. Jesus College, Oxford.

Samuel Smith, B.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.

Matthew Gibson, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Matthews, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

W. Thomas Wyld, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

G. Colebrook Jordan, M.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

Philip Poore, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

Joseph Neate Walsh, M.A. St. John's College, Oxford.

Henry Browne, M.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

G. Sweet Escott, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

James Fitzmaurice, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Mason Anderson, Literate.

DECEASED.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
York.			
Fledborough, <i>R. and</i> } Thorney, <i>V.</i> . . . }	Notts . . .	John Penrose . . . }	Earl Manners. Geo. Neville, Esq.
London.			
Christ Church, <i>New-</i> } <i>gate Street, V. and</i> } St. Leonard, <i>Foster</i> } <i>Lane, R.</i> . . . }	Middlesex .	Sam. Crowther }	Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hosp. & Dn. & Ch. of Westminster, the former last presented.
St. Sepulchre, <i>Snow-</i> } <i>hill, V.</i> . . . }	Middlesex .	{ R. D. Shack- ford, D. D. }	St. John's Coll. Oxf.
Durham.			
Embleton, <i>V.</i> . . .	Northumb. .	G. Dixwell Grimes	Merton Coll. Oxford.
Winchester.			
Archd. of Winchester, } <i>V. Andover, with</i> } Foscott, <i>C. and</i> } Hursley, <i>V. with</i> } Otterbourne, <i>C.</i> . . }	Hants . . .	Gilb. Heathcote }	The Lord Bishop. Winchester Coll. Sir W. Heathcote, Bt.
[Also Fell. of Winchester Coll. and Treasurer of Cath. Ch. of Wells, the latter in the patronage of the Bp. of B. & Wells.]			
Bath and Wells.			
Hinton Blewett, <i>R.</i> . .	Somerset .	Geo. Johnson .	Rev. G. Johnson.
South Bradon, <i>Sin. R.</i>	Somerset .	Robert Watson .	Earl of Egremont.
Yatton, <i>V. with</i> } Kenn, <i>C.</i> . . . }	Somerset .	Tho. Wickham }	Preb. of Yatton in Cath. Ch. of Wells.
Winford, <i>R.</i>	Somerset .	J. W. W. Horlock	Worcester Coll. Oxon.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Chester.			
Liverpool, St. Peter, } 1st R. and St. Nich. C. . . . }	Lancast. .	S. Renshaw .	Corp. of Liverpool.
— St. Peter, 2d R. .	Lancast. .	R.H.Roughsedge }	
Chichester.			
Barlavington, R. } Egdean, R. and Hardham, R. . . }	Sussex . .	Robert Watson }	Earl of Egremont. Sir C. F. Goring, Bt.
Ely.			
Steeple Morden, V. .	Cambridge	Charles Reynell	New Coll. Oxford.
Tyd, St. Giles, R. . .	Cambridge	F. H. Daubeny .	The Lord Bishop.
Exeter.			
Lanreath, R. and } Morvall, V. . . . }	Cornwall .	S. Puddicombe }	John Buller, Esq. Lord Chancellor.
Tamerton Foliot, V.	Devon . .	John Raynor .	Lord Chancellor.
Veryan, V.	Cornwall .	Jer. Trist . . .	Dean & Chapter.
Gloucester.			
Lassington, R. . . .	Gloucester .	J. B. Cheston .	Sir W. Guise, Bart.
Hereford.			
Eyton, C.	Hereford .	J. Williams . .	Vicar of Eye.
Pembridge, R. . . .	Hereford .	John Guard . .	Corpus Ch. Coll. Oxf.
Pencombe, R. . . .	Hereford .	J. Glasse . . .	
Peterchurch, V. . . .	Hereford .	Henry Davies .	Guy's Hospital.
Lich. & Coventry.			
Kniver, C.	Staffordshire	Henry Davies .	Trustees.
Lincoln.			
Broughton, R. . . .	Lincoln . .	D. C. Burton .	Richard Burton, Esq.
Covenham, St Barth, R. } and Winceby, R. . }	Lincoln . .	John Fretwell . }	Rev. J. Fretwell. Lord Chancellor.
Fletton, R.	Hunts. . .	J. Jackson Lowe	Earl of Carysfoot.
Foston, R. and } Leicester, St. Mar- }	Leicester .	E. T. Vaughan }	T. H. Lamb, Esq. Lord Chancellor.
tin, V. }			
Se als, R.	Leicester .	Wm. Gresley .	Rev. W. Gresley.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Norwich.			
Beyton, R.	Suffolk . .	Thomas Fenton	Lord Chancellor.
Burgh Castle, R. and } Santon, R. and }	Suffolk . . }	H. C. Manning .	Lord Chancellor. Corpor. of Thetford:
Thetford, St. Peter's, R. } — St. Cuthb. R. }	Norfolk . . }		Earl of Albemarle.
Bexwell, R. and } Crimplesham, V. }	Norfolk . .	F. H. Daubeny .	Bishop of Ely.
Little Brandon, R. and } NewBuckenham, C. }	Norfolk . .	John France . }	F. R. Reynolds, Esq. Parishioners.
Oxford.			
Eustone, V. and } Great Tew, V. . }	Oxford . .	Samuel Nash . }	C. D. Lee, Esq. G. F. Stratton, Esq.
Salisbury.			
Bechingstoke, R. and } Huish, R. . . . }	Wilts . .	Charles Mayo . }	J. W. Heneage, Esq. Tr. of Froxfield Almsh.
Box, V.	Wilts . .	J. W. W. Horlock	Rev. J. W. W. Horlock.
Burcot, R.	Berks . .	S. Baker, B.C.L.	J. Baker, Esq.
North Newington, V. } with Little Knoyle, C. }	Wilts . .	Tho. Wickham }	Preben. of Beminster, secunda in Cath. Ch.
Preb. in Cath. Church of	Salisbury .	John Guard . .	The Lord Bishop.
Preb. in Cath. Church of	Salisbury .	Tho. Wickham .	The Lord Bishop.
St. David's.			
Llansadurmen, R. with } Llangharm, V. . . }	Caermarthen	John Williams .	Rev. T. Watkins.
Worcester.			
White-lady-Ashton, V.	Worcester .	J. B. Cheston . }	B. Johnson, Esq. as Trustee for R. Berkeley, Esq. a Rom. Cath.

Name.	Appointment.	County.
Bew, Dr.	Havant.	Hants.
Bloor, Matthew	Late Curate of Over and Pulford	Chester.
Carter, John	Formerly Head Mast. of the Gram. School	Lincoln.
Crowe, Henry	Huish	Wilts.
Dalton, Thomas	Stanstead	Essex.
Dandridge, John Strange, jun.	Rettendon	Essex.
Leigh, George	Middlewich	Cheshire.
Nealds, Charles	Ryde	I. of Wight.
Nicholas, George, LL.D. . .	Master of Ealing School.	
Smith, Francis Grosvenor . .	Maidstone	Kent.
Smith, Hely Hutchinson . . .	Great James Street, Bedford Row	Middlesex.
Trevethan, Thomas	Helston	Cornwall.
Thomason Thomas T.	Senior Chapl. to the Hon. E. I. Company, at Mauritius, on his return to England.	
Watkins, T.		Beacon.
Woodward, Fra. Blake, B.A.	Balliol College	Oxford.

MARRIED.

Ainslie, Rev. Gilbert, *D.D.*, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, to Emily, second daughter of W. C. Marsh, Esq. of Park Hall, Essex.

Bainwell, Rev. Charles, Rector of Mileham, Norfolk, to Sophia, daughter of the late George Windham, Esq. of Cromer Hall.

Benson, H. B., *M.A.*, Vicar of Heckington, county of Lincoln, to Mary Catherine, only child of the late S. Harrold, Esq. of Utterby House, same county.

Braham, Rev. W. H. Spencer, Minor Canon of Canterbury Cathedral and Vicar of Willesborough, Kent, to Martha, youngest daughter of Edward Martin, Esq., of Godmanchester, Hunts.

Budd, Rev. H., Chaplain of Bridewell Hospital, &c., to Jane, relict of the Rev. R. W. Allix, late Rector of Great Warley, Essex.

Bull, Rev. Edward, fifth son of the Rev. John Bull, rector of Tattington, near Ipswich, and Pentlow, Essex, to Elizabeth, only child of Thomas Hodgson, Esq.

Bulteel, Rev. Henry Bellenden, Fellow of Exeter College, to Eleanor, youngest daughter of the late Mr. Sadler, of Oxford.

Cann, Rev. W., of Cratfield Vicarage, to Harriet, second daughter of the late Rev. Heneage Robinson, Rector of Thwaite.

Firmin, Rev. Robert, Rector of Fringinghoe, to Sarah Anne, second daughter of M. Dodd, Esq., of Romford.

Gould, Rev. Edward, *M.A.*, of Christ's College, only son of Colonel Gould, of Bury, to Mary Anna Penelope, elder daughter of the Rev. Henry Heigham, of Hunston Hall.

Harris, Rev. J. H., *M.A.*, Fellow of Clare Hall, to Charlotte Ann, daughter of the Rev. J. B. Collyer, of Hackford Hall, Norfolk.

Henslowe, Rev. Edward Pering, *B.A.*, of Jesus College, Cambridge, Chaplain to the Royal Artillery at Woolwich, to Honora Mary Georgina, eldest daughter of Colonel Vassall.

Howell, Rees, Vicar of Lancarvan, to Harriet Anne, only daughter of the Rev. Dr. Williams, Master of Cowbridge School, and Prebendary of Landaff.

Kendall, Rev. W. Charles, Vicar of Swinderby, Lincolnshire, to Albina, eldest daughter of Richard Fisher, Esq., of Newark.

Layton, Rev. Charles, Rector of Bequia and the Grenades, and the fourth son of the Rev. Thomas Layton, Vicar of Chigwell, Essex, to Mary Christian, only daughter of the Hon. G. Maynard.

Law, Rev. Robert V., third son of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to Sidney Dorothea, daughter of the late Colonel Davidson.

Lillistone, Rev. John, Rector of Baisham, to Adelaide, younger daughter of the Rev. Thomas Image, Rector of Whepstead.

Mayo, James, *M.A.*, of Wimborne Minster, Vicar of Avebury, Wilts.

Montagu, Rev. Horatio, to Anne Elizabeth, only daughter of the late Thomas Wood, Esq., of the Madras Engineers, at the Hotel of the British Legation, at Berne, in Switzerland.

Miller, M., *M.A.*, Vicar of Scarborough and late Fellow of Clare Hall, to Eliza Slibbert, fourth daughter of the late William Belcomb, Esq., *M.D.*, of the City of York.

Parry, Rev. William Henry, Rector of Holt in Norfolk, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Cory, Master of Emmanuel College.

Roberts, B. A., Vicar of Christ Church, Monmouthshire, and of Nash, same county, to Frances Anne, daughter of J. Breynon, Esq., of Haunch Hall, Staffordshire.

Rookes, Charles, Rector of Telfont, Wilts, to Mary, daughter of the late Captain Rudsell, *R.N.*

Spencer, Rev. Thomas, Perpetual Curate of Charter House, Hinton, near Bath, to Anna Maria, only daughter of the late Major Brooke, of the Bengal Artillery, and grand-daughter of the late Colonel Brooke, Governor of St. Helena.

Steward, J., appointed to St. Christopher's, West Indies, to Matilda, daughter of the late J. Shrimpton, Esq.

Stone, Rev. William, *M.A.*, Fellow of Brazennose College, and Rector of Christ Church, Middlesex, to Louisa Toogood, only daughter of the late George William Downing, Esq.

Sunderland, Rev. Charles, Curate of Gedney, to Mary, only daughter of W. Taylor, Esq., of Lutton, Lincolnshire.

Tilbrook, Rev. S., *B.D.*, Rector of Freckenham, and late Fellow and Tutor of Peter House, Cambridge, to Frances, fourth daughter of the late John Ayling, Esq., of Tillington, Sussex, at Tillington, by the Rev. C. Townsend.

Tyndall, Rev. T. G., Rector of Holten, Oxon, and Vicar of Woodburn, Bucks, to Ann, daughter of the Right Hon. John Sullivan, of Richings Lodge, Bucks.

Wharton, T., Head Master of the Clergy Orphan School, St. John's Wood, to Miss Soilleux, of South Bank, Regent's Park.

Whitbread, C. S., of Boyton Rectory, Wiltshire, to Charlotte Matilda, eldest daughter of J. Josselyn, Esq., of Sproughton House, Suffolk.

Wilson, D., Jun., of Worton, Oxfordshire, to Lucy Sarah Atkins, of Chipping Norton.

Wodehouse, Rev. N., fourth son of the late Thomas Wodehouse, Esq., of Sennowe, Norfolk, to Georgina, third daughter of the Hon. and Rev. William Capel, Vicar of Watford.

Young, C. N., *M.A.*, Rector of Quainton, Bucks, to Anne Catharine, eldest daughter of Dr. Travis, of Scarborough.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER INCLUSIVE.

DOCTORS IN DIVINITY.

October 29.

Rev. George Proctor, Worcester Coll.
Principal of Elizabeth Coll. Guernsey.

December 1.

In full Convocation, by Diploma, upon
the Hon. and Right Rev. Richard Bagot,
Lord Bishop of Oxford, formerly of Christ
Church, and late Fellow of All Soul's Coll.

BACHELOR AND DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

December 10.

Rev. W. Young Churchill Hunt, Exeter
College, by accumulation.

DOCTORS IN CIVIL LAW.

October 15.

Rev. Llewelyn Lewellin, M.A. late
Scholar of Jesus College, Principal of St.
David's Coll. Lampeter, S. W. and Preb.
of St. David's.

Rev. Charles Burton, Magdalen Hall.

November 26.

Rev. William Michael Lally, St. John's
College, Grand Compounder.

Dec. 17.

William Morgan, Esq. Fellow of Mag-
dalen College.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

October 15.

Rev. M. H. G. Buckle, Fell. of Wadham
College.

William Jacobson, Fell. of Exeter Coll.

October 22.

William Cripps, Trinity College.

Rev. Thomas Harding, Worcester Coll.

Rev. John Harding, Worcester College.

Rev. Thomas Clarke, Pembroke Coll.
Rev. Cyrill William Page, Student of
Christ Church.

William John Blake, Christ Church.

Rev. T. Wotton Barlow, Wadham Coll.

Rev. T. Arthur Powys, Fellow of St.
John's College.

Rev. T. Lagden Ramsden, St. John's
College.

Thomas Walpole, Balliol College.

October 29.

Rev. Edward Browne Everard, Balliol
College.

W. Provis Trelawny Wickham, Balliol
College.

Rev. E. Hazlerigg Bateman, Balliol Coll.

Rev. Philip Guille, Pembroke College.

Edward Gillam White, Lincoln Coll.

Rev. W. J. Earley Bennett, Christ Ch.

Rev. Arthur Roberts, Oriel College.

Hon. Lowther J. Barrington, Oriel Coll.

November 4.

Rev. Patrick Murray Smythe, Chr. Ch.
John Day, Exeter College.

November 12.

Rev. R. William Bosanquet, Balliol Coll.

Rev. John Forster Alleyne, Balliol Coll.

Rev. E. Beauchamp St. John, St. Alban
Hall.

Joseph Trotman, Worcester College.

Rev. William Leslie, Lincoln College.

Rev. Matthew Getley, Lincoln College.

Rev. John Goulter Dowling, Wadham
College.

November 19.

Harry Dent Goring, Magdalen College,
Grand Compounder.

Rev. J. Champneys Minchin, Fellow of
New College.

November 26.

Rev. Joseph Saville Robert Evans,
Queen's College, Grand Compounder.
Henry Reynolds, Scholar of Jesus Coll.
Rev. John Turner Colman Fawcett,
Student of Christ Church.

December 8.

Rev. James Mackell, Brazennose Coll.
Cecil Wray, Brazennose College.

December 10.

Rev. George Ferris W. Mortimer Michel, Scholar of Queen's College.
Jervis John Jervis, Queen's College.
Rev. Charles Burlton, Fellow of New College.
Thomas Cottle, Pembroke College.
Rev. George Robert Kensit, Pembroke College.

Dec. 17.

Evan Owen Hughes, Jesus College.
Rev. H. W. G. Armstrong, St. John's College.
Samuel Richard Bosanquet, Christ Ch. College.
Rev. Thomas Seard, Magdalen Hall.

BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.

October 14.

The Rev. Charles Burton, Bachelor in Civil Law, of St. John's College, Cambridge, was incorporated as a Member of Magdalen Hall.

November 4.

John Gregory, Balliol College, Grand Compounder.

November 12.

Rev. Frederick Gooch, Fellow of All Souls.

November 19.

Rev. William Michael Lally, St. John's College, incorporated from St. Peter's College, Cambridge, Grand Compounder.

December 3.

William Morgan, Esq. Fellow of Magdalen College, by commutation.

December 10.

Rev. T. F. A. P. Hodges, Fellow of New College.

BACHELOR IN DIVINITY.

December 10.

Rev. James Norris, Fellow of Corpus Christi College.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

October 15.

Lewis Tomlinson, Wadham College.

October 22.

W. Frederick Radcliffe, Queen's Coll.
Rev. George Mason, Brazennose Coll.
Rev. Richard John Beadon, Queen's College.
John Richardson, Scholar of Queen's College.
George Pigott, Trinity College.
Moses Mitchell, Magdalen Hall.
William Rawlings, Magdalen Hall.
Charles Childers, Christ Church.
G. Andrew Jacob, Scholar of Worcester College.

October 29.

Philip Augustus Browne, Corpus Christi College.
William Coleman, Queen's College.
William Piercy Austin, Exeter College.
Thomas McCalmont, Worcester College, incorporated from Trinity Coll. Dublin.

November 4.

Thomas Kemmis, Brazennose College.
George Taylor, Exeter College.

November 12.

Henry Tuffnell, Christ Church, Grand Compounder.
John Dixon, Christ Church, Grand Compounder.
George Richards, All Souls College.
Henry Thomas Worley, Queen's Coll.
George Hill Clifton, Scholar of Worcester College.
Robert Poole, Exeter College.
W. Henry Newbolt, Fellow of New College.
Rice Price, Fellow of New College.
Edward Payne, Fellow of New College.

November 19.

George Lloyd, St. Mary Hall, Grand Compounder.
Thomas Denman Whatley, Michel Exhibitioner, Queen's College.
Robert Dyer, St. Alban Hall.
Thomas Drewett Brown, Worcester College.
Sydenham Pidsley, Worcester College.
Henry Wybrow, Worcester College.
Bonamy Price, Worcester College.
Frederick Joseph Foxton, Pembroke College.

Richard Bellamy, Pembroke College.
 John Arthur Herbert, University Coll.
 Edward Carlyon, Exeter College.
 Thomas Inglis Stewart, Exeter College.
 William Bailey, New College.

November 26.

John Netherton Edwards, Worcester College, Grand Compounder.
 Thomas Turnivall, Queen's College.
 William Dod, Magdalen Hall.
 William Duke, Magdalen Hall.
 William Gould, Balliol College.
 George Dunbar Houghton, Worcester College.
 George Eaton, Brasenose College.
 Townshend Brooke, Brasenose Coll.
 George Clayton, Christ Church.
 John William Chambers, St. John's College.
 George Cæsar Hawkins, Oriel College.
 Robert Hennel Flower, Trinity College.
 John Francis Richard Hill, Trinity College.
 Richard Forster, Exeter College.

Dec. 3.

Nathaniel Bond, Oriel College, Grand Compounder.
 Richard Rob. Jas. M'Pherson, Queen's College, Grand Compounder.
 John Daniel Lloyd, Queen's College, Grand Compounder.
 William Maubey, Queen's College.
 James Hursey, Balliol College.
 Henry Blissett, Balliol College.
 William Hunt, Wadham College.
 Albert Mangles, Postmaster of Merton.
 Henry Hughes, Trinity College.
 Henry Deane, Exeter College.

Dec. 10.

John Pearce Pearce, Queen's College, Grand Compounder.
 John Meynell, Brasenose Coll. Grand Compounder.
 Oliver Ormerod, Brasenose College.
 Temple Hillyard, Brasenose College.
 Brisco Owen, Scholar of Jesus College.
 Robert Blagden, Scholar of Corpus Christi College.
 Edward Phillott, Scholar of Pembroke College.
 Herbert Johnson, Scholar of Wadham College.
 Frederick Foyster Langston, St. John's College.
 George Cuddington Bethune, Trinity College.
 Edward Stewart, Oriel College.
 Hugh Polson, Exeter College.

Edward Knight, Exeter College.
 Charles Rodd, Exeter College.
 Andrew Saunders, Exeter College.
 Frederick Bulley, Demy of Magdalen Hall.

Dec. 17.

John Edward Exeter Spink, Wadham College, Grand Compounder.
 A. F. B. St. Leger, Brasenose College, Grand Compounder.
 Joseph T. Toye, Queen's College.
 Thomas Richards, Queen's College.
 John P. Simond, St. Edmund's Hall.
 George Thompson, Magdalen Hall.
 William North, Jesus College.
 William Williams, Jesus College.
 Edward Davies, Jesus College.
 William Dyer, Jesus College.
 Charles Croft, Scholar of University College.
 George Glinn Ponsonby, University College.
 John Christopher Pack, Christ Church College.
 John Young, Corpus Christi College.
 C. F. B. Wood, Scholar of Pembroke College.
 Nathaniel Constantine Strickland, Lincoln College.
 William Drake, Lincoln College.
 H. Holingworth Pearson, Lincoln Coll.
 John J. Vaughan, Merton College.
 E. T. B. Twisleton, Scholar of Trinity College.
 Benjamin Barming, Trinity College.
 John Francis Stuart, Trinity College.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

Oct. 3.

Mr. Charles Williams, B. A., Scholar of Jesus College, was elected Fellow of that Society.

Oct. 8.

The Rev. Dr. Jones, Rector of Exeter College, was nominated Vice Chancellor the second time, by letters from the Chancellor of the University, and approved by Convocation; and at the same time the Vice Chancellor nominated as his Pro Vice Chancellors, the Rev. Dr. Hall, Master of Pembroke; the Rev. Dr. Jenkins, Master of Balliol; the Rev. Dr. Rowley, Master of University; and the Rev. Dr. Gilbert, Principal of Brasenose.

Oct. 14.

The nomination of the Rev. Wm. Kay, M.A., Fellow of Lincoln College, as a Public Examiner in *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*, was approved in Convocation.

The Rev. Edward Field, M.A., Michel Fellow of Queen's; and the Rev. James Garbett, M.A., Fellow of Brasenose, were nominated Public Examiners; the former in *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*, the latter in *Literis Humanioribus*.

Oct. 30.

The Rev. Peter Hansell, M.A., Scholar of University College, on Sir Simon Bennet's Foundation, has been elected Fellow on the same foundation.

Nov. 3.

The nomination of the Rev. Geo. Riggs, M.A., of Queen's College, to be Public Examiner in *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*, has been approved in Convocation.

Nov. 10.

The Rev. Frederick Gooch, Norman Hilton Macdonald, John Robert Kenyon, Students in Civil Law; Edward Hulse, Esq. Gentleman Commoner of Christ Church; and Francis Knyvett Leighton, Esq. Demy of Magdalen; were admitted Actual Fellows of All Souls' College; and Brooke William Robert Boothby, Esq. B.A. Student of Christ Church, was admitted Probationary Fellow of All Souls'.

Same day Mr. Clement Madeley Newbold, B.A. of Brasenose College, was elected Fellow of that Society.

Nov. 19.

Mr. Richard Payne was admitted a Founder's Kin Fellow of New College.

Nov. 26.

In Convocation the nomination of the following persons to enter upon the office of Select Preacher, at Michaelmas, 1830, was unanimously approved:—

Rev. Philip Nicholas Shuttleworth, D.D. Warden of New College.

Rev. E. Hawkins, D.D. Provost of Oriel College.

Rev. J. Endell Tyler, B.D. of Oriel College.

Rev. George John Majendie, B.D. Fellow of Magdalen College.

Rev. John Miller, M.A. of Worcester College.

Mr. James Roydon Hughes was admitted Actual Fellow of New College.

Nov. 30.

Herman Merrivale, B.A. was admitted an Actual Fellow of Balliol College.—Same day Charles Marriott, Commoner of Exeter College; Stephen Charles Dennison, Commoner of Balliol College; and Edward Elder, were elected Scholars of Balliol College. Charles Marriott was also elected Exhibitioner on the Foundation of Mrs. Headlam; and John Cooke Exhibitioner on the Foundation of Mr. Harrison, in the same College.

Dec. 3.

Mr. James Edward Sewell was admitted Actual Fellow of New College.

Dec. 6.

Mr. Henry Blackstone Williams was admitted Fellow of New College.

Dec. 10.

The Rev. W. B. Thomas, M.A. was elected Fellow of Pembroke College, on the Foundation of Sir John Phillippis, Bart.; and on the same day Mr. Francis Thomas was elected Scholar on the same Foundation.

Dec. 13.

The Rev. William Airey, M.A. was elected Fellow of Queen's College.

The Rev. George Cumming Rashleigh, M.A. Fellow of New College, has been elected a Fellow of Winchester College.

Mr. James Parker Deane, Fellow of St. John's College, has been admitted to one of the 12 Law Fellowships in that Society.

The following Noblemen are entered at Christ Church:—Earl of Lincoln, Lord Conyers Osborne, Lord de Tabley, Lord Boscawen, Marquis of Waterford, and Hon. G. F. R. Harris.

The following notice has been issued by the Regius Professor of Divinity:

“Christ Church, Nov. 30.

“The Regius Professor of Divinity will begin a course of Lectures on Wednesday, the 10th of February, at ten o'clock, at Christ Church.

“These Lectures are intended for Students in Divinity from three to seven years standing in the University.

“The Professor requests those who desire to attend, to call in person and deli-

ver in their names to him beforehand, with a written recommendation, either from the Governor of the College, or from their tutor."

PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS.

Michaelmas Term, 1829.

The names of the candidates who, at the close of the Public Examinations in Michaelmas Term, were admitted by the Public Examiners into the three classes of *Literæ Humaniores et Disciplina Mathematica et Physica* respectively, according to the alphabetical arrangement in each class, prescribed by the statute, are as follow:

In the First Class of *Literæ Humaniores*:

Bazeley, Thos. Tyson, Queen's Coll.
Eden, Charles Page, Oriel College.
Johnson, Herbert, Wadham College.
Ormerod, Thomas J., Brasenose Coll.
Price, Bonamy, Worcester College.
Twisleton, Edward Turner Boyd, Trinity College.

In the First Class of *Discip. Mathematic. et Phys.*

Morris, Robert, Christ Church Coll.
Price Bonamy, Worcester College.
Smythe, Wm. Barlow, Corpus Christi College.
Whatley, Thos Denman, Queen's Coll.

In the Second Class of *Lit. Hum.*

Briscoe, Frederick, Christ Church Coll.
Bridge, Thomas Finch Hobday, Christ Church.
Hughes, Henry, Trinity College.
Humphreys, Salusbury, Brasenose Coll.
Karslake, William, Oriel College.
Mangles, Albert, Merton College.
St. Leger, Anthony Francis Butler, Brasenose College.
Whatley, Thos. Denman, Queen's Coll.
Young, John, Corpus Christi College.

In the Second Class of *Discip. Mathematic. et Phys.*

Briscoe, Fred. Christ Church.
Bridge, Thos. Finch Hobday, Ch. Ch.
Karslake, Wm. Oriel College.

In the Third Class of *Lit. Hum.*

Ashe, Edward, Balliol College.
Briscoe, Richard, Jesus College.
Bailey, Frederick, Magdalen College.
Chambers, John, St. John's College.
Digweed, John James, Pembroke Coll.
Drake, William, Lincoln College.
Dunnage, James Arthur, Brasenose Coll.
Farquhar, Walter M., Christ Church College.

Freeman, Thomas, Brasenose College.
Gould, William, Balliol College.
Hillyard, Temple, Brasenose College.
Hunt, William, Wadham College.
Karslake, William, Oriel College.
Langston, Frederick Fogster, St. John's College.

Lysons, Samuel, Exeter College.
North, William, Jesus College.
Owen, Briscoe, Jesus College.
Parker, Edward, Oriel College.
Phillott, Edward, Pembroke College.
Stevens, James, St. John's College.
Stewart, Edward, Oriel College.
Toye, Joseph Theophilus,
Vaudray, Daniel, Brasenose College.
Whitford, Robert Wells, St. Edmund's Hall.

Wood, Charles Frederick Bryan, Pembroke College.

Examiners in Lit. Hum.	{	R. D. Hampden,
		D. Veysie,
		J. L. Richards,
		J. Carr,
		J. Garbett,
		R. Mitchell.

Examiners in Discip. Mathematic.	{	W. Kay,
		A. P. Saunders,
		G. Riggs.

The number of the fourth class, namely, of those who were deemed worthy of their degree, but not deserving of any honourable distinction, was 95.

CAMBRIDGE.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER INCLUSIVE.

BACHELOR IN DIVINITY.

Nov. 18.

Rev. W. Bootle Guest, Catharine Hall.

Dec. 9.

Rev. Richard Lowe, St. John's Coll.
(Comp.)Rev. John Evans, St. John's College,
(Comp.)

MASTERS OF ARTS.

Oct. 11.

Rev. Henry Browne, Corpus Christi
College.

Oct. 28.

John Clarke Russell, St. Peter's Coll.

J. A. Maynard, Pembroke College.

J. Houghton, Pembroke College, Com-
pounder.

Rev. W. Pochin Larken, Jesus Coll.

Nov. 18.

Rev. William Hill Tucker, Fellow of
King's College.

John Shapland Stock, St. Peter's Coll.

John Deedes, Trinity College.

Robert John Bartlett, St. John's Coll.
Compounder.

Rev. Henry Pratt, Corpus Christi Coll.

Rev. Henry Crane Brice, Christ Coll.

Rev. J. R. Hopper, Christ College,
Compounder.

Edward Raikes Edgar, Downing Coll.

Dec. 9.

John Price, St. John's College.

Edward Sneyd, Christ College.

BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.

Nov. 18.

Thomas Wilkinson Hill, Trinity Hall.

Richard Croft Charner, Trinity Hall.

Dec. 9.

Herbert Charles Jenner, Trinity Hall.

John Bury Dasent, Trinity Hall.

LICENTIATE IN PHYSIC.

Dec. 9.

William Gurdon Peene, Trinity Coll.
Compounder.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

Oct. 10.

Rev. William John Aislabie, Trinity Coll.

Thomas Boodle, Trinity Coll.

Benjamin Thomas Williams, Clare Hall.

William Perkins, Pembroke Coll.

Abel Chapman, Queen's Coll.

W. Charles Holder, Emman. Coll. (comp.)

Vicessimus Knox Child, Sidney Coll.

Oct. 29.

Christie Innes Falconer, Trinity Coll.

John Langton, Trinity Coll.

Edward Hayes, St. John's College.

Wm. Turner, M. A. of Christ Church,
Oxford, was admitted *ad eundem*.

Nov. 18.

R. Tetlow Robinson, Corpus Christi Coll.

Evan James, Corpus Christi Coll.

Thos. Burroughs, Christ Coll.

Dec. 16.

Daniel Dod Sampson, Trinity Hall.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY
INTELLIGENCE.Oct. 10. (*being the first day of Term.*)The following gentlemen were elected
University Officers for the year ensuing :

PROCTORS.

Rev. Henry Kirby, M.A. Clare Hall.

Rev. Edward John Ash, M.A. Christ's
College.

TAXORS.

Rev. Wm. Hodgson, M.A. St. Peter's
College.Rev. Henry Howarth, M.A. St. John's
College.

MODERATORS.

Rev. W. H. Hanson, M.A. Caius Col-
lege.Joshua King, Esq. M.A. Queen's Col-
lege.

SCRUTATORS.

Nov. 18.

Rev. William Okes, M.A. Caius College.

Rev. Thomas Musgrave, M.A. Trinity College.

Oct. 11.

The following gentlemen were appointed the Caput for the ensuing year:—

The Vice-Chancellor.

Divinity.—Rev. Joseph Proctor, D.D. Master of Catharine Hall.

Law.—Wm. Frere, Esq. LL.D. Master of Downing College.

Physic.—John Tho. Woodhouse, M.D. Caius College.

Sen. Non-Regent.—Rev. Thomas Shelford, B.D. Corpus Christi College.

Sen. Regent.—Rev. John Gibson, M.A. Sidney College.

Oct. 19.

A Grace to the following effect passed the Senate:—

“To confirm the Regulations proposed by Syndics appointed by Grace, May 27, 1829,” to consider what alterations it is expedient to make in the mode of conducting the “Previous Examination.”

“To appoint Mr. Bowstead of Corpus Christi College, Mr. Miller of St. John’s College, Professor Henslow of St. John’s College, Mr. Cape of Clare Hall, Mr. Power of Trinity Hall, Mr. Myers of Trinity Hall, Mr. Graham of Queen’s College, and Mr. Baines of Christ’s College, Examiners of the Questionists in January, 1830.”

Oct. 29.

The Rev. Joseph Cape, M.A. Fellow of Clare Hall, and the Rev. Richard Dawes, M.A. Fellow of Downing College, were appointed Pro-Proctors.

Oct. 31.

The Rev. John Fred. Isaacson, M.A. Fellow of St. John’s College and Tutor of King’s College, was appointed an Examiner for Writers in the Service of the East India Company, in the room of Thomas Thorpe, Esq. Fellow of Trinity College.

Nov. 4.

The Rev. William Chafy, D.D. Master of Sidney Sussex College, was elected Vice-Chancellor of this University for the ensuing year.

Nov. 14.

James Bunch, B.A. Scholar of Emmanuel College, was elected a Foundation Fellow of that Society.

The Rev. F. W. Lodington, M.A. Fellow of Clare Hall, the Rev. Edw. Baines, M.A. Fellow of Christ’s College, the Rev. John Gibson, M.A. Fellow of Sidney College, and the Rev. J. F. Isaacson, M.A. Fellow of St. John’s College, were appointed Examiners for the Classical Tripos, 1830. Same day the Rev. F. W. Lodington, the Rev. Edward Baines, the Rev. G. B. Paley, M.A. Fellow of St. Peter’s College, and the Rev. H. J. Rose, M.A. Fellow of St. John’s College, were appointed Examiners of the Junior Sophs in the ensuing Lent Term.

Dec. 9.

A Grace to the following effect passed the Senate:—

To appoint the Vice-Chancellor and the other Trustees of the Botanic Garden, Professor Henslow, Mr. Peacock of Trinity, Mr. Hildyard of Trinity Hall, and Mr. Garnons of Sidney College, a Syndicate to consider of the best means of removing the Botanic Garden, and to report to the Senate before the Division of the next Term.

The Earl of Sandwich, Lord St. John, Lord Lindsay, the Hon. Adam Duncan (eldest son of Lord Duncan), and Sir Jacob Preston, Bt. have been admitted of Trinity College.

The following communication has been made to the Members of the Senate:—

“SIDNEY LODGE, Nov. 25.

“The Vice-Chancellor begs to inform the Members of the Senate, that he has directed all the designs, plans and estimates, which he has received for the New Library and other Public Buildings, to be placed in the Public Library for general inspection.”

The Syndicate appointed to consider of the arrangements concerning the “Old Court lately purchased of King’s College,” have reported to the Senate—

“That they unanimously agree to recommend Mr. Cockerell’s Design (No. 1) for the New Library and other Public Buildings, as being, in their opinion, upon the whole, best adapted to answer the purposes which the University have in contemplation.”

Mr. Lewis William Sampson, of King’s College, has been admitted a Fellow of that Society.

The Rev. William Carus, B.A., Thomas Williamson Peile, B.A., Charles Perry, B.A., and James Prince Lee, B.A. of Trinity College, have been elected Fellows of that Society.

The Rev. W. M. Heald, M.A. of Trinity College has been appointed Chaplain of that Society, in place of the late Rev. John Stevenson, M.A.

The Rev. E. A. Smedley, M.A. of Trinity College, has been also appointed Chaplain of that Society, in place of the Rev. N. W. Gibson, M.A.

Francis Minoch Randell, B.A. of St. Peter's College, is elected a Travelling Bachelor on the Foundation of the late Mr. Worts.

There will be Congregations on the following days of the ensuing Lent Term :—
Saturday....Jan. 23, (A. B. Commencement,) at ten.

Wednesday..Feb. 10, at eleven.

FridayFeb. 26, at eleven.

Wednesday..Mar. 10, at eleven.

FridayMar. 26, (A. M. Inceptors,) at ten.

FridayApr. 2, (end of Term,) at ten.

The following is a Statement of the Resident Members of the University at the division of Michaelmas Term:—

	In Commons.	In Lodgings.
Trinity.....	435	206
St. John's.....	313	185
Queen's	151	103
Corpus Christi..	94	17
St. Peter's	93	33
Caius	87	27
Christ's	83	15
Emmanuel	82	12
Catharine Hall..	81	48
Jesus	63	6
Magdalen	51	3
Pembroke	51	6
Clare Hall	48	0
Sidney	42	8
Trinity Hall....	40	1
King's	40	0
Downing	17	3
Total ..	1771	573

Pitt Scholarship.—An examination of Candidates for the Scholarship upon this Foundation, lately held by B. H. Kennedy, B.A. of St. John's College, will commence on Monday, 25th of January, 1830. The Candidates are required to

signify their intention of offering themselves on or before the 31st of December, in a Latin Epistle, to be presented to the several Electors, who are the Vice-Chancellor, the Public Orator, the Regius Professor of Greek, Mr. Graham of Christ's College, and Mr. Isaacson of St. John's College.

PRIZES.

SEATONIAN PRIZE.

[The Rents of an Estate of £40 per annum, for the best English Poem on a Sacred Subject;—to receive £100 if the Examiners consider it entitled to distinguished commendation.]

Subject:—“*The finding of Moses.*”

Adjudged to

Rev. John Howard Marsden, M.A.
Fellow of St. John's College.

Subjects for the ensuing Year.

NORRISIAN PRIZE.

[A Prize of £12 to the Author of the best Prose Essay on a Sacred Subject.]

Subject:—

“*The Christian Religion the last Revelation to be expected of the Will of God.*”

CHANCELLOR'S GOLD MEDAL.

[For the best English Poem by a Resident Undergraduate — English Heroic Verse.]

Subject:—“*Byzantium.*”

N.B. These Exercises are to be sent in to the Vice-Chancellor on or before March 31, 1830, and are not to exceed 200 lines in length.

MEMBERS' PRIZES.

[Four Prizes of Fifteen Guineas each; two are open to all Bachelors of Arts not of sufficient standing to take their M.A. degrees; the other two to all Undergraduates who have not resided less than seven years.]

Subject (for the Bachelors):—

“*Quantum momenti, ad studium rei Theologicæ promovendum, habeat literarum humaniorum cultus?*”

Subject (for the Under graduates):—

“*Quæ sit forma πολιτείας ad Græciæ renascentis statum optimè accommodata?*”

N.B. These Exercises are to be sent in on or before April 30, 1830.

SIR WILLIAM BROWN'S MEDALLISTS.

[Three Gold Medals, of Five Guineas each, to three Undergraduates. 1. For the best Greek Ode in imitation of Sappho. 2. For the best Latin Ode in imitation of Horace. 3. For the best Greek and Latin Epigrams, the former after the manner of the Anthologia, the latter after the model of Martial.]

Subject for the

Greek Ode, "*Ilyssi Laus*."

Latin Ode, "*Cuma*."

Greek Epigram, "*Ægrescit medendo*."

Latin Epigram, "*Spatiis inclusus iniquis*."

N.B. These Exercises are to be sent in on or before April 30, 1830. The Greek Ode is not to exceed twenty-five, and the Latin Ode thirty stanzas.

PORSON UNIVERSITY PRIZE.

[The Dividends of £400 Navy 5 per cent. to be expended in the purchase of Greek Books, to be given to an Undergraduate yearly, at the commencement, as a Prize for Greek Verses.]

Subject:—

"*Romeo and Juliet*," Act. 2, Scene 2.

Beginning, "*He jests at scars*," &c.

And ending, "*I'll no longer be a Capulet*."

N.B. The metre to be Tragicum Iambicum, Trimetrum, Acatalecticum. These Exercises are to be accentuated and accompanied by a literal Latin prose version, and are to be sent in on or before April 30, 1830. Any Candidate is at liberty to send in his Exercise printed or lithographed.

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
Quarterly Theological Review,

AND
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1830.

ART. I.—*Sermons.* By Thomas Arnold, D.D., Head Master of Rugby School, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. London: Rivingtons. 1829. 8vo. pp. 402. 10s. 6d.

It is, of course, well known to our readers, that, in an early period of the Christian Church, there sprung up among the sages, and the disputers of this world, a school of philosophy, known by the title of Eclectic. The professors of this sect (if sect it might be called) proclaimed that their very soul was weary of the eternal wranglings which then disgraced the name of philosophy,—that they abominated the slavish subjection in which societies were held to the name of their original dictators,—that they beheld with anguish and dismay the havoc which the genius of scepticism was making in the degenerate ranks of the established fraternities of wisdom,—and that it was high time to see whether the various disputants had not, among them, torn Truth to pieces, each retaining some bleeding joint or member in their possession. Nothing could possibly be more captivating than the candour and sincerity which these views seemed to imply. A principle of impartial and liberal selection could hardly fail, it was presumed, to place all that was valuable in the institutes of every other class of thinkers, within the reach of honest and laborious inquiry: and so powerful were the seductions of this reformation, that Christianity itself was unable to refuse the offer of its alliance. The charms of free inquiry were found to be irresistible by several among the Christian sages, who, although they were Presbyters of the Church of Christ, could never prevail on themselves to abandon the cloak of the philosopher.

At last, about the end of the second century, appeared Ammonius Saccas, the most illustrious doctor of the new school. His genius appears to have been adventurous and comprehensive. He

was not content with collecting, from among the rubbish of other systems, the scattered limbs and fragments of truth, in the vain hope of "moulding them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection." The heaven-taught* man adopted a method of incomparably greater boldness and ingenuity. He seems to have taken all the philosophical and religious systems then extant in the known world,—from the monsters and prodigies of the Asiatic and African superstitions, to the heavenly form of the Christian revelation itself,—and to have tossed them all, as it were, into one vast and mystic cauldron, in the persuasion that, by help of a powerful and transcendent alchemy, he could extract from the compound the pure uniform essence of truth; each ingredient—the Gospel not excepted—depositing a certain *caput mortuum* of error and absurdity! The result of this unhallowed experiment is but too well known. There arose from this "charmed pot" a swarm of mischievous and "artificial sprites," which, for ages after, haunted the Christian Church, and of which some, to this hour, perhaps, are feebly lingering in the rear of that darkness, which has long been retiring before the light of modern civilization and intelligence.

Our readers will very probably ask, what on earth have the history and the effects of the Eclectic Philosophy to do with the Sermons of Dr. Arnold, late Fellow of Oriel College, and Archididasculus of Rugby School? To this question we can only reply, by stating, that in our progress through this volume, there came across us, as we imagined, certain breathings of the same *liberal* spirit which first animated the Alexandrian philosophy. We fancied that we could sometimes perceive indications of a disposition to deal with certain existing varieties of system and opinion, by tumbling them all into the Eclectic cauldron, and there submitting them to a process somewhat resembling the Ammonian analysis: all this, too, in a full reliance of the operator on his own dexterity and science; and in the firm persuasion that, when the earthy and worthless sediment should be precipitated, the pure and genuine principles of Christian unity and holiness would be extricated from all pernicious and degrading combinations! These notions and apprehensions did, we confess, at times, potently assail us, while engaged with the labours of Dr. Arnold; and the consequence was, that we, at last, found ourselves absorbed in somewhat comfortless and dismal speculation on the fortunes of the original Eclectic school, and its eventual influence on the religion of the Bible. And the whole history of that fatal attempt to syncretize the wisdom which is from above with the elements of philosophy and vain deceit, seemed to furnish, throughout, a tre-

* Θεοδιδάκτος, as he was called by his followers.

mendous commentary on this text,—that schemes, which begin with the most ardent profession of liberality, and candour, and simplicity of heart, are often found to end in portentous confusion, and desperate corruption of the truth!

So much for our reveries on the wisdom or the folly of ancient times! Having said thus much, however, we are bound not to lose another moment in proclaiming, that the misgivings which, now and then, came over us, during our examination of these Sermons, was never occasioned by the preacher's want of faithfulness in setting forth the essential and saving truths of the Gospel. The genius of the Eclectic sect is not suffered by him to rush in upon this sacred precinct. In this department of his duty he is uncompromising, even to severity. There is here no insidious attempt to dilute or adulterate the words of eternal life. It is scarcely possible for the reader to open the volume without finding himself in the presence of a teacher, prepared for a fearless conflict with the "*strong man*," who fortifies himself in the carnal and worldly heart; and anxious, in the strength of his Master, to wrestle with the intruder till he has chained and spoiled him. It will, further, be found, that here is no "ostentation vain of fleshly arm;" no ambitious display of those literary resources with which an accomplished scholar may legitimately arm himself for an encounter with the adversaries of the Living God. The champion appears, indeed, almost to prefer going forth, like the son of Jesse, with his sling and his pebble, and purposely to cast away all pride, pomp, and circumstance from his spiritual warfare. He professes, in his preface, that his object has been to grapple at once with the understanding and conscience of his hearer; and that, in pursuit of this object, he has abjured all pretensions on the score of style, and this even at the hazard of being chargeable with homeliness and defect of skill. Points of criticism, or difficult questions of theology, he has deliberately avoided. The discourses, he tells us, "are directly practical;" and adds, that "it has been his endeavour, in all of them, to enforce what may be called peculiarly Christian practice—that is, such a perfection in thought, word and deed, as the Spirit of God should inspire to the enlightened understandings and willing hearts of those whom Christ redeemed, and who are now no longer under the law, but under grace."—*Preface*, p. iv.

In the execution of this purpose, it will appear that the preacher has set before his congregation a very lofty standard of Christian morals. He faithfully and urgently presses upon their attention how grievously the professors of the Gospel generally fall below the measure of a perfect man—below the stature, and the strength, and the fulness of a Christian: and in doing this he

is, unquestionably, fulfilling one of the first duties of a preacher of Christian Righteousness. Nevertheless, while we render the amplest testimony to the fidelity with which he discharges this part of his office, we crave permission to express our doubts whether his anxiety to be *found faithful* in this matter, has always been under the guidance of a sound discretion. For ourselves, we must avow, that we have frequently risen from his statements with feelings widely different from those with which we rise from the perusal of the Bible. The devout and attentive study of the Scriptures can never fail to leave us under the influence of profound humility and self-abasement; but this lowliness of heart is always, more or less, accompanied and relieved by a sense of heavenly animation and energy. *The bones which are broken, nevertheless rejoice.* But the general result of Dr. Arnold's representations struck us as being, in this respect, occasionally, somewhat at variance with the teaching of the Holy Ghost. The mild and tender spirit of the Saviour seemed frequently to be wanting. The preacher is honestly intent on breaking the proud and worldly spirit, but sometimes appears to forget that he may be crushing the bruised reed. While he is labouring to consign us to the service which is perfect freedom, he little suspects, perhaps, that his style of preaching too often *gendereth unto bondage*. The contrast between Christian perfection, and the present condition of the Christian world, is so formidably represented, and insisted upon with such incessant urgency, as often to send a deadly dejection into the very depths of the heart, and well nigh to blight our hopes of the improvement of the human race.

That the portion of any Christian community which appears to be animated by a deep and vital sense of their religion, is deplorably limited, no faithful preacher will attempt to disguise. Nevertheless, we venture, without scruple, to question the expediency of a perpetual recurrence to this appalling fact. The consideration is absolutely overpowering when brought out, as it frequently is by Dr. Arnold, into such menacing and terrible relief.

The teaching of our Lord affords, as we conceive, but little countenance to this iteration. When asked if few should be saved, his reply was—*Strive to enter in at the strait gate*; an answer evidently designed to stimulate the exertions of every individual Christian. And if he were at this moment present among us, and we were to point to the multitude of his iniquitous and ungodly followers, and to inquire of him—*Lord what shall these men do?* He would probably say to us, as he did to the inquisitive Apostle, *what is that to thee,—follow thou me.* While we are climbing the steep and narrow way, it is perhaps safer for us to avert our

eyes, for the most part, from those mysterious and apparently austere dispensations, the depths of which might peradventure make our heads dizzy, and our hearts faint. This habit of diffidence and caution is entirely congenial with the moderate spirit of the English church; and we were, accordingly, concerned to find in the Sermons of Dr. Arnold, indications and traces of another school, with which that caution has found but little grace. Preachers, we know, there are, who have brought themselves to contemplate, not merely with lowly resignation, but almost with arrogant complacency, the probable consignment of the great mass of mankind to eternal perdition; till, at last, in the drunkenness of spiritual pride, they have been ready to join with Owen in calling on "the Heavens and all the powers therein" to curse the faithless and the reprobate. And the result of all this is,—on the part of the humble and tender-spirited, a desponding sense of the littleness of the Christian flock,—in those of harder natures, an unfeeling exultation in the privileges of the chosen few—and, lastly, in the vast residue, a reckless and audacious confidence in their own strength. The view of their own overwhelming numbers gives boldness to the children of disobedience; till, at last, they loudly spurn at a system of Moral Government, which, they are incessantly told, is to be glorified in the destruction of all but a diminutive and favoured remnant. We submit, therefore, that the more hopeful method is, for the preacher to apply the principles of the Gospel closely to the conscience of each individual; to urge him to perseverance in the rugged and narrow path; but not to press him, as is frequently done, almost *above measure and beyond strength*, with the fearful contemplation, that all but a very little company are hastening along the broad road that leadeth to destruction! Treatment like this has often a tendency either to break the spirit, or desperately to exasperate and harden it.

Our deep and cordial respect for the piety of Dr. Arnold has added poignancy to the regret with which we further feel ourselves compelled to remark, that he has occasionally fallen into an application of the language of Scripture, which, as it appears to us, is at least productive of confusion; and which, moreover, tends to deepen the gloom that sometimes hangs over his doctrine. Is it, for instance, consistent with the doctrine of the Church of England, or with the mind of St. Paul, to describe as *children of wrath*, all those members of the Christian Church, who are living in disregard or violation of their holy profession? * *We were by nature*, says the Apostle, addressing the whole Ephesian church collectively, *children of wrath, even as others*; implying manifestly that they were *children of wrath* no longer. "Being by nature

* P. 53.

born in sin" (says our Catechism) "and *the children of wrath*, we are hereby" (that is, by the inward and spiritual grace of baptism) "made the children of grace." Can it, then, be properly said of any one who has received that grace, that he is *a child of wrath* in the sense contemplated by the Apostle, and, after him, by our own church? Persons there undoubtedly may be, and too frequently are, in the visible Church, who "in regard of their inward disposition of mind, yea, of external conversation, yea, even of some parts of their very profession, are, most worthily, both hateful in the sight of God himself, and, in the eyes of the sounder part of the visible Church, most execrable."* But even of the veriest miscreant, on whom the waters of regeneration have been poured, to all appearance, utterly in vain,—even of such one we are scarcely warranted to declare that he is *a child of wrath*, but rather that, at every moment of his life, he is in imminent danger of finally becoming so. Of a sinner, who dies and makes no sign, we might, perhaps, venture to pronounce, that he expired, as he was born, under the burden of that wrath which the first transgression brought upon mankind, aggravated sevenfold by the load of actual and unrepented transgression. But certainly the theology of the Church of England proclaims no man in her communion to be *a child of wrath*, so long as there remains either hope or possibility of his being reclaimed to the blessedness of *a child of grace*. We, therefore, cannot but regret that the language of one of her ministers should, in this respect, be so directly at variance with her Scriptural charity and wisdom.

Another instance of disputable exposition may be found in Sermon XII. The general tendency of this discourse is admirable. Its text is Rom. vi. 14.—"*Sin shall not have dominion over you, for ye are not under the law, but under grace*;" and its purpose is to show that a genuine and sincere Christian obeys God, not so much from fear of violating his commandments, as from delight in fulfilling them. In illustrating this position, however, Dr. Arnold commences by a definition of law, which we cannot allow to pass wholly without question.—"By the word law the Apostle means any rule of life which puts a restraint on our natural inclination, and which we obey through fear, and with an effort." Now can this definition be just? Can it be proper to mix up the motive to obedience with the essence of the rule? Does a law cease to be such, because it is obeyed willingly, and without effort? The law says "thou shalt not kill;" and is not this equally a law to all, whether to Howard the philanthropist, or to Burke the wholesale and practised murderer?

It is true that the Apostle says,—*the Law was not made for a*

* Hooker, book iii. s. 1.

righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for the unholy and profane. But this seems to be little more than a popular and striking mode of saying, that if a perfectly righteous man could be found, the sanctions of a written law would be needless for him; he would, in the highest sense, be a law unto himself; and, if the human race had retained their moral perfection, the promulgation of a formal and positive commandment would have been comparatively useless. But man having now lost that perfection, it is necessary, not only that "Revelation should lay down a rule to be followed invariably in opposition to appearances; but that to the instructions of infinite wisdom, infinite power should add penal sanctions."* But how can it follow from this, that the rule thus revealed must lose its imperative or prohibitory character, in every instance, in which it happens to meet with no opposition from the inclination of the individual who is under its dominion?

In another part of the same discourse the preacher enforces his views by the following passage from Gal. v. 4. *Christ is become of none effect to you, as many of you as would be acquitted by the law; ye are fallen from grace*:—a sentence which appears to us to be without the slightest application to the general purpose of the Sermon. It is clear from the preceding verses, that the Apostle is here speaking with reference to the pernicious notion, that the Gospel was merely suppletory to Judaism, and that the rite of circumcision was the only *effectual* entrance to the Christian dispensation; and he contends that this notion could not be maintained without an utter renunciation of Christianity. If, says he, you will insist on the necessity and the efficacy of circumcision, I tell you that, by so doing, you fall away from the œconomy of Grace, and place yourselves, to all intents and purposes, under the complete dominion of the Jewish system. All this is perfectly intelligible as addressed to the Galatians, under their peculiar circumstances; but what endless confusion must result from the application of such a passage to a Christian community at the present day! The Galatian Church was in danger of a principle which involved a virtual apostasy from the faith. But with what safety, or what charity, can it be said of the unworthier members of a modern congregation that they have *fallen from grace*, that they are no better than apostates, and that they must henceforth stand or fall by the unmitigated letter of the law?

"My brethren," Dr. Arnold proceeds, "when we read about the Law in the New Testament, let us not think that it does not concern us now; that it relates only to circumcision, and to the rites and ceremonies of the Jews, which we do not practise; and that, therefore, we cannot be

* Johnson.

under the Law. We can be, and too many of us are, under the Law, &c."*

In these few lines truth and error seem to be very curiously interwoven. It is true that the *Law* we read of in the New Testament embraces much more than the mere ritual of Judaism. It is moreover *true* that, not only *many* Christians, but that all who profess themselves Christians, are, in a certain sense, still under the Law: for even by the best of them the divine commandments are occasionally violated; and no commandment can be violated without committing sin. But it is *not*, surely, correct to say, of an imperfect, unstable, or careless Christian, that he is *under the Law*, in a sense opposed to his being *under Grace*. He is *not* under the Law, in the sense contemplated by St. Paul. He is under a different economy; and is to be considered and addressed as so remaining, until he has placed himself beyond its pale, by final impenitence, or by open and direct apostasy.

It were devoutly to be wished that modern preachers would be content to follow the example of St. Paul himself, as exhibited in the very chapter from which Dr. Arnold has taken his text. The Apostle there addresses the members of the Roman Church *collectively*. He conjures them not to yield up their members to sin, as instruments of unrighteousness; but unto God, as instruments of holiness. He then proceeds to tell them, (not, like his present expositor, that many of them, although adopted into the Church of God, were still under the Law,—but) without distinction or exception, that they were all no longer under the Law, but under Grace; under a system of virtue and efficacy sufficient to deliver them from the *dominion* of sin, if not wholly to relieve them from its molestations. And yet, nothing can be more extravagant than the notion that the Christian community at Rome, more than that of Corinth, was free from members who were walking unworthily of their holy vocation. Why, then, it may reasonably be asked, is a Christian minister at the present day to speak of any portion of his congregation in language from which St. Paul abstained, when addressing a large body of Christian converts, who, notwithstanding their profession, were still in need of such urgent exhortations to purity and holiness?

According to the views and notions of the Apostle, a man is living *under the law*, when he has nothing but the letter of the law to look to; when he has no promise of spiritual aid to give animation and steadiness to his obedience; when he has no assurance that his repentance for transgression of the law will be graciously accepted. Over such persons sin may very properly be said to exercise dominion; for they have no offer of heavenly

support against the violence of their passions, no whispers of comfort to assuage the horrors of their bondage! And such would be the condition of all mankind, to the end of time, if they were never to be brought under the economy of grace. But when once a man is brought under this better dispensation, when he is federally invested with a right to claim its promises and blessings, what strange perplexity must result from speaking of him, as if he were still remaining under the power of any former dispensation? It may be very proper for a preacher to tell his hearers, that they may sin themselves into an eventual forfeiture of the privileges of the covenant of grace; but it is contrary to scripture, to charity, and to common sense, to pronounce of any man that he has actually been transferred from that covenant to the tyranny of the law, unless it can be shown that such forfeiture has been certainly incurred.

The whole complexion, indeed, of Dr. Arnold's divinity seems to us to betray the nurture and the training rather of the puritanical and sectarian school, than that of the great masters and doctors of the Church of England. He appears to think that he cannot faithfully discharge his responsibility as a Christian minister, without representing those who are living in apparent disregard of their baptismal vows as persons who have not been taken into covenant with God, or else as persons who have positively abjured that covenant. He intimates that they "who are not walking according to the Christian love which the inward man approves, cannot reckon themselves as belonging to the flock of the good Shepherd."* He urges that there is "a broad distinction between the Christian and the *unconverted* man—between the heir of heaven and the servant of the Devil."† He therefore (unless we grossly misapprehend him) virtually contends for no less than this, that the reception of a child into the congregation of Christ's flock is a mere nullity *until* it shall appear, beyond all question, that his life is conformable to this beginning; that the titles of "a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of Heaven," are, in a multitude of instances, prematurely, and almost presumptuously, bestowed by the Church; and that the very name of Christian ought, in strictness, to be withheld, wherever the life of the individual assimilates him to heathens, who have never entered the pale of the Church, or to professed infidels, who have violently broken out of it. All this harmonizes admirably with the divinity of a certain school, but is, undeniably, at variance with the sober, cautious, and charitable spirit of our Church.

* Page 373.

† Page 237.

A divine of her communion, we should imagine, would hardly dare to affirm of any of his people, that they belong not to the flock of Christ, seeing that they have all been "regenerate with the Holy Spirit, received by adoption for children of God, and incorporated into His holy Church."* Neither will he presume to declare of any portion of them, that they have altogether ceased to be Christians; well knowing, that even the act of Excommunication "neither shutteth out from the mystical, nor clean from the visible Church, but only from fellowship with the visible in holy rites."† But though he does not venture thus to address them, he will not shun to tell them this, that, Christians as they are, their privileges and blessings, if now trodden under foot, will only rise up to aggravate their condemnation hereafter, and that it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah, in the day of judgment, than for them. And can it be rationally contended that the preacher, who takes this ground, assails ungodliness and vice from a position less advantageous, and commanding, than that which is selected by the tactics of another class of teachers? Are we to believe that there is no hope of ever rousing the dull hearts of degenerate Christians, but by denunciations which seem almost to annul the sacrament of baptism, or by thunders more exterminating than the voice of excommunication itself?

The vigour, with which Dr. Arnold has sometimes vaulted over the boundaries of moderation, is no where, perhaps, more remarkably exhibited, than in the xviith Sermon,‡ in which, after observing that there are "many persons who, not disclaiming the name of Christians altogether, have yet no clear knowledge of what a Christian ought to be," he exclaims, "would that they would take one side or the other; that they would either be the servants of Christ in earnest, or renounce him openly, and say that they have nothing to do with Jesus of Nazareth, or his salvation! Happy, indeed, would it be for the Church of Christ, if all its false friends were to declare themselves its enemies." We protest that, to our apprehensions, there is something of temerity in this wish, which, if it came from the lips of an enthusiast, would almost make us shudder. For let us imagine the vow of the preacher to be heard. Let us suppose that all, who, at any given time, are nearly ignorant of the essentials of their religion, were openly and avowedly to desert the ranks of Christianity: what is the spectacle which, in that case, would be exhibited throughout the communities of Christendom? Why, neither more or less than this;—that on the one side we should have the company of the "true believers," and on the other side the whole assemblage

* Baptismal Service.

† Hooker, b. iii. § 1.

‡ Page 227.

of persons who might come under the description of the "false friends of Christ;" including every imaginable variety of character which falls short of a consistent profession of the Gospel,—from the irresolute, the thoughtless, and the unstable, down to the scandalous professor, and the disguised infidel. And what would be the consequence of thus building up a wall of partition between the best and sincerest believers, and the rest of the world? What,—but that we should have a vast portion of society permanently cut off from the ordinances and institutions of Christianity! The false or doubtful friends of Christ, having now finally separated themselves from his true followers, would cease to frequent the assemblies of the faithful. They would never hear the word of doctrine or of exhortation. They would have shut themselves out from the appointed means of grace. They would be publicly and solemnly pledged to unbelief. Their hearts would be sealed against the voice of the Church, which, otherwise, might win them back from their fatal alienation; and they would probably be fixed, to their life's end, among the desperate adversaries of their Redeemer! The existing condition of things is oppressive and discouraging enough; but it is a state of millennial bliss compared with that which would probably follow, if Heaven, in its wrath, were to listen to the vows of our preacher. The unfaithful and double-minded Christian is, now, perpetually and closely confronted with the principles which he professes. The controversy of the Lord is urgently and openly carried on against his duplicity. The offices and ministrations of religion are loudly and incessantly appealing to the vows he has made against the devil, the world, and the flesh; so that, at last, the Word of God may, peradventure, sink into the very depths of his soul, and awaken the slumbering fires of spiritual life within him. Instances like these are constantly occurring in the Church as it now is constituted; but instances like these never could occur if Christian communities were to undergo the purgation contemplated by our reformer. Corrupt and godless as the world may now be, it would, by this system, only be consigned to a depravity still more widely wasteful, and more frightfully incorrigible.

The blessed effects of public Christian communion on many a character, which might otherwise fall into virtual apostasy, must have been absent from the mind of Dr. Arnold when he gave utterance to this wish. He seems to fix his thoughts on Christian society at some given period; he perceives that, at that precise moment, there must be some members of the Church to whom Christianity can be little better than a name; he forgets what might be done for those decaying, and apparently withered branches, by further connection with the trunk; and he exclaims,

Oh! that they were at once cut off and cast away from the tree, from which they seem to be deriving no element of life!

We do not at all wonder that Dr. Arnold should deplore the present condition of the world. Steadily and incessantly contemplated, it is, we must confess, sufficient almost to crush the sturdiest faith, and to extinguish the brightest hope. But, even though faith and hope should be on the point of failing, yet charity never faileth; and to the charity of the Christian household we might safely appeal against this proposal for bettering the prospects of mankind. Nay; we would appeal to the discretion and the benevolence of the preacher himself. Can he, in his heart believe, that, if his wish could be accomplished, it would tend to the stability, or the extension of the Church of Christ? Can he be blind to the dreadful consequences of such a schism in the social fabric? Could he bear to see—not only all the atheism and impiety in the world arranged in open and furious enmity against the Christian cause, but all the lukewarmness, and the carelessness—all the ignorance, and worldliness of mankind,—converted into positive and active hostility, and united in the same dreadful confederacy for the subversion of the Redeemer's kingdom? It may be true that multitudes are living in a state that seems almost to imply a total abandonment of the Gospel. But let us ask ourselves—what would the Apostles do, if they were now on earth, to preach to degenerate Christian communities? Would they give expression to a desire that all who, at any given time, may be living without any depth of Christian feeling or conviction, should at once be separated from the body of the faithful, and thus, from unsteady friends, should be converted into inveterate aliens and adversaries? Would they not rather, as they did in primitive times, address collective societies by the common title of believers?—and this, even while they were grappling with the consciences of the unfaithful;—while admonishing the unworthy, that destruction must be the end of those who, professing themselves Christians, yet persist, to the last, in living like enemies to the cross of Christ. And, if so, should we not listen with extreme jealousy and caution to those who profess to teach us a more excellent way?

The degree to which the peculiar notions of Dr. Arnold have wrought themselves into the whole texture of his speculations, is signally exemplified in the Seventh Sermon, in which he has confounded the visible with the invisible Church; or rather (if we rightly comprehend him) has virtually denied that what men call the visible Church is anything better than a sort of perilous and hollow confederacy between Christ and Belial. “The Christian unity,” he tells us, “was originally a unity of goodness, and

affection of good men for one another, because they mutually loved God. But as soon as this was changed for another sort of unity, in which bad men could also be partakers, then the unity, of which St. Paul spoke so earnestly, was lost; and men ceased to be one with each other in the Father and the Son." He then proceeds to pourtray the evils which have rushed into the world in consequence of this departure from *Christian unity*; and to assert that the abuse has actually averted and defeated, if we so may speak, the gracious designs of Providence, and thrown the world back into a condition very little, if at all better, than the worst darkness of heathenism. And then—"Is this," he asks, "the kingdom of God upon earth, where every thought, and word, and deed, are brought into the obedience of Christ?"

We have, here, a notion of *Christian unity* which seems almost to revive the Novatian heresy, and the schism of the Donatists. The Novatians held the Church of Christ to be a society distinguished by universal innocence and virtue; and maintained that, consequently, no repentance could ever restore a heinous offender to her communion. Something of a similar spirit was manifested by the Donatist schismatics; for they relied on the language of the Apostolic Creed to prove, that any practice, at variance with *holiness*, destroys the pretensions of a community to the character of a Church. In like manner Dr. Arnold appears to have persuaded himself that there can be no true *Christian unity* in any society on earth, unless its members are all distinctly conscious of being engaged in "*one common strife*, not only against flesh and blood, but against all manner of spiritual evil."* We believe it very safe to affirm, that no such *unity* of the *visible* Church was ever contemplated either by the Christian Fathers, or by the soundest divines of the Church of England.

But Dr. Arnold appeals to higher authority than that of Fathers or divines; for he produces the words of our Lord himself:—*I pray for all who believe on me, that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us.* "And the Apostles," he adds, "in the spirit of their Lord, be earnest in recommending this same thing—that we should be of one heart, and one mind, forming, altogether, one undivided Christian body." And where is the serious and reflecting Christian who will not humbly join in the prayer of our Saviour, and in the exhortation of his Apostles? We have here presented to us a perfect image of Christian society, such as it existed in the mind of its Founder, and in the aspirations of his faithful ministers: an image which will be constantly present to the heart of every one who names the name of Christ, with a vividness pro-

portioned to his maturity in holiness and virtue. When the Son of God came down from heaven to establish his kingdom on earth, it was to be expected that he should speak of it, for the most part, in language suited to its final and plenary success, rather than to the period of its agony and peril—to its triumphant, rather than to its militant, condition: and it would have been strange indeed if his Apostles had commended any less perfect exemplar to the imitation of their followers. Dr. Arnold, however, is not content to produce this entire unity of Christian holiness and affection as a model to which the hopes and desires of every Christian should be raised: he tells that, since this portraiture is nowhere realized on earth, the true Christian unity is wholly lost, and the Church is now fatally defective in that character, which the prayer of Christ assumes to be essential to her existence. But if this unity be now extinct, when—we desire to be informed—did it ever live and flourish? Certainly not (Dr. Arnold will probably reply) since the days of Constantine. But where, we demand, was it to be found before the days of Constantine? where in the times of the earliest Christian Fathers? where in the days of the holy Apostles themselves? If the mixture of unworthy members be a violation of Christian unity, where on earth is the body of Christians which has preserved its integrity from the day of our Lord's ascension to the present hour?

We had hitherto imagined that when our Lord was praying for the mysterious union of believers with the Father and with himself, he was contemplating that which is always devoutly to be desired, but which shall be fully realized only in that blessed company, whose names are written in heaven, but which, on earth, no man can sensibly discern. We had, also, conceived that there is, in this world, “a *visible* body and Church of Christ, whose *unity* consisteth in that uniformity which all several persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of that *one Lord*, whose servants they profess themselves; that *one faith*, which they all acknowledge; that *one baptism*, wherewith they are all initiated.*” Are we, then, to understand Dr. Arnold to question that this visible fabric, though, at times, disfigured or polluted, may nevertheless be called ONE, and HOLY; One, with reference to the unity of its foundation—Holy, with reference to the heavenly purposes for which it was constructed. Can it be that he has forgotten, or thrown away these elementary principles? If he has deliberately and advisedly abandoned them, we know not what to conclude, but that the genius of Eclectic liberality must have descended into his study; that it must have presented him with fragments of various shape and colour from the stores of ancient heresy and schism,

* Hooker, book iii. s. 1.

and from the magazines of modern Nonconformity; and that it must have furnished him at the same time with a sort of mystical kaleidoscope, whereby to reduce this fantastic collection to a certain semblance of symmetry and order.

Another signal triumph of Eclectic freedom and independence may be seen in the discovery, which Dr. Arnold appears to have made, that one main cause of the calamitous decay of Christian unity, is the practice of Infant Baptism. It is true that he abstains from stating this proposition in so many words; but we are unable to see how this conclusion from his statements is fairly to be avoided. He tells us that,

“ now, people are born Christians, and but too seldom think of making themselves so. They seem to think themselves Christians in the same way that they are Englishmen, by the accident of their birth; and they, too often, never think of inquiring into the objects of a society, into which they entered without trouble, and, indeed, without their own knowledge. And hence it is that the Church is full of so many unreal members, who take not the smallest interest about it, and are actually, all the time, in the service of the enemy.”—pp. 89, 90.

And this unhallowed mixture is destructive—of what?—of the purity of the visible Church? No—not only that—but of *Christian unity*! The Church is no longer *one*—not because it is split into an endless multitude of communities, distinguished by every conceivable and fantastic variety of constitution and discipline—but because it exhibits, in all shades, colours and gradations, a motley assemblage of vice and virtue—of godliness and impiety—of devotion to the world, and of consecration to heaven. It is no longer one—because it has no resemblance to what our imagination pictures to us as the little flock of primitive Christianity—because it does not display that uniform aspect of innocence and sanctity which might be expected if the reception of individuals into the congregation of Christ's Church were the result of their own deliberate choice, instead of being the act of others on their behalf. What hope, then, can there be of restoring this essential unity, but in the abolition of infant baptism?—in a termination of the abuse by which human beings are unconsciously made members of the household of Faith?—in refusing the title and privileges of Christians to all but those, who shall be able substantially to approve the sincerity of their Christian profession?

Dr. Arnold, however, may probably protest that he has no such design against this ancient and immemorial practice! In that case, we know not what is to be done for the labouring cause of Christian unity. If this preventive reform is not to be adopted, it is difficult to imagine what remedial methods can be substituted, with any promise of success. Dr. Arnold has, indeed, expressed

a wish that all *false friends* would, at once, quit the pale of the Church. But wishes do not execute themselves. He may preach till he is weary, without persuading the Christian community to come to a *division*,—or inducing the loose, the careless, or even the habitually wicked, to proclaim themselves apostates from the faith of their fathers. And even if he were entrusted with construction, and the execution, of a scheme of church discipline, for the accomplishment of this salutary separation, we suspect that he would still find himself embarrassed by more difficulties than any mortal synod would be able effectually to dispose of. He talks, very freely, of the *false friends* of Christ. But if it were his office to divide such *false friends* from the company of the faithful, he would soon perceive that it required a more than human combination of charity and discretion to make the selection. Society, we all know, abounds with persons, who are respectable, and even exemplary, in most of the relations of life,—decorous—temperate—honourable—beneficent,—but, whose heathenish virtues have often but little *discernible* connection with their profession of the Gospel. What, then, is to be done with individuals of this description? Are they to become as heathens and publicans to us? Must we cut off from the Church all, of whom we cannot, with something like certainty, presume, that they shall hereafter be members of the church in heaven? or, is every one to be allowed the privilege of visible communion with the Church, except those who scandalize it by undisguised impiety and dissoluteness? If the latter of these systems were to be pursued, what would it do for that Christian unity, which is the object of Dr. Arnold's vow and aspirations?—for, of course, he will hardly consent to reckon among the true *friends* of Christ, persons whose virtue is without the savour of Christian godliness. If the former method is to be adopted, what a tremendous and sweeping excommunication would it involve! How full of perilous hazard would be the attempt, not only to root out the tares, but to gather up the withering and sickly ears, before the day of harvest;—and how directly in contradiction to the instructions of the Lord of the harvest himself! In spite, then, of this disastrous obliteration of Christian unity, which the preacher so deeply deploras,—what remains for us, but thankfully to acquiesce in the existing scheme of our religious polity,—a scheme which is constantly bringing the powers of the world-to-come to bear on the consciences of all, who do not renounce or desert the ordinances and services of the Church,—and which is incessantly labouring to work the leaven of Christian sanctity into the mass, which, outwardly at least, has been consecrated to God. If therefore we must hear of reforms, we do hope that the spirit of radical innovation will not be allowed

to meddle with the work. We trust that the object will be, essentially to preserve the present system, and to reject all changes but those which may give to it an augmented efficacy and virtue, and enable it to contend more potently against the plagues and corruptions of mankind.

After all, however, Dr. Arnold may possibly declare that nothing more was in his mind, than to lament that men, at the present day, should appear so much more intent on what may be called ecclesiastical, than spiritual, unity. If this be, indeed, the extent of his meaning, it is impossible sufficiently to regret that he should have thought it necessary or expedient to convey his sentiments in a manner, which tends to the disparagement of external union as something altogether "*earthly and unimportant*;"* and which, in effect, represents all differences as insignificant, except that which separates the sincere Christian from the false and hollow professor of Christianity. It is true, that the day will come, when all shall stand before the judgment-seat of Him who purchased the Church with his precious blood,—and in that day all transitory differences will appear indeed to be "*unimportant*;" for all will then be merged and lost in one tremendous distinction—the distinction between those who are set on the right hand, and those who are set on the left! And the Christian unity will then, unquestionably, be nothing but a unity of holiness, and felicity unutterable. But even in that awful hour, we know not why the zealous and conscientious son of our Established Church should look back, with remorse and terror, on the inflexible fidelity with which, "*in his days of nature*," he contended for that primitive discipline which was derived from the Apostolic age—or why he should tremble to think of the *importance* which he attached to the preservation of Christ's visible body from unseemly rent and division. If, indeed, his zeal for this external bond has ever fermented into illiberal jealousy towards those who were alienated from his communion, it will then be remembered with deep penitence and prostration of heart. But it surely never will be a cause of sorrow, either in the hour of death, or in the day of judgment, that the peace, and unity, and concord of the visible Jerusalem was an object near to his heart,—that he deemed it far other than a mere "*earthly and unimportant*" matter—and that he had often devoted his best faculties to its advancement and completion.

The imagination of Dr. Arnold, however, has been so intensely fixed upon the glorious integrity—the spotless and unwrinkled beauty—of the Church invisible, that he is unable to discern any form or comeliness in mortal societies which have no such unsul-

* Page 94.

lied purity to boast, and is almost unwilling to concede to them the honours of Christian communion. The Church of God, he tells us, is one and indivisible; but the societies which men call churches are scarcely better than sanctuaries of Romulus, and exhibit little else than a wretched multiformity of evil, disunion and corruption! Well might Hooker exclaim that, "for lack of diligent observing the difference between the Church of God, mystical and visible—then between the visible sound and corrupted sometimes more, sometimes less—the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed." The error is one of singular versatility in its operation. It may drive—and sometimes actually has driven—societies of Christians to merciless extremities of discipline; or it may produce an effect directly opposite to this, by extinguishing all attachment to particular communions. It may tempt us to regard it as a matter of the profoundest indifference, whether Christian society wears an external appearance of concord, or whether it presents the semblance of a theatre, in which every imaginable experiment may be made in the formation of ecclesiastical constitutions. Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, Independency, all are to be perfectly or nearly indifferent in the estimation of man, because, eventually, all of them may contribute members to the invisible Church of God! Nay, we know not where we are to stop, short of the persuasion, that any anxiety about such distinctions is a breach of Christian liberality and benevolence, if not a positive sacrifice of Christian sincerity and singleness of heart! All this may, perhaps, be exceedingly gratifying to "the good and enlightened Dissenter,"* whom Dr. Arnold commends to the friendly and liberal notice of the Churchman; but what should we say to it if gravely propounded to us by a Presbyterian and Doctor of the Church of England?

On our part, we confess ourselves to be still in bondage to the obsolete bigotry, which regards a similarity of government and discipline as one essential element in the perfect unity of the Christian Church. "For redress of professed errors and open schisms, *it is and must be the Church's care that all may, in outward conformity, be one.*"† The way of *caring* for this was, in ancient times, by the mighty sweep of the secular sword. The cause of conformity, however, has long ceased to disturb that weapon in its scabbard. But does it follow that the cause itself has lost its importance because the mode of advancing it is no longer the same? Has Churchmanship sunk into a mere "earthly and unimportant bond of union" because the law no longer interferes for its enforcement? And can it become a Presbyterian of the

* Page 93.

† Hooker.

Church to lower and disparage it, because it now has no resource but in the fidelity and zeal of Churchmen?

We probably shall be reminded that this species of uniformity has hitherto been found unattainable on earth:—and what if this be so? What are we to learn from this, but the wisdom of moderating our expectations of its accomplishment? Will any sound-hearted Churchman accept it as a reason for moderating his exertions for the attainment of that end? Will he hear of it for a moment as a pretence for omitting to promote it by every lawful, humane or virtuous effort,—or for ceasing to make it the object of his aspirations or his prayers? What would become of this world if mighty purposes were to be abandoned the instant that indolence or prejudice should pronounce them impracticable? Are not holy and self-denying men at this moment engaged in winning the millions of Hindostan to the dominion of the Redeemer? Is not Dr. Arnold himself intent on bringing Christians to a uniformity of blessedness and peace? Why then should the Churchman dismiss from his heart, as “*unimportant*,” or as chimerical, that uniformity of outward discipline, which he believes to be in harmony with the will of Christ. The energy and constancy of man is perpetually straining after objects too high for human attainment; and to this brave contempt of difficulty we owe, under God’s good providence, most of what is grand and wonderful in the history of the world. It is one of the noblest exercises of our moral probation on earth to follow great and glorious purposes through peril and obstruction, through good report and evil report; and, to abandon them because environed with discouragement, is no mark of the fortitude which smiles at mischance, or of the faith which removeth mountains.

What shall be the external condition of Christianity when it shall be diffused throughout the globe, and when, either in person or by his spirit, the Messiah shall reign on earth, no human foresight can venture confidently to divine. We can scarcely, however, suppress the thought that the Church will then exhibit an aspect of outward unity, incomparably more perfect than it now presents. Whether its general scheme of spiritual government and discipline shall resemble any system now adopted in societies of professing Christians, or whether all Christians shall then be truly priests and prophets unto God,—in either case we surely cannot doubt that order, rather than confusion, will be the characteristic of the Saviour’s dominion. What then is to hinder that we, who live in darker times, should at least make the outward harmony, as well as the spiritual unity and holiness, of those days, the model to which our thoughts, our devotions, and our endeavours should be directed? Why should we presumptuously dis-

parage, as *earthly and unimportant*, an object which may; then, be most illustriously realized?

We have intimated above that Dr. Arnold bespeaks our fraternal confidence and good will towards those who are separated from the communion of the Established Church; and the following is the language in which this recommendation is conveyed:—

“ It is true that this, as well as the other wickedness of persecuting people on account of their religious opinions, is not now practised or defended in this country : but we have still amongst us some evils arising out of the same source—the mistaking a false unity for the true one, a unity of form and opinion for the union of spirit and faith. There are many persons, for instance, in our own Church, who dwell much more on the differences of form and opinion which exist between them and good dissenters, than on the unity of spirit between all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. It is, certainly, natural and proper, that one should feel more closely united towards those whose principles, and feelings, and opinions are quite like our own ; if, indeed, such a marvellous agreement is anywhere to be found ; and, therefore, one may feel more closely drawn towards a very good and enlightened Churchman, than towards a very good and enlightened Dissenter. But the evil is, that many persons feel more friendly disposed, I do not say to absolutely wicked, but to careless unspiritual Churchmen, than to zealous and holy Dissenters ; and this is to undo Christ's work, to put an *earthly and unimportant* bond of union in the place of that union of goodness and holiness, which was to bind men to one another in Him, and in his Father.”
—pp. 93, 94.

Now if there be any among our brethren disposed to shun the fellowship of zealous and holy Dissenters for that of worldly and godless Churchmen, we assuredly shall not make it our business to provide an apology for their choice. We are, nevertheless, quite unable to see any necessity for the public exhibition of a contrast between these two characters. It can have no tendency either to charity or edification. Why should the distinction be adverted to at all in the pulpit? If it be needful to remind us that virtue and piety are, after all, the grand things to be sought for in our earthly friendships, why cannot this principle be inculcated without invidious allusions to a separation, which the wisest and holiest men have always most bitterly deplored? If unity be the object recommended, why should not this be attempted by labours which tend to make our own communion more lovely and attractive, rather than by doctrines or by statements which pluck out the very heart of our attachment for it? Is it not a most extraordinary thing that the importance of uniformity in holiness cannot be impressed without impairing our love towards the Church of our fathers? that feelings of kindness and good-will towards all denominations of Christians, cannot be inculcated without lower-

ing the honour and supremacy of the national Establishment? And is it not still more strange that a parochial pulpit, of all places in the world, should be the quarter, from which we are taught to regard our churchmanship as no better than a frail and "unimportant" tie; and that a minister of our Church should be the person, whose voice is to send distrust and coldness into the hearts of her children?

It would seem, throughout, as if Dr. Arnold were in the habit of affixing the narrowest and most literal interpretation to the words, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice*—mercy to the exclusion of sacrifice; Christian holiness to the exclusion of all serious care for external union and concord; the weightier matters to the exclusion of all regard for what, in his estimation, is but a "*false unity*," and, therefore, of less worth than even the mint and cummin; inward communion with Christ, in short, to the exclusion of all deep concern for outward fellowship with his visible Church. And then, as to forms of regimen ecclesiastical, one would imagine that he had taken lessons in the school of the Historian of the Constitution; for his principles lead, almost directly, to the inference, that questions relating to ecclesiastical polity, have an interest and a value about as high as antiquarian discussions respecting the Roman College of Augurs, or the British Druids, or the Saxon Wittenagemote.* If churchmanship be *an earthly and unimportant* matter, it, likewise, must signify little whether the Church be directed by bishops, or by elders, or by a lay committee. The unity and integrity of the Church of Christ would suffer no violent invasion by the utter destruction of episcopacy. If that institution were to be abolished to-morrow, there would be just one form of Church government the less—that is all! Doctrines like these will, of course, be received with glad acclaim throughout all the regions of non-conformity. But how will they be welcomed by the brethren of Dr. Arnold? What will be said to them by those whose studies have taught them, that, "episcopal government being established by them, on whom the Holy Ghost was poured in such abundant measure for the ordering of Christ's Church, it had a Divine appointment beforehand, or Divine approbation afterwards, and is, in that respect, to be acknowledged as the ordinance of God."†

* Hallam, vol. ii. p. 689.

† Hooker, vol. iii. p. 126. The following passage from Dr. Arnold's pamphlet, on the Christian duty of granting the claims of the Roman Catholics, p. 97, shows that he is very far from regarding episcopal government as at all essential to the character of a Christian Church. "When sincere Protestants could acknowledge, as members of the Catholic Church of Christ, those societies of Christians only which are governed by bishops, on the ground that among them alone the apostolical succession is preserved, there appears a misapprehension of the true nature of a spiritual society, and a partici-

But we have not yet fully surveyed the position to which Dr. Arnold has been brought by the activity that has carried him clear over certain ancient and professional prejudices. For this purpose it will be necessary to lay before our readers the following passage from his Seventh Sermon. Having there spoken of the perfect unity which he conceives to have been exhibited by the primitive Church, in "purity, and affection, and zeal, and peace, and happiness," he proceeds thus:—

"Such was the glorious design of that living temple of God, the Christian Church or society. It is plain from this, that no evil passion, that no worldly spirit, could possibly assist in furthering its objects; for, it would be, indeed, calling upon Satan to cast out Satan. The Christian unity then was a unity of goodness, an affection of good men for one another, because they mutually loved God. But so soon as this was changed for another sort of unity in which bad men could also be part-takers; when Christians strove not to put down the principles of the world, but to employ them for the increase of the number of those who were called believers, but who were not so in heart, so soon as they borrowed some of the notions of the law of Moses, and some of those of worldly kingdoms, thinking that they were enlarging the kingdom of God, by persuading Satan's servants merely to change the name of their master, without changing the spirit of their worship, then the unity of which St. Paul spoke so earnestly was lost; and men ceased to be one with each other in the Father and the Son. The purpose for which Christ's church was founded, so far as this world was concerned, the advancement of that kingdom of God, for whose coming we daily pray, became presently stopped."—pp. 87—89.

And that there may be no possibility of mistake respecting his views and principles, he subjoins to this passage the following note:—

pation of the same erroneous views, which have led the Romanists to exclude from their sense of the Catholic Church, all who will not acknowledge the succession of the popes from St. Peter, the chief of the apostles." We, of course, have no intention of entering into the controversy connected with this question. We shall content ourselves with observing that, in the estimate of the most enlightened Churchmen, episcopacy certainly stands very much higher than a mere form of government which experience has proved to be the most useful and beneficial. They regard it as an institution which has the sanction of heaven, either by positive appointment, or by subsequent approbation. They, therefore, feel it their duty to contend for it as among the essentials of a true and genuine church. At the same time they abstain from the uncharitable presumption of limiting the measure in which God, in the sovereign exercise of his mercy, may accord the blessings and privileges of a church to Christian communities which, from peculiar circumstances, have been placed under a different discipline. In the propagation of Christianity, therefore, they would consider it, not as an "*unimportant*," but as a very *essential* matter, that the government of the new Christian societies should be episcopal—a matter not to be neglected *by them* without a sinful disregard of the Divine will. But, nevertheless, they would forbear to pronounce any harsh or decisive judgment on societies, which might have been formed by others with a different constitution. In short, if they were asked whether a church can be formed without the government of bishops, their reply, we conceive, would be, *with man this thing is impossible, but with God all things are possible!*

“ This bears upon a vast subject, and one of the greatest importance both to the temporal and spiritual advancement of the nations of Europe, the history of the nominal conversion of the northern nations to Christianity, when they settled themselves in the several provinces of the Roman empire. The adoption of Christianity as the national religion in point of form and profession of opinions, whilst its spirit and principles were either unknown or hated, has introduced a confusion into our civil and ecclesiastical relations, under which we are at this moment labouring. It has led, for instance, to the maintenance of these two inconsistent propositions by the very same persons;—that the government may interfere in church matters, because in a Christian country the government is to be regarded as Christian, and the king must be a member of the church; and yet that Christianity does not meddle with political institutions, with forms of government, questions of public rights, legislation, war and peace, &c. because Christ's kingdom is not of this world.”—p. 88.

Precisely conformable to these views is another passage from the Sixteenth Sermon, in which, after describing the early success of the Gospel, and the lives and labours of the first Christians, he adds,—

“ But soon Satan learnt to oppose their progress more artfully. Resistance appeared to fail before them; from being persecuted, they became triumphant; kings professed the name of Christ, and the idols of the heathen perished from before his face. His servants were ready to join in the hymn of the Apostle, ‘ The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ.’ But the snare of their enemy meanwhile fully succeeded: the kingdoms of the world became in name the kingdoms of Christ, only to make the kingdom of Christ in reality a kingdom of the world.”—p. 207.

Now whether or not the notions here propounded or insinuated be just, is a distinct question. One thing, however, seems to us almost irresistibly clear, namely, that whoever adopts these notions must be prepared to avow, on the authority of a master of our Israel, (and agreeably with the “ *Episcopalian Letters*” noticed in a former Number,) that a national profession of Christianity is not only inexpedient, but is little better than an abuse and an abomination.

With regard to those remarkable Letters, we pause for one moment to state, that when we heard it surmised that they were the work of one of our own clergy, we, at once, indignantly rejected the suggestion as little better than a slander on the clerical profession; and, accordingly, we forbore to advert even to the existence of what appeared to us so unworthy a suspicion. We thought it absolutely incredible, that a member of that profession should have been the author of so insidious an attack on the Establishment. We thought it impossible—not that an English clergyman should wish to see the fortress of our Zion repaired,

and strengthened, and exhibited in perfect beauty,—not that he should even invite the attention of his brethren and the community to the wrongs she may have occasionally suffered from the intrusion of secular influence and power; for all this would have appeared no more than natural, in one who was profoundly anxious for the peace and prosperity of our Jerusalem:—but we did deem it absolutely impossible that one of her sacred fraternity could be found, ready to put forth principles which tend to the destruction of her stability and honour; that he should speak of her condition as one of intolerable degradation; that he should mingle truth and error with such consummate subtilty, as to produce a compound hostile to her life; that he should so conduct his advocacy of her independence, as to leave us under the impression, that she had slavishly submitted to a fatal violation of it, and that a “damned defeat” had been made upon her character as a true and genuine Christian institution. All this, we confess, did appear to us utterly inconceivable. What, then, was our sorrow and dismay on finding here, in the *Sermons* of an Anglican divine, what appeared to us to be the germ of that pernicious system; on hearing, as from an English pulpit, principles, which, if expanded to their full dimensions, must be subversive of a polity, hitherto venerated as the nursing-mother of the national piety!—principles, which affirm no less than that all connection between the civil and spiritual bodies is an unholy violation of the saying of our Lord, that his kingdom is not of this present world!

It is probable, indeed, that Dr. Arnold will disavow these alarming inferences. Nay, he may be said to have disavowed them already, and this in language which common justice calls on us to produce:—

“The union between Church and State,” says Dr. Arnold in another recent publication,* “which so many good men lament, and some condemn, appears to me to be far too powerful a means of diffusing the blessings of Christianity, to be *lightly* broken asunder; and although I earnestly desire to see the actual abuses of that union remedied, yet even now the good which it is daily working is such, as to make every sincere Christian regard at least with anxiety the prospect of its dissolution. . . . Our Protestant Church is one of the greatest blessings with which England has been favoured; and may it exist secure from every enemy, under the care of its Divine Head, and trusting in its lawful arms, the truth of its doctrines, and the holiness of its members!”

We are bound, after this declaration, to presume that Dr. Arnold finds no difficulty in reconciling these sentiments with those to which he has given expression in his *Sermons*, although we may, ourselves, be unable to discern the exact process by which

* The Christian Duty of granting the Claims of the Roman Catholics, p. 50,

their harmony is to be established. But for this declaration we should assuredly have judged him to be a zealous and uncompromising disciple of the school which produced the "*Episcopalian Letters*." But, however that may be, we cannot abstain from proclaiming ourselves unable to comprehend, how those persons, who are prepared to go to the extremities contemplated by that school, can bring themselves to endure their present connection with our vitiated and degraded Church. We, really, find it extremely difficult to understand how a thorough adept in the principles of the "*Episcopalian*," can remain satisfied with the orders he has received from the hands of a prelacy, whose genuine succession, according to the representations of his school, has at least been rendered doubtful by the unhallowed interference of the secular hand. We can hardly figure to ourselves any expedient by which a reformer so highly enlightened, can effectually pacify his conscience, but by the immediate establishment of a separate episcopal communion, conformable to his own views of primitive purity and concord;—a communion sacred from the profane touch of secular power, and uncorrupted by the sordid wages, and fat emoluments of servitude. To be sure, the exigencies of the times are such, one would think, as to relieve men of energy and talent from all temptation to waste their powers upon needless and fantastic enterprizes. There is quite enough for them to do, in the regular course of exertion, without setting up for themselves in the character of a new sect, upon the joint stock of ancient heresies and modern paradoxes. If, however, there be among us any restless and perturbed spirits, who are incurably malcontent with the existing order of things, we cannot help thinking that it might, on the whole, be best that they should at once disavow all association with ancient and established abuse? This would, at least, be a more consistent course than to retain their connection with a church, whose legitimacy they seem almost to question, whose degeneracy and prostitution they openly reprobate, and which, in their portraiture of her, bears so close a resemblance to the synagogue of Satan!

With regard to Dr. Arnold himself, it is to be presumed that he admits no such revolutionary elements into his speculations. Our national establishment he allows, on the whole, to be a blessing, and the union of Church and State he considers as a bond not *lightly* to be dissolved. Some abuses he conceives there are which cry for redress, but none which are absolutely fatal to life. After all, however, we cannot but think that he has suffered his estimate of national religious establishments to be too much affected by his saddening retrospect towards the history of the Church, and by his survey of the various modes by which the

Gospel was originally propagated throughout the countries which profess it at the present day. A more afflicting survey than this can scarcely be undertaken by any one who feels the slightest concern for the honour of Christianity. It must be confessed, that all the various weapons and resources of a carnal warfare have, occasionally, been employed for the establishment of this spiritual kingdom. Every secular passion or motive that can be named has, probably, been called into action as an auxiliary to that cause, which appeals only to man's immortal spirit; and Christ has often been insulted by help fit only for the patronage of Belial. On this subject there, doubtless, is room for meditation almost to madness. The argument which this perilous region of inquiry suggests to Dr. Arnold, if we have rightly developed it, is as follows. The kingdom of Christ is not of this world; therefore no worldly methods ought to be resorted to for its advancement. The history of the Church, however, shows that such methods have been most prodigally and shamelessly employed. *Consequently*, the purpose for which the Church of Christ was founded "became presently stopped;" and Christendom at this day bears a nearer resemblance to one vast and monstrous coalition between light and darkness, than to the purity of a legitimate and visible Church. What then seems to be the obvious inference to be drawn from this representation? Is it not, that this unhallowed association ought instantly to be dissolved? That the gold and the clay, which never can cleave, ought wholly to be separated, and removed from any semblance of union with each other? That the distinction between the Church and the World should now be made as broad and discernible as it was in the days when Paganism was predominant? And that true Christianity should be alike relieved from secular opposition or co-operation? Thus, and thus only, can Christian unity and independence be restored; and thus only can the gracious designs of God for the restoration of mankind resume that progress, which has been audaciously interrupted by the earthly, sensual, and devilish wisdom of the world!

On these views, as they have been presented to us in still fuller developement by the "Episcopalian," we have already offered some considerations in a former Number of this Journal,* and we have no intention of exposing our readers to so severe an exertion of their patience, as would be inflicted by a repetition of our remarks. We cannot, however, now forbear to express our utter astonishment, that any one, bred in a school, which claims no humble character for logical precision of thought, should have failed to discern the fatal infirmity of this whole train of reasoning. One main objection here implied against a national pro-

* *British Critic* for October, 1829.

fession of religion is, that all such professions have originated in illegitimate methods for propagating the Gospel; in methods tending to the production of an abominable miscellany, in which the celestial elements of a spiritual society are tossed into an unblest combination with the sordid, beggarly, and corrupt elements of the world,—the whole mixture being miscalled a Church. Now in order to see whether or not this objection is fatal, it will be necessary to consider for a moment what would have been the effect of a different mode of proceeding. Let us suppose for instance, that the secular power had, from the apostolic age to the present moment, suffered the Gospel to take its own course, and to depend solely on its own resources;—is it to be imagined that the result of this neutrality would have been a Christian Church of inviolate purity and integrity? Is it to be imagined that the world would at this day have witnessed a perfect exemplification of that Christian unity which is the object of Dr. Arnold's earnest and sincere desires. Can it be believed that a scrupulous abstinence from all secular alliance would have secured to the cause of Christianity such a powerful guidance and custody, as would have excluded all unsoundness from its communion? Is it to be supposed that there would, in that case, have been such a total separation between the kingdom of Christ, and the interests of this world, as would have enabled an Apostle (if he should revisit the earth) to say of the whole body of professing Christians, that they were strictly, and literally, and to a man, a royal priesthood, a chosen generation,—while the rest of the world were beyond the confines of God's marvellous light? Can all this be deliberately maintained? And if it cannot, why should the present state of things be arraigned as eminently destructive of Christian unity? Why should national professions of Christianity be objects of suspicion, for being deficient in a quality which, under no imaginable circumstances, could Christian society ever have exhibited?

Let us recur to the history of the Church in the period of her most distinguished purity, in the centuries which preceded its connection with the State; and see whether it was always such as to realize these visions of consummate Christian unity? When the powers of this world were openly leagued for her destruction, she had, indeed, her noble army of Martyrs to produce against the adversary. But were there, even then, no secret foes to her integrity within the pale of her own communion? Do the Apocalyptic addresses to the churches of Asia speak of a Christian fraternity altogether worthy of spiritual union with the Father and the Son? Does that multitude of heresies which oppresses the memory tell us of "one heart and one mind, and one undivided

Christian body?" Were there, in those ages, no indications of that corruption which has since been eating out the health of Christ's Visible Body? Can it be said that the spiritual disunion and decay commenced only at the moment when her banner was grasped by the hand of imperial power, and the Cross was raised over the palace of the Cæsars?

Again, let us turn to Protestant America, at the present day. The civil and religious powers are there distinct. Christianity there, owes nothing to the State, and suffers nothing from the State. The servants of Satan have not, there, been bribed or compelled "to change the name of their Master." No measures have there been taken for framing an image out of precious and worthless materials combined, and calling it Christianity. Whatever religion there may be in that country, it grows up and is preserved *a man knows not how*; certainly without the incumbrance or the contamination of national and political help. And yet, can it for a moment be maintained, that the Church of Christ has there so preserved its *unity*, that we can speak of it, collectively, as *one in the Father and the Son*? Can it be affirmed that "intrigues, and lusts, and eager worldly passions of every kind, and low and careless principles of living" are never found, in that favoured region, among societies of men who profess the Gospel? And if this cannot be maintained,—if freedom from the fetters of a national Creed or Establishment has not been attended with the growth of a thoroughly pure, and spiritual, and undivided Church,—with what reason or justice can we ascribe to national Creeds and Establishments an operation pre-eminently adverse to Christian Unity, and a tendency towards the confusion of profane and holy things?

It is to no purpose to allege that there is *less* probability of departure from primitive union and simplicity, where the kingdom of Christ is left to its own energies, than where the powers of this world presume to interfere. Experience has hitherto by no means been such as to extort the concession of this point. And even if it were granted, the concession would leave the matter on much lower ground than that which has been taken by the Episcopalian school. It would reduce the question to one of mere expediency. We might then, if the choice were freely left us, deliberate between a national profession and establishment of religion, and a system of mere equitable neutrality; and we might be at liberty to determine, according to our own views, respecting the probable effect of either, in the eventual promotion of genuine Christianity: but we should not be called upon, as that school seems virtually to call upon us, to pronounce a sweeping condemnation of such profession; and to charge them as, beyond all

other systems, at variance with the spiritual character of our Saviour's kingdom.

Under existing circumstances, however, we are left almost without a choice. Whether by force, or intrigue, or worldly policy, or by legitimate arts of conversion, Christianity has, for ages, been the professed religion of this empire: and the result has been, an Ecclesiastical Establishment or National Church, closely interwoven with the whole structure of our civil polity;—so closely, that their disruption, in the judgment of all wise and thoughtful men, would probably terminate in the destruction of both;—so closely, that scarcely any, but wholesale dealers in revolution, have hitherto been ruthless enough to contemplate so fearful an experiment. What then can be the wisdom of plunging into the depths of antiquity, for records and evidences that may cast dishonour on our common mother, and rob her of the love and veneration of her children? How perverse, to say the least, must be the zeal which ransacks her ancient annals and muniments, as it were, to find a flaw in her title, or a blot in her legitimacy. For centuries has this land been called after the name of Christ. But then comes the reformer, and tells us, that the Christian profession was either smuggled or forced into the kingdom, and that the Gospel was adopted “in point of form, while its spirit and principles were unknown and hated; and that *a deplorable confusion has thus been introduced into our ecclesiastical and civil relations;*” and, thus the way may be paved for the march of other reformers, much less scrupulous, who will be ready to tell us that we must undo the work of centuries, and unravel the whole texture of our constitution in Church and State: that, on the one hand, Christianity must abjure the patronage or the services of earthly potentates and legislatures; and that, on the other hand, neither heathens or Mahometans, infidels or Atheists, are to be held disqualified, by their belief or their unbelief, for stations of civil honour and responsibility! And what is to result from this subversion of ancient institutions, this tearing asunder of what, in the honest persuasion of multitudes of our countrymen, God himself hath joined together? Is the long-lost spectacle of Christian unity to be once more seen on earth? Is the Church then to appear without spot or wrinkle? Is there to be realized a uniformity of blessedness, and peace, and sanctity, and heavenly love, among the professors of the Gospel? Is there to be a visible society of Christians, separated from all ensnaring contact with worldly dominion, and joined in a celestial and mystic union with the Father and the Son? Is Christ's dominion on earth to advance with instant and wondrous acceleration, when the manacles and fetters of secular interest and power are cast

away for ever? Can any man believe that this, or any thing like this, would be the effect of a disruption of those supports which, for ages, have given stability to our system? Can Dr. Arnold himself believe it? He has protested that he honours the Church of England, in her union with the State, as the instrument of unspeakable blessings to his country; and, of course, he never can imagine that her efficacy would be augmented by her divorce from the State, and by her reduction to the level of a mere Christian sect. And if he does not entertain this notion, how deeply is it to be deplored that his language should ever be such as, almost inevitably, to conduct any ordinary mind to a belief in the necessity of such a revolution!

We may here, possibly, be reminded, that the gates of Hell never shall prevail against the Church; and that, consequently, we can never endanger or eventually injure the Church by doing our duty, however desperate may be the sacrifice, or however formidable the service. But, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten, that the Church's imperishable and consecrated strength does by no means relieve us from the obligation of adopting all practicable means for securing her stability and welfare. Neither does it relieve us from the care of deliberating with profound solemnity, before we venture on a course of change or demolition, with a view to her eventual prosperity and honour. So long as we are in this world, we are to consult for the preservation of our religion, as we should provide for any other weighty and precious interest. We are to neglect no auxiliary resources which may conduce to its safety and its influence. We are to abate no jot of caution which may prevent reform from plunging it headlong into destruction. We are not to reject the patronage of kings, when they show themselves disposed to become her nursing Fathers: neither are we to venture on a process of decomposition which may throw the whole social fabric, civil and religious, into a state of ruinous anarchy and confusion. The promised protection of Heaven never yet was held, by reasonable men, to dispense with the exercise of human energy and vigilance. The gates of Hell shall never prevail against the Church; or, in other words, to the end of time the profession of the Gospel shall never perish from the earth. But *our* more immediate duty is, to see that it does not perish from the British empire. We, therefore, tremble at the thought of tempting Providence to bring this danger upon us, by a rash and wanton dissolution of the bond which unites our secular and spiritual establishments. We can scarcely err by a process of preservation and improvement which may make this union subservient to the best and holiest of purposes. But by breaking the connection, we may find, when too

late, that we have been guilty of an error irretrievably and desperately destructive.

With regard to the notion, that our Lord's kingdom, being spiritual, refuses the slightest interference of earthly power, it may be as well to remind our readers, once more, that this proposition confounds the Church, considered as an order or a profession, with the Church considered as a Christian community. With the Church, as an order, the State cannot, in any essential matters, interfere. In the frenzy of revolution, the State may, perhaps, confiscate the endowments of the clerical profession; or, in the plenitude of power, the State may impose certain restrictions and conditions on the exercise of the spiritual function; but it can do nothing to perpetuate or to interrupt the apostolic succession: it can neither confer nor take away the ministerial character: and if such usurpation were to be attempted, it then unquestionably would be high time to exclaim, that the spiritual quality of our Lord's kingdom was sacrilegiously violated. But to say that the State has no right whatever of interference in the concerns of the Church as a community, is, in effect, either to deny that the laity form a constituent portion of the Church, or else to maintain that the regulation of all ecclesiastical matters, without exception, belongs exclusively to the clerical order; a position which ecclesiastical history condemns; a position, too, which, if admitted, might (as we may learn from the history of the Romish Church) very soon elevate the spiritual on the ruins of the temporal power. We trust, therefore, that we shall hear no more of this mistaken interpretation of scripture. To us, we confess, it appears scarcely worthy of men who make any pretensions to common sense; and almost ridiculous in a school which claims pre-eminence for masterly exactness of thought, which seems to imagine that wisdom was born with them, and to apprehend that (unless they vigorously bestir themselves) with them wisdom must inevitably give up the ghost!

To return, however, more especially to Dr. Arnold, we cannot dismiss the consideration of his discourses without remarking that the whole peculiarity of his views is evidently traceable to the habit to which we have already adverted, of considering nations or societies which profess Christianity, as actually divided into two classes,—those who are Christians, and those who are not Christians. Now this, we again contend, is a view of the matter which no mortal sagacity can be allowed to take. It is a view which is reserved for the Eye of Omnipotence alone. The Church, in its present condition, consists of exemplary Christians, of Christians odiously and scandalously wicked, and of persons who occupy all the numberless gradations between those two ex-

tremities. But no human discernment can exactly trace out the line which, at any given time, divides the sincere follower from the mere hollow professor of the Gospel. In this world there can be no complete separation of the sound from the unsound part of the visible Church. All, therefore, who by their baptism were made members of that Church, must (unless they openly renounce it) be deemed to retain that membership to the very last. They must be addressed as Christians,—for Christians, in one important sense, they undoubtedly are to the very day of their death. Whatever may be the precise nature of the change effected by their baptismal regeneration, thus much at least is certain—that, in the solemn judgment of our Church, it secures the salvation of those who die in infancy. It, moreover, adopts them into the family of God, and entitles the repenting sinner, at any period of his life, to fly to the throne of Grace, to plead the promise of forgiveness through the blood of the covenant, and to ask the sanctifying influences of the eternal Spirit. A person who is invested with these privileges, is, most undoubtedly a Christian. And such is, undeniably, the condition of all, without exception, who have been dedicated to God, in the sacrament of baptism, unless it can be shown that, by the unworthiness or carelessness of parents, that sacrament may, in particular instances, be defeated and annulled. What sanction, then, can be found for the practice of speaking to Christian assemblies, as if a portion of their members were not within the pale of Christianity? What right can any preacher have to tell his people, that there are some among them “whose seed remaineth not in them?” The seed may hitherto have lain cold and fruitless within their souls; or it may be, for a time, choaked with thorns, or overgrown with weeds: but who shall dare to say that it has finally perished, and shall never spring up into everlasting life? The true and legitimate mode of addressing worldly or vicious men, who have been incorporated into the Church, is to tell them, not that they are no Christians, and do not belong to Christ's flock, but that their condition is, if possible, even still more awful;—that the state of a carnally-minded heathen is not so full of peril and of terror as theirs;—that Christians they are,—to their unutterable sorrow and condemnation if they persist in despising the goodness and the severity of God;—to their measureless joy and triumph, if they forsake their sins, and walk worthily of their divine vocation. As the most transcendent weight of glory is laid up for them that die in the faith and love of Christ, so shall the heaviest load of indignation and wrath be reserved for those who have borne his name without departing from iniquity.

Another peculiarity which seems to us to adhere to the theo-

logy of Dr. Arnold is this, that he seldom contemplates Christianity in the same light, in which it was contemplated by its founder,—that is, as a scheme for the gradual improvement and sanctification of the world. When we are looking with bitterness of heart, upon the hitherto unequal struggle which heavenly principles are carrying on against the depravity of man, whither should we turn for support and consolation, but to the declarations of Him, who had the words of eternal life, and who has presented his own dispensation to our thoughts under a variety of images, which, in truth, are so many prophecies of its slow and painful progress through the world. It is impossible to think of the meal gradually pervaded by the little mass of leaven,—of the diminutive seed spreading into the vast tree,—of the salt working against corruption and impurity,—without being assured that our Lord considered the gradual operation of Christianity, as entering expressly into those Divine counsels in which the whole system of our redemption originated. Now Dr. Arnold evidently does not so consider it. He speaks as if it were the express design of heaven that the world should undergo, at once, a moral regeneration, and as if that design were arrested and beaten back by the impiety of man. He expresses himself as if he conceived the salt to have been, ever since the primitive ages, gradually losing its savour, till at last it has become almost savourless, and fit for little else but to be trodden under foot. He leaves his reader, in short, under the impression, that the gracious purposes of heaven have been trampled down by the powers of this world, and that, in truth, the kingdom of Christ scarcely has any existence among us.

We are distinctly aware of the extreme difficulty of adopting any mode of statement, which shall fully satisfy the whole truth, when the question relates, as in this case, to the purposes and dealings of the Almighty. On the one hand, for instance, it would, most assuredly, be unbecoming in us to assert, that the most rapid, plenary and extensive success of Christianity could be contrary to the will and design of its Author. Neither can it be doubted that every evil passion of our nature may be justly condemned as an adversary to the wisdom and the mercy of our heavenly Father. But then, on the other hand, it is also equally clear, that the Lord himself has spoken to us of the kingdom of the Messiah, as a dispensation which may require the lapse of ages for its complete and final triumph;—that He has represented His church as having a long militant and probationary period to undergo, before He will proclaim her warfare to be accomplished. It is true, then, that God cannot be otherwise than well pleased by the free course and glorious success of the Gospel;—and it is like-

wise true that He has designed that the Gospel should be, for ages, retarded by the sluggishness of our fallen nature, or fiercely resisted by its malignity and corruption. We have here before us one of those innumerable paradoxes which Divine Truth must always present to any mortal, perhaps to any created, understandings. What then is the part of Christian humility and prudence, under these circumstances? Is it not, that we reverently contemplate the case under both these aspects, instead of fixing our regards exclusively or chiefly upon one? Can it be wise or pious to plant ourselves on some one position, fixed and immoveable, whence we can contemplate only one class of appearances, and to contend that the observations there taken are amply sufficient to put us in possession of the whole region of the Divine counsels? The truest divinity is surely that, which animates us to a vigorous and unsparing conflict against all the powers of evil, as forming a horrid confederacy against the will of God—and which, nevertheless, consoles us, at the same time, with the assurance, that even their protracted resistance forms, itself, a part of God's providential administration.

It must be confessed in truth, that considerations of this nature are urgently needed to support us when oppressed by the spectacle of multitudes, who—with the amplest means and opportunities of grace—with the scriptural liturgy of the Church in their hands—with her services ringing in their ears—and with perpetual access to the living oracles of truth—are yet walking in a manner, which tempts their teachers to speak of them, as if they were still under the bondage of the law, or the deadly shadows of heathen ignorance. Still more needful are such reflections when we are looking upon another class of our brethren—the fermenting refuse of high civilization,—human beings, who though, perhaps, marked with the cross, and devoted to the warfare of Christ, yet, for the rest of their lives, seem to be practically cut off from all chance of communion with holiness, and, by a sort of dire fatality, to be regularly educated for the service of Satan. What will be the portion, or the doom, of these seeming abortions of the Church, it becomes us not too curiously to inquire. It is enough for us to be assured that the Judge of all the earth will do nothing but what is merciful and righteous. Some secret stores of clemency, one is willing to hope, may for the sake of Jesus Christ, be laid up for these pitiable outcasts, and mitigate, in some degree the seeming severity of their lot. But then, it must never be forgotten that a strict account will be demanded of those, whose selfish avarice or carelessness may be chargeable with the growth of this portentous mass of impiety and crime.

This overwhelming subject naturally brings us to another,

closely connected with it, and which appears very deeply to have engaged the thoughts of Dr. Arnold; namely, the religious education of youth, in every rank of life without exception. It cannot be questioned, that much yet remains to be learned and attempted by parents and instructors, before they can be in a condition to reflect with joy on the discharge of this sacred portion of their obligations. The following, it is much to be feared, is but too accurate a history of a vast number of human beings in their progress from infancy to manhood.

“ Let us go on and see what is done with a child after baptism: he is suffered, very often, to live in complete ignorance of every thing that concerns his salvation. I have known boys of eight or nine years' old, who did not so much as know what would happen to them after their death, but thought that after they were once put in the ground they would lie there for ever, and should never feel any thing any more either of good or evil. But even where this is not the case, the knowledge of heavenly things is too often taught as a lesson, and no pains are taken to make it seize hold upon the heart, and to influence the conduct. Time passes on, and the child is sent to school, or is wanted to assist his parents in their work, or to do something for his own maintenance. At school he finds himself placed amongst other children, most of whom have had as little Christian instruction as himself; and instead of meeting with any thing like Christian motives, or Christian behaviour among his companions, he learns a set of notions such as human nature, unassisted by divine knowledge, and too young to be guided by reason, is likely to invent and to act upon. It too often happens also, that he gains little or no religious instruction from his teachers, because they think, or pretend to think, that his parents will give it him at home; while his parents think that this, with all other kinds of learning, must be forborne during the short time that he is with them, that he may have some portion of the year which he may enjoy in perfect freedom. Besides it will often be the case, that the parents know and care little about spiritual things themselves: and then it is not likely that they should be able or anxious to impress them upon others. In this way the boy grows up into the man, with a confirmed unchristian practice, and scarcely any relics of Christian knowledge. Thus armed,—or rather I should say, thus naked,—thus shackled,—thus prostrate and helpless before his enemy, he enters upon the conflict with the stormy passions of youth, and all the innumerable temptations of the world. And what is, what can be the issue? In the ordinary course of things, it is a sinful life and a hopeless death; unless God sometimes touches the heart with a sense of its danger, and in his power and mercy brings it to a true and effectual conversion.”—p. 45—47.

The preacher then proceeds to show that, even in the humblest ranks, much more might be effected by parents, than they ever think of attempting, towards rearing their children in the ways of godliness and peace. After all, however, it must be fairly allowed

that the task is one of very considerable delicacy and difficulty, one which requires a nicer tact, and a deeper knowledge of human nature, than one parent in a thousand is ever gifted with. It must further be remembered, that in a vast majority of instances a domestic education is absolutely impossible. The children, if they are to be educated at all, must inevitably be sent to school; and the impediments which array themselves against all efforts to fix religious impressions on the heart, where a multitude of young people are assembled together, are such as, humanly speaking, would seem next to insurmountable. Of these difficulties Dr. Arnold himself appears to be distinctly aware; and of some of them he has given a very clear and powerful representation in his twenty-fifth Sermon. He there describes the struggles of one who is earnestly desirous of serving Christ, but who is embarrassed and deterred by the notorious failings of his life, which must place themselves in his path for adversaries against him, the moment he begins to walk in the narrow way.

“ Such a person will say, ‘ I cannot pretend to hold a higher tone than others, for my life does not warrant it: I shall be certainly accused of hypocrisy, and I fear I have given too much reason for the charge. I must not, I cannot, set up for a serious person, and therefore have no choice but to follow the common opinions and conduct of the world.’

“ This is no uncommon case; but one which every man must in his own experience in the earlier part of his life have often met with. And unless we forget our own feelings and condition when we were young ourselves, we must allow it to be a very painful one. Young persons are placed so much more in constant contact with their companions, and our opinions and feelings towards one another at that age are expressed so much more bluntly and rudely than in after life, that there is absolutely more to suffer by going against the opinion of the society around us, at the same time that there is less strength of character to withstand the trial. I do not know that there are any circumstances in our common life in this age and country, in which the turning to Christ in sincerity is more difficult. To disguise the difficulties, or to make light of them, is neither honest nor wise; but allowing them in their full force, and feeling most sincerely for those who are exposed to them, still we must not disguise the truth on the other side; that this is the very taking up the cross to which Christ calls us; that this is one of those appointed tribulations from which if we turn away, we cannot enter into the kingdom of God. And for the reproach of hypocrisy which is feared by such persons as I have been speaking of, because their lives are not consistently good: let them indeed fear it, if it is well founded; that is, if they do not wish to serve God always, and with all their hearts; but only when it may be convenient to them to do so. This is hypocrisy, certainly; this is to be double-minded; and to such indeed Christ offers no encouragement; and his apostle James truly says, ‘ Let not that man think that he shall receive any thing of the Lord.’ But if

they do wish to be whole with Christ, but fear to be charged as hypocrites because they do not always serve him in their practice, then this fear might hinder every man living from turning to God; for not the holiest man is without sin; and if the practice of sin makes our good deeds hypocrisy, then the best of the Apostles, the noblest of the Martyrs, they were all hypocrites. It is said, however, that they do not expect to be without sin altogether; but with sin less prevailing in them; that it seems hypocrisy to profess higher principles than other people, and yet not to lead a better life. But the point to be considered is, not whether it seems hypocrisy or no, but whether it is so. If I confess and feel with shame how far my life falls short of what it ought to be, and if I am resolved with God's grace to make it more like the holy law of Christ; then I *am* no hypocrite, however much I may be thought so by those who make too little allowance for the strength of sin, and the long struggles which it will maintain even after we have commenced in earnest to strive against it; or however much I may be called so, by those who hate the profession of goodness only less than they hate goodness itself, and wish therefore by every means to deter others from owning their wish to follow Christ. It comes then to this—shall I never try to be good, because I am not yet as good as I wish to be? Shall I, for fear of being called a hypocrite untruly, become a hypocrite in reality, and a hypocrite of the very worst kind; that is, one who, whilst he really does believe, and sometimes believes and trembles too, pretends as far as he can, that he neither cares for nor acknowledges the authority of his Saviour's law?"—p. 328—331.

We have given the above extract, because it both states the formidable impediments, which young people, more especially, have often to encounter in reducing their religious feelings and principles to practice, and provides the answer by which those difficulties are to be met. Such a statement, our readers will perceive, comes, at this moment, with a peculiar and solemn interest from Dr. Arnold. He has recently been elevated to a post which will enable him to apply all the stores of his knowledge, and all the powers of his mind, to the solution of that hitherto unmanageable problem, the religious education of large bodies of youth. The failure of our most distinguished and popular schools to accomplish this purpose, has often been the subject of loud and bitter arraignment. Whether Dr. Arnold will be able to construct a system, the adoption of which shall efface this burning reproach, we shall not venture to anticipate. That he will omit no exertion which benevolence and piety can suggest, we are profoundly convinced. And should he succeed in this genuine labour of love—should he be enabled to convert that, which hitherto has frequently been considered as the "mere despair" of public tuition, into its *crown of rejoicing*,—we shall not hesitate to number him among the most distinguished benefactors to the human race. He must, however, forgive us, if,—with all our veneration

for his virtues, and all our respect for his abilities and attainments,—we venture, very earnestly, to express one hope;—namely, that, in training his pupils for their Christian warfare, he will not think it an abandonment of his duty to abstain from language which may chance to impair their allegiance to our national communion. We regard it as a matter of the most urgent importance, that the British youth should be bred in sentiments of the deepest attachment for the constitution of England, both in Church and State; that they should be taught to understand the blessings of which our religious establishment has been made the honoured instrument, and that they should be trained rather in the school of her unrivalled masters of theology, than in that of her bitter though conscientious adversaries. All this may most assuredly be done, without the slightest sacrifice either of true religion, or of genuine liberality: without the sacrifice of religion,—for, (next to the Bible,) where is Christianity to be learned, if not from the mighty and venerable doctors of the English Church?—without any sacrifice of liberality,—for non-conformity itself has almost ceased its tragical complaints of high church bigotry, and is compelled to acknowledge the ample provision made by the present system for the independence—we had almost said, for the caprice—of private opinion and belief! We cannot therefore but reckon it among the most solemn obligations incident to the office of an instructor, to commend this sacred inheritance to the hearts of the youthful generation, and thus to secure its transmission, in unfading strength and honour, to our latest posterity. And when Dr. Arnold shall have *entirely* recovered from the bewilderment to which the perceptions are sometimes liable, from the perpetual echo of mutual praise,—when certain crudities, which now seem partially to disorder the play of his understanding, shall have been succeeded by a more intimate mixture and bland assimilation of the varied elements of knowledge in his mind,—when he shall perceive, more keenly than now he appears to do, how good, how pleasant, how becoming a thing it is, for the modern divines of our Church to look with deep reverence on the labours of their illustrious and gigantic predecessors,—then shall we have good hope that he will think as we do on these matters; that the Church of our fathers will find in him a most zealous and uncompromising champion; or, at all events, that no word will ever be suffered to escape him which may, by possibility, enfeeble the attachment and devotion of her sons.

ART. II.—*An Historical Account of my Own Life, with some Reflections on the Times I have lived in.* (1671—1731.) By Edmund Calamy, D. D. Now first printed. Edited and illustrated, with Notes, Historical and Biographical, by John Towill Rutt. London. Colburn and Bentley. 1829. 2 vols. 8vo.

THERE is a certain degree of dignity attaching to Jack while he is content to remain snugly ensconced in his box, which he is pretty sure to lose whenever he ventures too rashly and ambitiously to step out of it. The magnificence of the unknown is proverbial; and, on this sound principle, we cannot but think that Dr. Calamy's reputation, be it what it may, will gain little by his present full exposure to daylight. The Memoirs before us seem far better adapted to that *chiaro oscuro* glimmering by which such productions, while in their larva state of manuscript, are partially and favorably illuminated, than to the meridian blaze with which they are now flooded, on emerging, in complete butterflyship, from the press. As long as they remained inshrined within the depths of Sir Walter Stirling's *cryptoporticus*, to be occasionally exhibited to the admiring eyes of some favored Dissenting devotee, who had made a pilgrimage for their sake, they might pass for jewels of great price: but on their removal from their holy *theca*, like most other reliques, they prove to be little more than dust and rottenness. Just as the *Sacro Cattino* was believed to be a huge single emerald while under the jealous custody of the Priests of Genoa; till, unhappily, having slipped within the grasp of the scepticism of the prying Savans of Paris, it turned out in the end to be nothing more than a bit of cracked green glass.

But, perhaps, we may be outrunning the knowledge of our readers. Not all of them may recollect that when Dr. Toulmin published the Vth volume of his edition of Neale's *History of the Puritans*, he acknowledged his obligation to Edmund Calamy, Esq. "for the opportunity of perusing a MS. of his worthy and learned Ancestor." It might have been supposed that if this MS. was to see light, the descendants and representatives of its author would be the fittest masters of the ceremonies for its introduction. Such, however, is not the case; the present volumes are formed from another copy in the possession of the family of Sir Walter Stirling; and Mr. John Towill Rutt has been selected to perform the duties of Mystagogue.

Our task in reviewing this Work will be extremely simple. We shall do little more than endeavour to give an outline of its

contents, stopping now and then, as occasion may require, to interpose a remark or two, on the facts or opinions of Dr. Calamy or his editor.

The first fifty pages are occupied with an apology for Biography in general, in which the excellent author justifies his own design by authorities innumerable. He had read, it seems, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, Cornelius Nepos, and others, and had mourned, like Alexander, that he had not yet more of the same kind to read afterwards. The life of St. Anthony, ascribed to Athanasius, struck him as containing many things incredible; that of St. Malchus by Jerome as more calculated for the display of the writer's own wit and eloquence than of plain historical fact. Sulpicius Severus he thought polite but credulous; yet notwithstanding these partial failures, "it by no means follows but that Biography, when managed with care and fidelity, with a due mixture of prudence, may be exceeding useful."

As to Autobiography, it was excused by Tacitus, and practised by Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Marcus Antoninus, Josephus, Gregory Nazianzen, and Augustin, among the ancients. Of the moderns, Cardan, though sometimes fantastical, lewd and profane, abounds in learning: De Thou, Æneas Sylvius, the Scaligers, Junius, Schultetus, Huet, Bussy Rabutin, Bassompierre, Montluc, Montaigne, Philip de Commynes, Buchanan, Sir James Melville, Bishop Hall, Baxter, and Burnet, (the juxtaposition of some among these eminent men is not a little remarkable,) all have treated, more or less directly, of themselves. There can be little presumption, therefore, after such numerous precedents, in any man who undertakes to write his own history. If Dr. Calamy had lived a century and a half later, with how many more great names might he have swelled his list! It is true that the Memoirs of Prince Eugene are pseudonymous, those of Psalmanazar not abundantly veracious, and those of Lord Byron *not altogether* uncastrated. But who is dead to the pungent interest excited by Michael Kelly, Henry Angelo, or the polytechnic and polymorphous Vidocque!

Edmund Calamy was of legitimate Puritan descent. His grandfather, a celebrated Preacher, was "worried" by Bishop Wren; lent his house as a nursery of sedition to the Presbyterians at the commencement of the Great Rebellion; and while he held orders in an Episcopal Church, permitted to be framed under his roof the well-known *London Petition against Bishops*. For these and other good services, the See of Lichfield is said to have been offered to him at the Restoration. But its acceptance would have been too barefaced and shameless ratting, and he declined the mitre—a laudable instance of consistency which we

doubt whether his grandson ever sincerely forgave in his heart; for thus, he informs us, was missed a golden opportunity of "making and enriching his family," and easily leaving it 20,000*l*.

The elder Calamy's choice, it seems, lay between being sent to Coventry or to Newgate; and upon a breach of the Act of Uniformity, he paid a short visit to the latter, wherein his residence, if we judge from the following account, must have occasioned considerable nuisance to the neighbourhood.

"His confinement at that time made no small noise, and Dr. Wilde published a copy of verses upon the occasion, which was spread through all parts of the kingdom. I have also been informed, that a certain popish lady, happening then to pass through the city, had much ado to get along Newgate-street, by reason of the many coaches that attended there, at which she was not a little surprised. Curiosity led her to inquire into the occasion of the stoppage, and the appearance of such a number of coaches, in a place where she thought nothing of that kind was to be looked for. The standers-by informed her that one Mr. Calamy, a person generally beloved and respected, was imprisoned there for a single sermon, at which they seemed greatly disturbed and concerned. This so moved the lady, that, taking the first opportunity of waiting upon the King at Whitehall, she frankly told his Majesty the whole passage, expressing her fear that if such steps as these were taken, he would lose the affections of the city, which might be of very ill consequence. Upon this account, and some others, my grandfather was in a little time discharged, by the express order of his Majesty."—vol. i. pp. 56, 57.

The subject of the present Memoirs drew his first breath on the 5th of April, 1671, in the parish of Aldermanbury; of which his grandfather had been Minister, and where his father also (the only one of four brethren who adopted Puritan principles) "had a few of his relations, friends, and particular acquaintance, who were desirous to sit under his Ministry, that came and worshipped God with him every Lord's day in his own hired house;" in plainer terms, where he kept a Conventicle. When a child, the young Memorialist naturally enough had "several childish sallies of corruption;" he got safely through the measles and small-pox, but had afterwards frequent returns of fevers and agues. He was catechised at Dyer's Hall by Mr. Thomas Lye; and schooled, first by Mr. Nelson in the vestry of St. Alphage; secondly by Mr. Ewell of Epsom, who was a Fifth Monarchy man, and no great scholar; and thirdly by Mr. Tatnal, a silenced Minister. In those days were bruited abroad the first rumours of the Popish Plot, in which most bloody and atrocious imposture Dr. Calamy expresses his unqualified belief; and avows his opinion that all who reject it "have arraigned the wisdom and justice of

the whole nation in the highest degree that it could possibly be done by any man."

The reasons assigned for this strong delusion are such, no doubt, as would operate powerfully on a certain class of intellects. It must have been a mind framed of far more stubborn materials than those which composed Dr. Calamy's, which could resist the impression of so many confederate terrors as urged it on all sides. Barricades and city militia, guns, drums and wounds, a justice of the peace found dead in a ditch, and a dark Sunday morning, afforded joint evidence against Popery, which it must have been difficult for any good hater of that abomination to withstand; and may be accepted as a justification of the vigilant precaution which deluged the scaffold with innocent blood, in order to procure Titus Oates a pension.

"To see the posts and chains put up in all parts of the city, and a considerable number of the Trained Bands drawn out, night after night, well armed, and watching with as much care as if a considerable insurrection was expected before morning; and to be entertained from day to day with the talk of massacres designed, and a number of bloody assassins ready to serve such purposes, and recruits from abroad to support and assist them (which things were the general subjects of all conversation) was very surprising. The murder of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, (who had taken Oates's deposition, and had afterwards had free conversation with Coleman in private,) with the black Sunday that followed soon after it, when it grew so dark on a sudden, about eleven in the morning, that ministers could not read their notes in their pulpits without the help of candles; together with the frequent execution of traitors that ensued, and the many dismal stories handed about continually, made the hearts, not only of younger but elder persons, to quake for fear. Not so much as a house was at that time to be met with, but what was provided with arms; nor did any go to rest at night without apprehensions of somewhat that was very tragical that might happen before morning. And this was then the case, not for a few weeks or months only, but for a great while together."—vol. i. pp. 83, 84.

At eleven years of age, Calamy was transferred to a new school, and "lived at Mr. Doolittle's, who dwelt then at Islington, and had a considerable Academy in his house." But Mr. Doolittle was *disturbed*, and removed to Battersea, whither his pupil did not follow him. In 1685, he had the satisfaction of seeing "Oates whipped at the cart's tail a second time, while his back, miserably swelled with his first whipping, looked as if it had been flayed." Here, drawing a nice distinction between the agent and the act, and subtly abstracting the quiddity itself from the perpetrator of the *quid*, Dr. Calamy, without abandoning the Popish Plot, is content in great degree to surrender its author.

"Dr. Oates was a man of invincible courage and resolution, and en-

dured what would have killed a great many others. He occasioned a strange turn in the nation, after a general lethargy that had been of some years continuance. By awakening us out of sleep, he was an instrument in the hand of God for our preservation. Yet, after all, he was but a sorry foul-mouthed wretch, as I can testify, from what I once heard from him in company."—p. 120.

"But he really bore a very indifferent character at Westminster; and notwithstanding all the service he had done, there were so many things concurring to lessen his credit, as makes it very hard to distinguish between what was true and what was false in his deposition. For which reason, I must own that I am the less surprised that the Parliament, after the Revolution, should leave him under a brand, and incapacitate him for being a witness for the future."—p. 121.

If a variety of masters produces equal variety of knowledge, few students have had a better chance for its attainment than young Calamy. From Mr. Doolittle he passed to Merchant Tailors'; from Merchant Tailors' to Bethnal Green with Mr. Walton, an ejected Essex Minister, under whose care he had been placed a few years before. Hence he very nearly crossed the Atlantic with Mr. Charles Morton, who was transplanting a crop of seedling Puritans from Newington to New England. But as his mother refused to part from him, he entered upon the study of Logic, Natural and Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics under Mr. Samuel Cradock, "who kept a private Academy in the County of Suffolk, and had a number of young gentlemen under his tuition, in a house of his own at Wickham-brook, that lies between the towns of Newmarket, Clare and Bury." His course being completed in this distinctly marked locality, he returned again for some months to Mr. Doolittle; and soon after at the recommendation of the well-known Mr. Howe, he repaired to Utrecht. He had a pleasant passage from Harwich to the Brill; and, happily, was the only one of the company who was free from sea-sickness all the way.

But this minor good fortune soon ceased. In his walk from Rotterdam to Utrecht, the young Academician found himself (a rare event for such a character) "uncomfortably cumbered with money." He had exchanged his letter of credit for specie, and having received its whole produce, 20*l.* Sterling, in 28-stiver-pieces, he had burdened his breeches-pockets with more than 200 of the heaviest Dutch copper coins. This was a very *galling* grief, and its consequences might have been most distressing, if the wearied traveller's companions Mr. Kentish and Mr. Bantoft (their benevolence demands this record of their names,) had not, out of pure compassion, relieved him in part from his *embarras des richesses*.

Behold what blessings wealth to life can lend!
And see, what comfort it affords *our end*!

It was in March, 1688 that Calamy settled in Utrecht; a time at which the preparations for William III's. expedition were fast ripening. How well the Prince's object was known, is plain from the following anecdote.

"But there was one thing relating to the matter which at that time made a noise in Holland, which was the dream of a certain Quaker, that was published that year, a few months after my settlement amongst them. He said he dreamt, that the Prince of Orange, with a good naval and land force, sailed from Holland towards England, and was shattered, and driven back by storm; and that, being in a little time refitted, he sailed again, and landed in England, met with little opposition, was crowned King, and the nation flourished exceedingly under him. This printed dream being shown to the Prince, it was said, that he should reply that the man knew more than he; but, when the event proved answerable, great notice was taken of it."—p. 148.

For the first part of his dream, the Quaker might be indebted to little more than that quiet and sagacious observation which characterizes his sect. The latter half, for which he would doubtless claim immediate spiritual admonition, we cannot but allow to have been a singularly lucky hit.

From M. de Vries, the Chief Philosophy Professor, besides the sciences more immediately belonging to his chair, Calamy learned to clothe himself "alike both in hot weather and cold" not "varying in the number and heaviness of garments in Summer and Winter," and to wear "green spectacles that did not at all magnify." Professor Leydekker was a warm man, not over judicious; and "when the students desired to have any thing explained to them out of the usual course, he would be commonly in a passion." "Leusden was a pleasant old gentleman," and Grævius "a slovenly good-humoured man." Having duly attended the classes of these learned Thebans, visited many parts of Holland, and narrowly escaped being frozen alive in a sledge, from which catastrophe he was chiefly saved by two quarters of brandy, and a pipe of tobacco, Calamy returned to England in May 1691. In his passage from Helvoetsluys, the packet sprang a leak, and the water gained on it so fast that all supposed she must be lost. To the great surprise of the captain, it was checked at a moment of the utmost danger, without any known cause; nor did he discover till he came to land, that a fish had been violently forced into the leak, upon which it acted as a plug. In one other respect Calamy was less fortunate. He had tossed his whole harvest of Academical diligence, the MS. notes of the Lectures which he had attended, with sundry more immediate necessities, into a rye-bag, all these he left behind him, and sought in vain to recover them.

He now fixed himself at Oxford, not as a regular student, for on account of his refusal to subscribe the XXXIX Articles, matriculation was impossible; but as an *outrigger*, to profit by the Libraries, and to pick up such crumbs as might fall from the table. His reading while in the University seems to have produced very odd effects. Every body knows that Chillingworth in his progress to Truth, passed through many varieties of error; and it can be little doubted that to his intimate acquaintance with the weakness of such doctrines as he did not reject till after the most close and subtile examination, we are mainly indebted for the irresistible strength wherewith he supports the system which he ultimately adopted, upon conviction. The very abundance of unregulated power, and the restlessness of inquiry which so often besets great intellects not yet arrived at maturity, in early youth had driven him from Socinianism into yet wider scepticism. The step from doubting every thing to believing every thing, is one of the easiest which the human mind can take; and it is no matter of surprise, that the ingenuity of the Jesuit Fisher succeeded in misleading an ardent youth, who was anxious to free himself from that most comfortless of all moral conditions, suspense of opinion, into a reliance upon Infallibility. One of the many good works of Laud, was the reconversion of his godson; and never let it be forgotten that it was mainly through the persevering zeal, and tender concern of the Archbishop, whom it has been the fashion to stigmatize as a Papist in disguise, that Chillingworth, one of the most esteemed champions of Protestantism, shook off the trammels of Rome. It was after the publication of his great Work that he refused preferment, from conscientious doubts as to the propriety of Subscription; and his chief objections, as we learn from himself, were to the Athanasian Creed, and the response after the IVth Commandment; which last he considered as pledging those who used it to an observation of the abolished Jewish Sabbath. Let any one read his admirable letter to Sheldon, and decide from its single-hearted and high-minded spirit, whether the writer who could resist such temptation as then assailed him, was ever likely to change his opinion unless from the deepest and sincerest conviction? Whether any worldly motive can be supposed to have induced his subsequent Conformity? He writes as follows, in September, 1635, to his friend and counsellor, " Good Mr. Sheldon, I do here send you news, as unto my best friend, of a great and happy victory which at length with extreme difficultie I have scarcely obtained over the onely enimie that can hurt me, that is myselfe. Sir, so it is, that though I am in debt to yourselfe and others of my friends above twenty pounds more than I know how to pay; though I am in want of many conveniences;

though in danger of falling into a chronicall infirmities of my body; though in another thing, which you perhaps guess at what it is, but I will not tell you, which would make me more joyfull of preferment than all these things, if I could come honestlie by it; though money comes to me from my father's purse, like blood from his veins, or from his heart; though I am very sensible that I have been too long an unprofitable burden to my lord and must not still continue so; though my refusing preferment may perhaps (which fear I assure you does much affect me) be injurious to my friends and intimate acquaintance, and prejudicial to them in the way of theirs; though conscience of my own good intention and desire suggests unto me many flattering hopes of great possibilitie of doing God and his Church service, if I had the preferment which I may fairly hope for; though I may justly fear that by refusing those preferments I sought for, I shall gain the reputation of weakenesse and levity, and incur their displeasure, whose good opinion, next to God's favour and my own good opinion of myselfe, I do esteem and desire above all things; though all those and many other *terribiles visu formæ* have represented themselves to my imagination in the most hideous manner that may be; yet I am at length firmly and immoveably resolved that if I can have no preferment without Subscription, that I neither can nor will have any. For this resolution I have but one reason against a thousand temptations to the contrary; but it is ἐν μέγα, against which if all the little reasons in the world were put in the balance, they would be lighter than vanity. In brief, this it is, as long as I keep that modest and humble assurance of God's love and favour which I now enjoy, and wherein I hope I shall be daily more and more confirmed, so long, in despite of all the world, I may, and shall, and will be happy. But if I once lose this, though all the world should conspire to make me happy, I shall and must be extremely miserable."

Poverty, debt, sickness, the burthensomeness of obligation, the fear of wearying friends, the prospect of wealth, of fame, of utility, of the gratification of honourable love, were some of the "little reasons" which were to be thrown into the scale against conscience. And by this standard Chillingworth was weighed, and was not found wanting. Nevertheless within three years after the above letter had been written, he Subscribed; and who shall affirm that he did so at the expense of his integrity? We think the process of his honest and upright change of opinion is sufficiently clear. In this same letter he avows "I do verily believe the Church of England a true member of the Church; that she wants nothing necessary to Salvation, and holds nothing repugnant to it." In one who could make this declaration, the

obstacles to entire Conformity could not be many. We have already touched upon his chief scruples, and these doubtless were removed by his subsequent correspondence with Sheldon, which though not preserved, is known to have been continued to great length; and to his own more accurate meditation and inquiry. We cannot hesitate to believe that when in 1638 he affixed his signature *volens et ex animo* to the XXXIX Articles, it was done with the same unmitigated veracity, the same holy love of Truth, and the same Christian sincerity which marked every other transaction of his life.

In our eyes, Chillingworth is far from needing any apology. If consistency be nothing else but obstinate perseverance in error, after a discovery that it is such, there is little in it to be admired or that can be called a virtue. We may be told, indeed, of shifting with the wind, and of obeying the current of popular breath; but these common-place and vulgar illustrations are quite inapplicable to the case before us; and even as regards their general usage, it may be asked, what is the benefit of that vane which is too heavy or too stiff to turn? which cheats the gazer's eye by pointing Northward, when the gale is from the South? and which in spite of its maker's design, and its own duty, inflexibly continues in that direction which is wrong? We are far from defending or palliating that disgraceful abandonment of avowed, well-weighed and long-espoused principle, which is sometimes prompted by supposed expediency; and which, while it destroys the character of the renegado himself, does not strengthen the new cause which he has been seduced to adopt. We look with just suspicion upon the weak and wavering, the inconstant and intriguing, the tricksters and the time-servers, who for the most part are the subjects of a sudden conversion on leading questions, be these what they may. *Neque enim potest quisquam nostrum subitò fingi, neque cujusquam repentè vita mutari, aut natura converti.* But in Chillingworth the change was gradual; he had time enough to discover that the scruples which he once entertained were based on sand, and he had sufficient energy, honesty and moral courage to proclaim and to act upon this conviction. The same great and wise observer of human nature, whose words we have just borrowed, may again be cited as justifying and authorizing such a course. *Quam bellum est velle confiteri potius nescire quod nescias, quam ista effutientem nauseare, atque ipsum sibi displicere.* Chillingworth's own nervous words while defending his former extrication from Popery, may be equally applied to his adoption of the Church of England. To us they appear to be unanswerable. "This man thinks himself no more to blame for all these changes, than a traveller who, using all diligence to find the right way to some remote city where

he had never been (as the party I speak of had never been in heaven) did yet mistake it, and after finde his error and amend it. Nay, he stands upon his justification so farre as to maintain that his alterations not only to you, but also from you, by God's mercy, were the most satisfactory actions to himselfe that ever he did, and the greatest victories that ever he obtained over himselfe and his affections to those things which in this world are most precious; as wherein for God's sake, and as he was verily persuaded out of love to the truth, he went upon a certain expectation of those inconveniences, which to ingenuous natures are of all the most terrible."

We have dwelt at some length upon this point, because it is with no small surprise that we find Calamy stating that certain passages in the *Religion of Protestants* appeared to him "to go a great way towards the justification of moderate Non-conformity." Now, we believe that during the composition of that great Work, the question of Conformity was very little, if at all present to its author's mind. Yet more, that so far from having *then* determined *not* to conform, even after its publication he had "sought" (as the above letter testifies) preferment in the Established Church, and that it was only upon the near approach of such preferment that having set himself to examine the objections against Subscription, with that tenderness and sensitiveness of spirit which always marked him, he hesitated awhile and declined. Surely the excellent but not very logical Calamy may as well advance the *Religion of Protestants* as an argument *for* Conformity to the Church of Rome, as *against* Conformity to the Church of England.

Hooker, also, whom Calamy read about the same time, he found "rather a verbose than a convincing writer." When he "had gone through his whole Work with some care," he rather found himself "more dissatisfied to fall in with our National way and method than before." So too in Jeremy Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*, he discovered "such concessions as go a great way towards justifying Non-conformity to the English Establishment;" and that "adhering to his (Taylor's) principles, he could not help being a Dissenter from the English Establishment." The prime-movers therefore in determing Calamy's bias against the Church of England were Chillingworth, Hooker and Jeremy Taylor! There is no answering for the Chemical change which may be wrought even in the costliest and purest substances when once cast into the furnace or the alembic. That which has entered a diamond may be dismissed as a coal, and the most fragrant aromatic may be evaporated as a fetid and deleterious gas. For the diseased body, abstinence, even from otherwise wholesome and nutritious food, is far better than an indigestible meal; and to the hand unacquainted

with its use, a weapon of defence may prove destruction. It was no doubt on these principles that the sagacious Tom Boggy reasoned, when he offered that admonitory caution in his *First Letter to the Canon of Windsor*, with which it might have been well if Calamy had been furnished, whenever he addressed himself to the study of Ecclesiastical Doctrine or Discipline as taught by the soundest writers. "My dear friend," says honest Tom, with equal humility, good-humour and penetration, "My dear friend, I am always afraid when either you or I meddle with Learning or Scripture."*

A single word here in regard to Hooker; in order to rebut one of the most monstrous perversions into which the spirit of Sectarianism ever betrayed a Partizan. "That author," says Calamy, (i. 245) "commended Calvin for establishing Presbytery at Geneva, and *questioned the Divine right of Episcopacy*." He has been too wise to support this *mistake* by any reference to the great name which he has injured; but Mr. John Towill Rutt, less discreet in his zeal, has boldly advanced two passages as vouchers. The first, as may be supposed, is the well-known and well-merited approbation bestowed upon Calvin, in the Preface to the *Ecclesiastical Polity*; not certainly, as Calamy and his Editor would imply, for establishing Presbytery *in the abstract*; but for having saved Geneva from complete anarchy in things Spiritual—for having bestowed upon her *some* form and *some* discipline, at a moment in which she was wholly without Ecclesiastical Government. The Bishop and Clergy had been chased away by the tumultuous fury of a rabble, undistinguishing in its condemnation of all that belonged to Rome; and unable to separate those points in which she still was a member of the true Church, from the abuses and the errors which she had so plentifully grafted upon it. To restore Episcopacy was not in Calvin's power, even if it had been in his will; the rightful Bishop would not have been readmitted; and to choose another was manifestly impossible, and contrary to the spirit of the institution. That which Calvin did, and which earned him Hooker's praise, we will learn from Hooker's own words, "For Spiritual Gouvernement they had no Lawes at all agreed upon, but did what the Pastors of their soules by persuasion could winne them unto. Calvine being admitted one of their Preachers and a Divinitie-reader amongst them, considered how dangerous it was that the whole estate of that Church should hang still on so slender a thread, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it have power to change whatsoever itself listeth." Under this wise and reasonable conviction he gave to Geneva, not that which Hooker considered the best or most Scriptural form of

* W. King's *Miscellanies*, ii. 272.

Church Polity, but one the least deviating from such a form which her unhappy circumstances permitted. When the hurricane is raging round a stranded vessel, and the sea breaks over her sides, so that she is fast sinking, both from the fury of the elements and the insubordination of her crew, that man is justly entitled to applause, for his wisdom and his courage, who restores comparative order, and puts together a raft upon which the otherwise perishing mariners may be saved. But who would think of assimilating the misshapen, unsightly timbers, which are the contrivance of necessity, and the resource of despair, to that masterpiece of skill and invention, that triumph of mechanism, which is exhibited in the stupendous and well compacted frame-work of "some tall admiral!" Ulysses, when he had no other means of return to his beloved home, was content to trust himself to a rude float; but it was not without misgiving as to its sea-worthiness, and assuredly not with any preference over the gallant bark which had borne him to Ogygia.

σχεδὴν περᾶν μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης
Δεινὸν τ' ἀργαλέον τε.

For the second assertion, which we repeat with the most unfeigned astonishment, that Hooker QUESTIONED THE DIVINE RIGHT OF EPISCOPACY, Mr. John Towill Rutt advances that the author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* was "satisfied to represent 'the sacred regiment of Bishops to have been ordained of God, as any kind of Government in the world whatsoever is of God.'" And how, we may ask, could he represent it otherwise? If the "Powers that be" are all "ordained of God," and Episcopacy is one of these Powers, how shall it be excluded from the condition of its fellows? But does Hooker say nothing more specific as to the origin of Episcopacy? does he leave it thus generally classed? is he "satisfied" with so vague a representation? or does he not, on the contrary, frequently, pointedly and positively, declare it to be an Apostolic institution? We are almost ashamed to return an answer; or to imagine for a single moment that any one who ventures to name his name should be so far ignorant of the main object and leading tenor of his mighty labors, as to meet our question even with a doubt. We will open the *Ecclesiastical Polity* nearly at random. The answer shall not be taken from the *Seventh Book*. Almost the first passage which strikes our eye, is couched in the following words "It clearly appeareth that Churches Apostolike did know but three degrees in the power of Ecclesiastical Order, at the first, Apostles, Presbyters and Deacons, and afterwards, INSTEAD OF APOSTLES, BISHOPS,"* and a little below "there are at this day in the Church of England, no other than the same

* Book v. p. 423, Ed. 1617.

degrees of Ecclesiastical Order, namely Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, which HAD THEIR BEGINNING FROM CHRIST AND HIS BLESSED APOSTLES THEMSELVES.”* What is to be said of the memories which are treacherous enough to have forgotten these strong declarations? Was the *Ecclesiastical Polity* in Calamy's time castrated for the Conventicle? and must we now seek Mr. John Towill Rutt's justification from some edition of it *juxta exemplar et in usum Claptonianum*?

But we pass on to Calamy's entrance upon active life. He had now determined for Non-conformity, and at nearly 21 years of age, he began to preach before a select company in Mr. Oldfield's dwelling-house, at Oxford, and elsewhere in the neighbourhood, as occasion presented itself. Not long after this commencement, having been entrapped into a sermon at Andover, he encountered an adventure so characteristic of Puritan habits, that we shall give it at length. In that town were two parties, Presbyterians and Congregationals, using a common Meeting house.

“The Meeting-house was, at that time, in Mr. Bradband's back yard, through which I passed upon my coming out of the pulpit, the people making a lane for me, and thanking me for my good sermon, as I moved along towards the parlour, which, to my no small surprise, I found when I came to it, to be full of men, women, and children. I was no sooner sat down than I was in the name of all the company applied to by a grave old woman in a high-crowned hat, who, thanking me very civilly for my pains, told me, that she verily believed it was a special providence that sent me thither at that time, among a people that were unhappily destitute, but who thirsted for the Word of God, and were disposed, according to their ability, to be very kind to a minister that would settle with them, and break the bread of life among them, which she hoped I might be prevailed upon to do.

“It was with some difficulty that I kept my countenance, and forbore smiling at this sort of treatment, that was so little expected. But, composing myself, I told her that I was very young, and by no means for engaging in any pastoral work as yet, but was determined, and that upon the weightiest reasons, and with the best advice, to continue for some time preaching only occasionally, and pursuing my studies closely in order to laying in a good stock of useful knowledge, by which I might hope to be fitted for the greater and more extensive service in the Church of God. To this I added, that the people of Andover and I were utter strangers to each other, and neither did they know me, nor I them; and, therefore, I could not think such a hasty motion to be at all proper. Finally, I told her, that though that single sermon of mine had happened to please them, (at which I was heartily glad,) yet that for any thing that either they or I knew, my sentiments and theirs might be so different, as that my stated preaching might not be at all acceptable to them, and my settling with them might be wholly improper and unadvisable.

* Book v. p. 423. Ed. 1617.

"The old woman replied, 'that my character was known to them, and they had now had a taste of my ministerial gifts, and could trust God as to the rest.' 'As for them,' she said, 'it was well known they were a very serious, united, and harmonious people, and much inclined to love their ministers; and I might be very happy with them, as she believed they did not doubt but they might be with me.'" She said, "that one argument she had, to induce me to listen to the motion that she made, was this. They had a good number of promising young Christians in that town and about it, that were just in their bloom, who she verily believed would flourish in religion exceedingly, if they were but under the inspection and conduct of such a one as I was. There was, indeed, a sprinkling of old Christians among them, who, it was to be hoped, had something in them that was good. But they were many of them sadly declined, and grown lukewarm, and religion had no great credit from them, nor could a minister reasonably promise himself much comfort in them.'

"These young Christians she greatly applauded, and then expressed herself in this manner. 'Sir, I perceive you have great prospects, and I cannot say but according to human views you may have reasons for them: but I beseech you do not despise the earnest request of the people of God in this place. You must allow me to say to you, as old Farel did to young Calvin, when he had him at Geneva, and was endeavouring to prevail with him to stay there, that if you offer to go any farther, the blessing of God will not follow you.'

"Upon this, an aged man that was present, not being pleased with her reflections on the old Christians at Andover, cried out, 'Come, come, mother, do not bear so hard on the old Christians among us. We have stood to our principles in a time of trial, and have suffered for the sake of our consciences, and kept our ground; and I hope some of us do bring forth fruit even in old age: whereas these young ones that you so much applaud, have not yet been tried, and there is no knowing what they will prove. Though it is to be hoped that some of them may answer expectations, yet it is to be feared that a number of them who now promise fair, if new troubles upon the account of religion should arise, would drop off like rotten leaves in autumn.'

"I had never before been engaged in such conversation, and, therefore, was much at a loss what to say, or how to behave. I was not willing to drop any thing affronting, and yet hardly knew how to avoid it. At length, having recollected myself a little, I made the good old woman this return: 'Mother,' said I, 'you were just now telling me what an harmony and good agreement there is amongst you here at Andover; whereas, I find, by what has been offered since, that you cannot agree among yourselves, which are best, the old Christians or the young. But leaving it to you to determine that, at your leisure, allow me, who heartily wish well both to young and old, to make one motion, your falling in with which, would (in my apprehension) add not a little to your flourishing, and to harmony and good agreement. I understand that there is an old gentleman in your neighbourhood an eminent divine, (whose books I am not worthy to carry after him,) who preaches to you in this town every other Lord's day. Fix him wholly amongst you,

and ease him of the trouble of going in his advanced age to preach at Winchester once a fortnight ; and as you will this way pay but a decent respect to one of his great worth, so I should think you would take a step that would much promote the interest of piety and charity.'

"The old woman seemed perfectly astonished at my proposal, and cried out, 'What, Mr. Sprint! old Mr. Sprint! Alas, he is a Baxterian! he is a middle way man! he is an occasional Conformist! he is neither fish nor flesh, nor good red herring!' Upon this I could not forbear smiling, and said, 'Mother, mother, he is a good man and great! he is a-moving apace towards Heaven himself, and helping others thither too; and he is well fitted for it. You do not to me discover your wisdom in reflecting on a man of his worth and eminence. However,' said I, (who was willing to be a little plain before parting, and to leave something with her in her own vulgar language that might stick and abide by her,) 'such carriage to him would never, while the world stands, induce me to listen to such a motion as yours. For the very same names as you give to him now, would you in a little time give to me, and, perhaps, yet worse; crying that you had got out of the frying-pan into the fire.'

"With this our discourse broke off, and she only said farther, 'Nay, Sir, if it be so, then I wish you a good night,' and she dropped me a courtesy, and went off. The rest soon followed her, and left me alone, and gave me no farther disturbance. The next morning I waited on Mr. Sprint at Clatford, where he lived, and gave him an account of what had passed the night before. I found him a very venerable old gentleman, and very frank and pleasant in conversation. He was much diverted with my relation, and gave me an account what difficulties he had met with among that people, but without any heat or passion."—vol. i. p. 304.—310.

Bristol was his next scene of display; but the metropolis in the end (1694) received him, as assistant to good Mr. Sylvester at Blackfriars. After a short probation, he thought it requisite to be ordained; for the Dissenters of those days made a previous trial of the Ministry before they entered upon it, as we have read of certain wary half-savages comporting themselves respecting marriage. No public ordination had taken place since the passing of the act of Uniformity in 1662, but Calamy and his friend Reynolds both resolved upon such open admission. Howe, one of the gentlest and honestest of their party, encouraged them at first; but declined preaching on the occasion, and recommended them to apply to another Minister, who also excused himself. In the end, after consulting Lord Somers, Howe, refused to have any concern at all in the matter. Dr. Bates acted much in the same manner; and when Calamy, suspecting him of a design to shuffle, pressed him with great closeness and earnestness, he confessed, under a promise of strict secrecy, some hindrance peculiar to himself. At length, "after a good deal of trouble and diffi-

culty" six Ministers were prevailed upon to assist at the service, which occupied no less than eight hours in its performance.

Matrimony succeeded in due course—the bride was the daughter of a dealer "in Yorkshire clothes and Kersys—she had universally a good character, was a member of Mr. John Shower's congregation, of a singular good temper, and one of my own mother's recommending." Calamy was now concerned in arranging Baxter's *Life and Times* for the press, and he seems to have exercised the pruning-hook somewhat freely. First, he amputated an elogium upon Mr. Sylvester, the nominal editor; next, certain offensive reflections on persons and families of distinction; then one of the author's dreams, a particular account of "his bodily disorders and physical management of himself, and some other things that were too mean;" and lastly some strong remarks upon Dr. Owen. If the original MS. were now in existence, its collation with the printed copies might furnish some curious discoveries.

This posthumous connection with Baxter led to one of the most remarkable passages in Calamy's history; remarkable as a proof, if any such were wanting, of the facility with which men, not otherwise bad, are able to deceive themselves as to the rectitude of their conduct, whenever a favorite object is to be attained. There is no ground for insinuating, that in his average habits and transactions, Calamy was otherwise than honest; yet we shall perceive him, in order to promote the cause of his sect and party, not only stooping to a mean and petty fraud in his own person; but moreover enacting the part of the Tempter, and practising upon the necessities of a poor mechanic, to seduce him from his integrity. Not the least strange portion of this story is, the entire want of shame with which it is related. No apology is offered, no sophistry is employed to varnish it; but it is openly and naturally exhibited without a suspicion of its dirtiness; and the perpetrator of the knavery chuckles over his swindling trick, with as much self-approbation and complacency as if he were the narrator of some deed which reflected credit upon his memory.

In 1702, he was employed to publish an abridgment of Baxter's life with a continuation of the History of Non-conformity till the year 1691.

"But before I ventured into the press with a work that seemed not unlikely to draw some consequences after it, after hearing that my Lord Clarendon's History was printing at Oxford, I was desirous, if it could be compassed, to get a sight of that long expected work, that if I found it at all clashed with Mr. Baxter's Historical Account I had abridged, I might either soften matters by marginal notes, or provide myself with what vouchers I could get in support of the particulars of Mr. Baxter's Narrative.

“Happening, about this time, to go down as far as Newbury with some friends who were travelling to the Bath, I turned off to Oxford, designing to keep myself as private there as I was able. I took up my lodging at an inn where I was wholly unknown, kept out of sight of my acquaintance both in the town and University, and went the next morning early to a coffee-house near the theatre, where I was a perfect stranger, and inquired whether any person that worked in the printing press under the theatre frequented the house. I was told some of them did drop in there now and then, but their coming was wholly uncertain. I begged that if any such person lodged in the neighbourhood they would send to him and let him know that one at their house would willingly give him his morning's draught there, if he would come and give him some account what books they had lately printed and were now upon. They sent accordingly, and a workman presently came.

“Discoursing with him about their press, he, though very particular in other respects, said not a word of the work of my Lord Clarendon's which I was so desirous to see. Whereupon, I enquired if Lord Chancellor Hyde's *History of the Civil War*, presented to the University of Oxford by his son, the Lord Clarendon, when, in the reign of King James, he was made their high steward, was not at that time printing there? He told me it was, and they had made a good advance in printing it, but it was managed with all imaginable secrecy. I asked the reason of that great secrecy, and inquired whether it was not a possible thing to prevail with some of the workmen concerned, for a piece of money, to let a person, that out of curiosity was desirous to see what was printed, have a sight of the sheets printed off, and of some of the copy; and intimated I should not be ungrateful if he would help me to such a man's company.

“He replied, that he knew no other reason of the secrecy, but the fear of those concerned, lest some intriguing London bookseller, getting the sheets into his hands, should print it in a smaller form, to their damage who were engaged in the expensive and pompous edition in their theatre. My answer was, that though perhaps there might be occasion for a fear of that nature, could such a person get all the sheets into his hands as they were printed, yet I could not see what danger could attend the gratifying any that were curious, with the sight of the sheets, in the presence of a workman.

“He told me that no such thing could be obtained without the leave of the Dean of Christ Church; and that no one could venture to give a sight of any of it without hazarding the loss of his place, which he was not willing to do himself, nor did he know any one that was. I pressed no farther, but he withdrew, and I returned to my inn, and kept private there, considering with myself what step to take next.

“At length, I sent for a perwig-maker with whom I had formerly had some acquaintance, and told him my design in coming at that time to Oxford, which I desired him to keep to himself, and inquired of him whether he could not find me out a workman among those in the theatre, whose circumstances were low and strait, and who found it hard to provide for his wife and children, and to keep the wolf, as we say, from the

door, that upon the prospect of a little good eating and drinking, and a piece of money in his pocket, might be prevailed with to help me to the sight of the printed sheets of Lord Clarendon, &c.

“ After a little pause, he told me, he believed he could find such a person as I described, would seek for him, and soon let me know with certainty whether I might not depend upon him to answer my end, and so withdrew. When he returned, he brought me a Dutchman, that was a daily workman at the press there, whose straits were great; and upon discoursing with him, I soon found I should have no difficulty in prevailing with him to help me to the sight of any thing that I desired that was within his reach.

“ This person told me he supposed I was the London bookseller, who had betimes that morning sent for one of their servants to the Coffee house, and made such particular enquiries about Lord Clarendon's History, earnestly desiring a sight of it. Withal, he intimated that that fellow, at his return, had given a very particular account of what had passed, seeming to think he had merited by his good conduct. I gave him to understand I was no bookseller, but was desirous to see what of Lord Clarendon's work was printed, if I could compass it, because I had an historical work that was just ready for the press, relating to the very times which my Lord gave an account of; and therefore should be confirmed if I found Lord Clarendon's account of particulars agreed with mine. Whereas, if I found a clashing in any thing material, it would be requisite for me to be provided with vouchers, (the best I could get) in order to my support: and I promised him if he would comply with my desire, and tarry with me while I was running over what he brought me, I would give him meat and drink to his satisfaction, and a piece of money at last, to carry home to his poor wife and children.

“ He told me, he both could and would answer my desires, but insisted on it, that I should keep myself still private; and that if I this way discovered any thing of which I made public use, I should conceal his name, who helped me to the sight of any sheets before the work was published. Hereupon he retired, promising to be with me again in two hours time; and when he returned, he brought with him some part of the copy, and all the sheets that were at that time printed off.

“ As to the copy of this celebrated work, in what of it I saw, I observed a good number of alterations and interlineations, which were very discernibly made by several hands, one of which he told me was the hand of Dr. Aldrich, the Dean of Christ Church. Sometimes whole paragraphs were scratched or blotted out, and others added in their room. A late writer says, ‘ it is suspected that the Lord Clarendon's History was very much altered by the editors at Oxford. That the original manuscript is interpolated, and rased in several places, I believe I have good reason to suspect.’ From what I saw, I am very much inclined to be of the same thoughts.

“ The Dutchman told me, that as soon as a sheet was printed, the first proof was carried to Dr. Aldrich; and when he had corrected it, the next proof was sent to the Earl of Rochester, who was the last cor-

rector of it. When it came from him it was wrought off. I cannot indeed say that that which I saw was the original manuscript, but rather a transcript. Yet, passing through divers hands before the sheets were printed off, it may well enough be supposed, that before it saw the light it might, as to a great many particulars, be very different, both from the transcript and the original manuscript. So that, notwithstanding that formal expression in the preface to the first volume of this work, in these words, 'they who put forth this history dare not take upon them to make any alterations in a work of this kind, solemnly left with them to be published, whenever it should be published, as it was delivered to them,' I yet cannot see how we can have any great dependence as to the genuineness of many passages in it.

"The printed sheets brought to me went almost to the end of the first volume, in folio. I ran them cursorily over by the next morning, so as to have good satisfaction that, as far as the work was then carried, there was no great difference in matters of fact between my Lord and Mr. Baxter.

"My Dutchman seemed not ill-pleased with the entertainment I gave him, and with what I put into his hands at parting. And my book-sellers, on acquainting them with what I had done, made no difficulty of reimbursing me. This passage, among several others in my *Life*, fully convinced me, that a silver key, rightly applied, would let into such things as people, at the first view, were apt to think could not be come at."—vol., i. pp. 442—452.

Upon the moral nature of this transaction we need not offer a single comment. The *Periwig-maker*, the *Dutchman*, and *Calamy*, must share its merit among them; and by far the largest portion belongs to the last of the three. Of the alterations in the original edition of *Clarendon's History*, we entertain a very strong opinion; namely, that in the face of the solemn declaration to the contrary, voluntarily offered by the sons of the noble writer, they were utterly unjustifiable. How far certain omissions, a suppression of passages needlessly offensive to private feeling, and not affecting the sacred truth of *History*; and the occasional curtailment of, perhaps, a splenetic epithet, which the better judgment of the author himself might have struck out on after-consideration—how far such variations from the original MS. were desirable or demanded, we shall not stop to inquire; nor that they were so, are we inclined to contest. The editor of every posthumous work must be permitted some exercise of discretion; but it is a discretion which involves him in the deepest responsibility; and all principles of honour, integrity, and truth, bind him to declare what and how much he has changed; and, above all, not to throw dust in his readers' eyes, by avouching identity where he has made extensive alterations.

Calamy's objections to *Clarendon* may easily be anticipated. He dislikes the title of his *History*; and it is natural that he

should do so, for it speaks an unpleasant truth in the ears of those Sectarians who had blown the trumpet of Civil fury, who still lingered on its echoes, and who desired nothing more earnestly than to renew its pestilent blasts. Whatever may be the opinions entertained respecting many of the acts and much of the policy of Charles I. (and there are some of these, doubtless, which the most loyal bosom must regret and condemn,) the contest which unthroned and murdered him, which dissolved the framework of Religion and Government, ought never to be spoken of under any other title than that of the "Great Rebellion;" and we trust that the day is far distant in which the insidious vocabulary of Revolution shall substitute a milder term. Again, Calamy dislikes the contempt wherewith the Presbyterians and the Scots are mentioned. Does he forget that the Presbyterians, though they did not lift the axe, yet tied the hands of the martyred victim? that the "vermin" Scots sold him to the executioner? He cannot abide the coarse treatment of the Long Parliament—Alas! is it Clarendon's fault or his excellence that his dark figures stand out in bold relief?

Our next extract relates to a widely different character from Lord Clarendon. It is long, but it is very interesting, and we see no reason to mistrust the anecdote. The narrative was related to Calamy by the chief actor in it, Mr. Story, a merchant of some substance, who had been actively engaged and taken prisoner in Monmouth's Rebellion; and who, as a last resource, applied to a friend, Mr. Brough, a linen-draper in Cheapside, who had been well acquainted with Jeffreys, when he was Common Sergeant and Recorder, to solicit in his behalf.

"Mr. Brough, to help him in his trouble, waited on the Lord Chief Justice one morning at his levee, and stood in the hall among a good number of waiters, who were attending there upon different accounts. At length a pair of folding doors flew open, and my Lord appeared, and took a general view of the waiting crowd, and soon spied Mr. Brough, who was taller than any near him, and was by the rest of the company thought a much happier man than they, in that, though he was at a considerable distance, he was yet singled out from among them, particularly called to, saluted with great familiarity, and taken into the drawing-room, upon which the folding-doors were again fast closed.

"They were no sooner alone, than my Lord fell to questioning Mr. Brough, saying, 'I prithee, Robin, to what is it that I must ascribe this morning's visit?' Mr. Brough made answer, that he had business that way, and was willing to take the opportunity of inquiring after his Lordship's welfare. 'No, no, Robin,' said my Lord, 'I am not to be put off with such flams as that. I'll venture an even wager thy business is with me, and thou art come to solicit on behalf of some snivelling Whig or fanatic that is got into Lob's pound yonder in the west. But

I can tell thee beforehand, for thy comfort, as I have done several others, that it will be to no purpose, and therefore thou mightest as well have spared thy labour.'

" 'But pray, why so, my Lord?' said Mr. Brough. 'Supposing that should be the case, I hope as they have not been all alike guilty, and some may have been drawn in by others, it is not designed that all shall fare alike.'

" 'Yes, yes, Robin,' says my Lord, 'they are all villains and rebels alike, all unfit for mercy, and they must be alike hanged up, that the nation may be clear of such vermin; or else,' said he, 'we should find, now they are worsted and clapped up, that they were all drawn in, and we shall have none to make examples of justice to the terrifying of others. But, I prithee, Robin,' said my Lord, 'who art thou come to solicit for? Let me know in a word.'

" Says he, 'My Lord, it is an honest fellow, with whom I have been a considerable dealer; one with whom your Lordship and I have taken many a bottle when time was; and one that besides is so much in my debt, that if he is not somehow or other brought off, I am like to be several hundred pounds the worse. It is Story, my Lord, whom your Lordship cannot but remember.'

" 'Ah, poor Story!' said my Lord, 'he is caught in the field, and put in the pound. Right enough served: he should have kept farther off; and you should have taken care not to have dealt with such wretches. But he must have his due among the rest,' said my Lord; 'and you must thank yourself for the loss you sustain.'

" 'Well, but I hope your Lordship,' said Mr. Brough, 'will find some way to bring him off, and help him to a share in the Royal clemency, for which there will doubtless be some scope, that so I mayn't suffer for his fault. I intend, my Lord,' said he, 'to go the circuit with you, and we'll drink a bottle and be merry together every night, if you'll be so good as to give me a little encouragement.'

" 'Nay now, friend Robin,' said my Lord, 'I am sure thou art most wofully out in thy scheme, for that would spoil all. Shouldst thou take that method, thou shouldst certainly see thy friend Story hung upon a gibbet some feet higher than his neighbours, and there could be no room for showing mercy. But take my advice for once, and go thy ways home, and take not the least notice to any one of what has passed. Particularly take care to give no hint to Story himself, or to any one capable of conveying it to him, that there has been any application to me concerning him; and though he should write never so often, give him no answer, either directly or indirectly. If any notice was given him, I should certainly find it out, and be forced to resent it; and the consequence would be, that I should be under a necessity of using him with more severity than I might of myself be inclined to. But keep counsel, say nothing to any one, and leave me to take my own way, and I'll see what can be done.'

" Mr. Brough followed orders, kept all that had passed entirely to himself, and never made Mr. Story any reply. He concluded either that his letters miscarried and never came to hand, or that no mercy could be

had, and therefore lived in expectation of the utmost severity. He dreaded the coming of the Lord Chief Justice, and the sight of him when he was come; and when he appeared before him, he was treated with that peculiar roughness, that he was rather more dispirited than before.

“ When Jeffreys cast his eyes upon him from the bench, he knew him well enough; and he (poor wretch) stood bowing and cringing before him in so suppliant a manner, as that he thought it might have moved any thing but a stone, and looked at him with a piercing earnestness, to try if he could meet with any thing that had the least appearance of remaining compassion; he was, as it were, thunderstruck to hear him, upon pointing to him, cry out in the sternest manner that could be conceived, ‘ What forlorn creature is that that stands there? It is certainly the ugliest creature my eyes ever beheld! What for a monster art thou?’ Poor Story, continuing his bows and cringes, cried out, ‘ Forlorn enough, my Lord, I am very sensible! But my name is Story, and I thought your Lordship had not been wholly ignorant of me.’ ‘ Ay, Story,’ said my Lord, ‘ I confess I have heard enough of thee. Thou art a sanctified rogue! a double-dyed villain! Thou wert a Commissary! and must make speeches forsooth! and now, who so humble and mortified as poor Story. The common punishment is not bad enough for thee! But a double and treble vengeance awaits thee! I’ll give thee thy desert, I’ll warrant thee; and thou shalt have thy bellyful of treason and rebellion before I have done with thee.’

“ The poor man concluded the very worst against himself that could be, and became inconsolable. My Lord’s carriage was much of the same kind, upon his trial afterwards. He railed at him until he foamed at the mouth, and gave him the foulest language, called the hardest names, and used the most cutting reproaches, that were observed in the case of any one that came before him in that place. Yet when others were executed, he was respited, being, as was said, reserved for some severer vengeance. When my Lord left town, his chains were doubled and trebled by order, but his life was left him as a prey: and so great was the misery he endured, that he could hardly think of any thing worse, or imagine what that was which was said to be reserved for him.

“ When he had continued thus for a great while, at length there came orders for the transferring him, with a good guard attending him, to another prison that was somewhat nearer London; and from thence he, after some time, was with great care transferred to another, and so to another, still all the while laden with irons, until at length he was brought up to, and lodged safe in Newgate, where he continued for a great while, confined to a miserable dark hole, not being able to distinguish well between night and day, except towards noon, when by a little crevice of light as he stood on a chest, with his hands extended to the utmost length that his eyes could reach to, he made a shift to read a few verses in an old Bible he had in his pocket, which was his greatest remaining comfort.

“ In this miserable plight his keeper came running to him one day, with abundance of eagerness, saying, ‘ Mr. Story, I have just now gotten

orders to bring you up immediately before the King and Council. Mr. Story, being greatly surprised, begged with the utmost earnestness that he would so far befriend him, as to let him send to his relations for some suitable apparel, and have a barber to trim him, that he might not appear in such a presence in so miserable a plight. The keeper declared that his orders were positive, to bring him in all respects as he was, without any alteration, and that he durst not presume to disobey them. Wherefore he clapped him into a coach as he was, and drove to Whitehall.

"As they were driving thither, and talking about the particulars of his case, the keeper told him he had only one hint to give him, which was this, that if he saw the King at the head of the table in Council, and he should think fit to put any questions to him, which it was not improbable might be his case, it would be his best and wisest way to return a plain and direct answer, without attempting to hide, conceal, or lessen any thing. He thanked him for the advice given, and promised to follow it.

"When he was brought into the Council Chamber, he made so sad and sorrowful a figure, that all present were surprised and frightened; and he had so strong a smell by being so long confined, that it was very offensive. When the King first cast his eyes upon him, he cried out, 'Is that a man? or what else is it?' Chancellor Jeffreys told his Majesty that that was Story, of whom he had given his Majesty so distinct an account. 'Oh! Story,' says the King, 'I remember him. That is a rare fellow, indeed!' Then turning towards him, he talked to him very freely and familiarly.

"'Pray, Mr. Story,' says he, 'you were in Monmouth's army in the West, were you not?' He, according to the advice given him, made answer presently, 'Yes, an't please your Majesty.' 'And you,' said he, 'was a commissary there, were you not?' And he again replied, 'Yes, an't please your Majesty.' 'And you,' said he, 'made a speech before great crowds of people, did you not?' He again very readily answered, 'Yes, an't please your Majesty.' 'Pray,' says the King to him, 'if you haven't forgot what you said, let us have some taste of your fine florid speech. Let us have a specimen of some of the flowers of your rhetoric, and a few of the main things on which you insisted.'

"Whereupon Mr. Story told us that he readily made answer, 'I told them, an it please your Majesty, that it was you that fired the city of London.' 'A rare rogue, upon my word!' said the King. 'And pray what else did you tell them?' 'I told them,' said he, 'and it please your Majesty, that you poisoned your brother.' 'Impudence in the utmost height of it!' said the King. 'Pray let us have something farther, if your memory serves you.' 'I farther told them,' said Mr. Story, 'that your Majesty appeared to be fully determined to make the nation both Papists and slaves.'

"By this time the King seemed to have heard enough of the prisoner's speech, and therefore crying out, 'a rogue with a witness!' and cutting off short, he said, 'to all this I doubt not but a thousand other villainous things were added: but what would you say, Story, if, after all this,

I should grant you your life?' To which he, without any demur, made answer, 'that he should pray heartily for his Majesty as long as he lived.' 'Why then,' says the King, 'I freely pardon all that is past, and hope you will not, for the future, represent your King as inexorable.'—vol. i. pp. 482—490.

In June, 1703, Calamy was chosen by the Congregation of Dissenters at Westminster as their Pastor—an event harbingered neither by an eclipse nor a comet, but which, nevertheless, he attributes, with the accustomed rash arrogance of his Brethren, to a special manifestation of Divine favor. "I had very little acquaintance with the members of the Society, and had seldom preached among them, *which made the hand of Providence the more conspicuous* in their choosing me Pastor with so great unanimity."

The fanaticism of the Camisars or French Prophets, which made no small stir at the commencement of the last century, is now little remembered. Some of them attempted to introduce their new Dispensation into England; and instead of being permitted to languish into the obscurity which all folly, sooner or later, prepares for itself, they were kept alive in public notice by the ill-timed severity of Civil punishment. One of their converts, Sir Richard Bulkeley, a gentleman of small stature but great learning, of upright heart but crooked body, believed that he would become straight by adopting their scheme;—whether he would so or not remains an undecided problem, for he died "before the miracle was wrought upon him, to his no small mortification and disappointment." Another proselyte was Mr. John Lacy, a member,—*proh pudor!* of Calamy's own congregation, who seems to have been a little mad on other points besides those connected with Religion. Calamy gives the following account of one of his fits.

"It was not long after, that as I was dining one day at Mr. Lacy's, he, soon after the beginning of dinner, rose up on a sudden, caught hold of the table, as designing to keep himself from falling, walked up stairs, and shut the door after him. I was a little surprised, and asked Mrs. Lacy the meaning of this proceeding. She told me he was going into his agitations. I asked whether, in such cases, she did not apprehend it proper he should have one to look after him, and prevent his falling? She told me, she did not find there was any occasion for it, nor did he like it. She farther told me, that he expected (she believed) that I should go up and see him in his agitations.

"We continued discoursing on the matter till dinner was over. I asked Mrs. Lacy whether she could help me to a place where I could see him, and observe how he managed himself while he was thus alone, without being seen. She told me there was a convenient place, above, for that purpose; a closet between the fore and back chamber, with a

glass door, where I might stand and see and make my remarks, without being discerned; and if I trod softly, I might also be unheard. Here-upon I offered to go, if she would bear me company, which she freely did.

"I went as softly as I could to this glass door, and stood there a good while, and saw him seated upon an easy chair by the bed-side, with his back towards me, heaving to and fro; and heard a humming noise, but no sound that was at all distinct. I asked Mrs. Lacy whether that was all I was like to see and hear. She told me she believed I could expect no more, continuing there; but she was satisfied he expected I would come in to him, and then she doubted not but I should see and hear more.

"Accordingly I went into the room where he sate, and walked up to him, and asked how he did, and took him by the hand and lifted it up, and it fell down flat upon his knees as it lay before. He took no notice of me, nor made me any answer; but I observed the humming noise grew louder by degrees, and the heaving in his breast increased, till it came up to his throat, as if it would have suffocated him. Then he at last proceeded to speak, or as he would have it taken, the Spirit spake in him. The speech was syllabical, and there was a distinct heave and breathe between each syllable; but it required attention to distinguish the words. I shall here add it, as far as my memory serves:—

" 'Thou—hast—been—my—faith—ful—ser—vant;—and—I—have—ho—nour—ed—thee.—But—I—do—not—take—it—well—that—thou—slight—est—and—op—pos—est—my—ser—vants—and—mes—sen—gers.—If—thou—wilt—fall—in—with—these—my—ser—vants,—thou—shalt—do—great—things—in—this—dis—pen—sa—tion;—and—I—will—use—thee—as—a—glo—ri—ous—in—stru—ment—to—my—praise,—and—I—will—take—care—of—thee—and—thine.—But—if—thou—go—est—on—to—op—pose—my—ser—vants,—thou—wilt—fall—un—der—my—se—vere—dis—plea—sure.'

"When the speech was over, the humming and heaving gradually abated. I again took him by the hand, and felt his pulse, which moved quick; but I could not perceive by his hands more than common heat. I again asked him how he did. After some time he rose up, shook himself, and rubbed his eyes, like one just waked out of sleep. I asked him if he would not go down and end his dinner. When we were got down stairs again, I asked if he distinctly remembered what had passed, and he told me, no. While he was eating we talked of other things as they offered. He said he believed he should have another fit. But I told him I was fully satisfied with what I had seen and heard, and so took my leave.

"Some time after, without the least notice, he leaves his lady and children, and lives among the prophets. He takes to himself, for a wife, one Betty Grey, who had been a snuffer of candles in the playhouse, but now passed for a person inspired. This, in one of his inspirations that I saw, he calls quitting Hagar, and betaking himself to Sarab, by order of the Spirit. By this creature he had several children."—vol. ii. pp. 96—99.

In opposition to this frenzy, Calamy published two Lectures, entitled, *A Caveat against the new Prophets*; which was well received, and presented by him both to the Queen and the Prince of Denmark. The Government apprehended a plot; and suspected that the Resurrection of Dr. Emms, which the Prophets predicted would take place about five months after his decease, as a preparation for the return of our Lord himself, was no other than an excuse for assembling a large concourse of people for purposes of sedition. Harley and Godolphin circuitously sounded Calamy as to the prudence of strong measures of restriction; and he appears, with great discretion, to have recommended that no notice should be taken. The advice was followed, and the enthusiasts were soon forgotten.

The year 1709 formed a memorable era in Calamy's life. During the Spring and summer he made a progress, exceeding 1200 miles, through North Britain; and he has left a very particular and minute account of his preparations and his companions, his suite, his stages, and his hosts, the festivities, the banquetings, the triumphs and the preachings whereof he was so large a partaker. Having the fear of the Pretender very strongly before his eyes, his first step was to procure a firman from Lord Sunderland; wherein himself and his company were earnestly "recommended to the favour and assistance of all magistrates, officers, and friends of the Government, for which we might have occasion, in the course of our journey." Such were the precautions, without which a Southron did not think it secure to approach the modern Athens, but little more than 100 years since. At Lindesfarne he was stopped awhile by the tide—a difficulty which he might have avoided, "had we consulted venerable Bede;" an author little likely to be found in a traveller's *valise*. At Berwick he arrived after the close of the gates, and, not without some manœuvring, obtained a night's lodging within the garrison. On reaching Edinburgh he found the General Assembly sitting; he dined twice with the High Commissioner, who kept a magnificent table; and even in the bosom of the gloomy Synod itself he hazarded a caustic jest, which passed with the rapidity of lightning from the ear of the Moderator to that of Lord Forbes, ran from bench to bench, traversed the whole choir of St. Giles's Church, drew peals of inextinguishable laughter from the Lord President and his neighbours, was whispered to the High Commissioner, pervaded the whole Assembly, and in the end was repeated to its author even at Aberdeen. Calamy was asked his opinion as to some proceedings respecting a Minister who appeared deficient in knowledge and unsound in principles, and concerning whose treatment the Assembly was somewhat at a loss. He answered,

that in England such a method as they were adopting would be reckoned the produce of "the Inquisition revived." Perhaps the remark scarcely merited the high reputation for wit which it obtained; but it was manifestly true, and no less manifestly unexpected in the grave presence before which it was delivered.

While in Edinburgh he was visited by an old lady, who requested him to give an account of her son, who had turned preacher somewhere near London.

"Upon a little recollection, I told her I could not but own I had heard of her son, and that he was well spoken of, and hopeful, though I could not say I had ever seen him. 'Ah,' said she, 'he has given me a great deal of trouble by that unhappy fancy, that no place would serve him but England. If he had but gone to where they had the Gospel, I should not have been near so much concerned: whereas, now, I can have no rest in my spirit.' This odd sally of the poor woman a little surprised me, and I could not help being earnestly desirous to get to the bottom of the matter. I thereupon made inquiry what led her to imagine that we had not the Gospel in England, as well as they in Scotland? 'Ah, sir,' said she presently, 'I heartily wish you had it, as well as we; for then should I be much more easy in my child's case, than I either am, or have been, ever since he has been from me.' 'Why, really,' said I, 'I cannot be more assured of any thing than I am of this, that we have the Gospel as well as you, and the very same Gospel too; and I cannot allow myself to suppose that any of your ministers would offer to say any thing to the contrary. I am at a loss to conceive where you have picked up this notion.'—'Ah, sir,' said she, 'either I have all along been mistaken in the Gospel (which I think I have not), or you in England (though you in some other things are many degrees beyond us) have not the Gospel.'"—vol. ii. pp. 167, 168.

Calamy continued to explain to her that the English were really Christians, but she was still incredulous.

"'Oh! sir,' said she, by way of reply, 'now you are fallen upon good works. As to them, I must own that, by the report I have heard, I am inclined to believe you have more of them with you than we have among us.' 'Well then,' said I, (in order to a yet farther trial,) 'if the belief of what God has revealed, and the fruits and effects of that belief, where it is sincere and hearty, are the same with us and you, how can it be that you should have the Gospel with you, and not we also among us?' 'Ah! sir,' said she, 'you have with you no Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, and therefore have not the Gospel.'"—vol. ii. p. 170.

We need not draw the moral of this tale. What little knot of pseud-Evangelicals exists among us in the present day, which will not deny, equally with Mrs. Yule, that the Gospel is preached without the pale of its own narrow pinfold!

Upon visiting Dalkeith, after going the round of the house, Calamy, to his great joy, found a table spread with tongue and ham; whereupon he drank the Duchess of Buccleugh's health, with abundance of thanks. At an anniversary dinner given by the Masters of the College at Edinburgh, he "was overpersuaded by the good company" to eat a Sea-cat; and whether for this compliance, or on other accounts, we are not precisely informed, but within a few days he was presented with a Doctor's diploma. In return he invited the Academical authorities to a cold treat one evening, which was all he could prevail on them to accept. On passing farther Northward and advancing to New Aberdeen, these demonstrations of good-will were remarkably changed.

"Upon entering, and all the way as we passed to our inn, I could not but observe a very different look and carriage of the people, from what I had taken notice of in any town before. They seemed to lower upon us, and gnash their teeth, and give many signs of wrath and indignation, at which I was surprised, not having room for the least guess or conjecture at the cause."—vol. ii. p. 197.

It seems that the travellers were mistaken for certain of the before-mentioned French Prophets who were known to be in the neighbourhood; and that, upon a disclaimer of the connection, they were received with customary civility.

A Salmon-feast given by the Masters of King's College, in a hut on the banks of the Don, is related with much unction.

"We bore them company to the river's side, where was a little hut or booth; in one part a room with a fire, and in another a room for company. Some persons employed caught several fine salmon, and threw them directly into a pond, intending, when they had a number, to pick out some of the best to dress. As the fish were swimming about in this pond, dogs were sent in amongst them, who sometimes endeavoured to catch them in their teeth. The fish would ever and anon turn, and either give them a flap with their tails, or bite them with their mouths, which set them a howling, and gave an odd sort of diversion to the standers-by. My relating which passage has sometimes occasioned diversion. I have happened to fall in the company of gentlemen that were lovers of sport, whom I have asked whether they ever saw salmon hunted by dogs, as I had done? Of which they could form no notion, till I explained the matter.

"At length some fish were chosen out for dressing. These were immediately put into the kettle, and set upon the table with no other sauce than a little salt and vinegar, or some of the liquor in which they were boiled. The taste was indeed so rich and luscious, that had we had such sauce as usual with us, we should have been in no small danger of a surfeit. I thought it not unneedful, therefore, to caution the young ones with me to eat but sparingly, for fear of the consequence. We had

some excellent French claret, which the gentlemen had taken care to send thither for that purpose, to wash our fish down."—vol. ii. pp. 201, 202.

The festivities of the day were concluded with Calamy's admission *ad eundem*, and an adjournment to a handsome supper, which he had provided at his inn.

Like honours awaited him at Glasgow, where he drank excellent French claret, received his Diploma in a silver box, entertained the Professors with cold fowl and ham, and so took his leave of Scotland. During his return, while upon the walks at Preston, a lady, who overheard him observe that "it was a pleasant place for a pipe of tobacco and a glass of October," sent her footman home for both these creature-comforts, without hinting her design; and thus delighted him by an almost Fairy realization of his wish. After nine weeks' absence, he found himself once again in London, which at that time was greatly agitated by the silly affair of Dr. Sacheverel.

The accession of George I. occasioned great joy among the Dissenters, who had been bitterly annoyed by the enactment of the Schism Bill. So strongly was it opposed by them, that after it had passed both Houses, they even thought of petitioning the Queen to refuse the Royal Assent. Calamy seems very dexterously to have prevented this violent and foolish step, by communicating privately with Lord Sunderland, the great Whig friend of his Party, and procuring from him a public expression of disapproval. The Queen died on the very morning on which the provisions of this Act were to come into force; and so powerfully were the Dissenters affected by the change which that event produced, that, nearly fifty years afterwards, it was commemorated from one of their leading pulpits, as a special interference of the Puritan Theocracy. "On the very day that the Schism Act was to take place," says Dr. Benson, preaching at Salter's Hall so late as 1758, "God once more appeared for us in the most remarkable and distinguished manner; took away the life of that Princess who had been so far seduced as causelessly to seek our destruction. . . . O that glorious first of August! that most signal day which ought never to be forgot!" Mr. Rutt has noticed a *bon-mot* of a Court wit of the time, on the presentation of the Dissenters' Address to the new King, which is certainly not more profane than the above preachment. The Ministers being clad in the Geneva cloak, similar to that used at funerals, led a nobleman to ask, "What have we here?—a funeral?" On which the once celebrated Tom Bradbury replied, "No, my Lord, a Resurrection."

We do not know that we can afford a fairer specimen of the

total want of the power of graduation, if we may so call it, which marks Calamy's mind, of the undistinguishing apposition which he is ever making of great things with small, and of the equality of estimation wherewith he appears to have regarded the interests of Europe and of the Meeting House, than by noticing an entry respecting the troublous year 1715. It is a record of the deaths of two of his contemporaries; concerning one of whom it is probable none of our readers ever yet heard any thing at all; and whatever they may have heard of the other, must be widely different from Calamy's mistaken statement.

"Two others also this year (1715) left this world, that should not be forgotten, though they were of very different stations and characters.

"Thomas, Marquis of Wharton, Lord Privy Seal, died April 12, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was an able statesman, and ever zealous for the welfare of his country. Perhaps he was an example of the most public spirit, and as true a lover of his native land, as is to be met with in the British history.

"The other was Mr. John Shower. He died June 28, and was succeeded in his congregation, (who built for him that handsome place of worship in Old Jewry, London,) by Mr. Simon Browne, and in the lecture at Salter's Hall by Mr. Thomas Reynolds. Mr. Browne, after he had officiated for some time as successor to Mr. Shower, was wholly disabled by deep melancholy."—vol. ii. pp. 339—342.

Now than Wharton, every body knows that, with the exception of his yet more notorious son, there never existed a more abandoned, unprincipled, and avowed libertine. Swift may, perhaps, have coloured a little highly, in his rancorous but most clever *Short Character*; still the barefaced effrontery of Wharton's profligacy has never been contested even by his own party. But in his hatred of the Church he became a "Presbyterian in Politics;" and this, in the eyes of such men as Calamy, would change Clodius into Curius, and lead them to engrave the praises of Poplicola on the base of a statue of Verres. Of Mr. Shower we know no ill, and Mr. Rutt in his note tells us no good. His commentary indeed is tacked as a rider to the text, for the sake of introducing a somewhat forced compliment to the late Dr. Rees; a successor in a second Temple built on the site of that which once was Mr. Shower's. It would appear that Mr. Rutt believes Dr. Rees to have been the sole author of the multitome *Cyclopædia* which passes under his name. That Work, he says, is "a lasting monument of his science, talents, judgment, and industry, and the largest contribution *from any one individual* to the literature of his Country." Moreover, he informs us that the only two pictures which adorned the Library of the Royal Duke who inhabits Kensington Palace, at the time at which he (Mr.

Rutt) visited it, were likenesses of Dr. Rees, and of another Doctor who, if we mistake not, would somewhat hastily have declined the honour of such *Arcadian amboism*; and who, with all his minor defects, should never be mentioned in like copartnership. Dr. Rees can only be a fit companion-portrait for Dr. Parr, on the principle that Politics, like Poverty, bring men acquainted with strange bedfellows.

In the latter part of his Memoirs, Calamy appears in an unexpected situation for a Dissenting Divine; as a frequenter of Court, and in personal communication with the Sovereign. On one occasion, during the King's absence in Hanover, he accompanied an Address to the Prince of Wales, who was exercising the functions of Regent. The Princess had just miscarried, and while the Deputation was waiting in the "*antichamber*" (ante-chamber) it was announced that her Royal Highness was considered out of danger. It was thought that this occurrence should be noticed to the Prince, and the task, which fell upon Calamy, was performed by him very greatly to his own satisfaction, as well as to that of Tom Bradbury, to whom it afforded opportunity for another witticism.

"None of us could deny but the thing was fit and proper enough; but the question was, which of us should do it, off-hand and without time for forethought, in such a presence. The other three put it upon me to speak, and were each of them so resolute against their own doing it, that, had I been as positive, it must have been wholly omitted, which we all agreed would not be well taken. Thereupon I undertook it; but when I came into the presence-chamber, and saw so many Lords, Earls, Dukes, and Bishops there, and particularly observed the Lord Chancellor at the Prince's right hand, and the Archbishop of Dublin at his left, and a good number of white staves, stars, and garters in the company, I should gladly have retracted my promise, but it was then too late. Therefore, when the address had been presented, I stepped up to the Prince, and passed a short compliment upon him in these words:

"May it please your Royal Highness.

"Having this favourable opportunity of appearing in your august presence, we humbly beg leave, before we withdraw, to express the grateful sense we have of that kind Providence, which has so mercifully interposed for the preserving the inestimable life of your most excellent consort.

"The concern we were under to hear of her great danger, engaged our most hearty and fervent prayers for her; and the hope and prospect we now have of her perfect recovery, is the matter of our daily thanksgiving and joy.'

"The Prince, in an obliging manner, returned us thanks, and we all kissed his hand: and when we were gone, Mr. Thomas Bradbury, with his wonted pleasantry, said, if any one asked him who of us waited on the Prince on this occasion, he would answer that there were two Pres-

byterians, a congregational Brother, and a Quaker! In the last of these denominations, pointing at me, who had a very discernible tremor in my voice, which, considering the unusualness of the service I was put upon, in the midst of so many persons of rank and dignity, upon so short warning, was not much to be wondered at."—vol. ii. pp. 361, 362.

Soon afterwards, as Calamy happened to accompany a friend from Leyden who was desirous to kiss his Majesty's hand at Hampton Court, they were admitted to see the King while at dinner. Dr. Calamy was recognized as having attended with Addresses, and the King "whispered to a Courtier near him, who sent one of the yeomen of the guard directly to me. He told me it was desired that my friend and I would go to the side-board and drink his Majesty's health in a glass of old hock, which was a favour wholly unthought of." Calamy, no doubt, did as he was bid, smoothed his hair, pulled down the forelock, scraped his foot, and finished his bumper. But this good-humoured courtesy of the King was a prelude to a much more substantial favour. Calamy had preached and published certain Sermons on the Trinity, and a Vindication of the contested text 1 John, v. 7. Those he received permission to dedicate to the King; to whom also he was recommended by Lord Townshend to present them in person. Accordingly, having got some well bound, he was introduced into the Royal Closet, between ten and eleven in the morning. The scenes which followed are amusing specimens of politic patronage and convenient simplicity.

"I humbly presented my book to his Majesty, who received me very graciously, took it into his hands, and looked on it; and then was pleased to tell me, he took us Dissenters for his hearty friends, and desired me to let my brethren in the city know, that in the approaching election of members of Parliament, he depended on them to use their utmost influence, wherever they had any interest, in favour of such as were hearty for him and his family. I freely told his Majesty that he might upon good grounds be assured that they were very much disposed that way; but that I would not fail of letting my brethren know the honour his Majesty did them, to declare with so much frankness his dependence upon them, in this case. Observing there were many waiting without, I took my leave, and went down the back stairs.

"Lord Townshend soon followed me, and asked me how I liked my reception? I told his Lordship he was so very good, and his Majesty so exceeding gracious, that I must be utterly stupid if I was not very thankful. I added, that I had ordered my servant to leave one of my books at his Lordship's, which he would find there at his return; and that, as to his Majesty's message by me to my brethren, his Lordship should hear from me about it in two or three days, without fail. His Lordship told me his Majesty designed me a present, and I should hear from his brother Walpole about it, whom he was ordered by his Majesty to speak to.

"Going the very next day into the city, I got some few of each of the three denominations together, and delivered the message from his Majesty. They, with unanimity, desired me to signify to Lord Townshend, that they were very thankful to his Majesty for the honour he did them, and should not disappoint his expectations, complying with which they took to be their interest and duty both. And I did it accordingly.

"I afterwards waited on the Prince and Princess of Wales, and presented each of them with one of my books, and was graciously received. Waiting afterwards on the three young Princesses, and delivering one of my books to Princess Anne, one of which I intimated to her I had before presented to his Majesty, and another to the Prince and Princess: she told me she had heard of it, but was afraid the book would be above her capacity. I told her Highness that, as she was provided with abundant helps, in order to her improvement in knowledge, so she might hope, that in a careful use of them she would find her capacity grow and increase. She told me, she would certainly read it, and make trial.

"As the three young Princesses stood in a row before me, which I must own I thought a most entertaining sight, I took the freedom to tell them, that being so descended, and so carefully educated as they were, the world had great expectations from them, and all the Protestant Churches had their eyes upon them, having raised hopes as to what they in time, and as they came to settle and be transplanted into other great families, would do in their favour; and that I could assure them, they had many prayers continually sent up to the great God for them, that he would make them great blessings, wherever their lot might be cast. Upon which Princess Anne, of her own accord, very readily said, 'Sir, we hope those good prayers will be continued, for which we shall be very thankful.'

"A few days after this I had a messenger from the Treasury, sent by Mr. Walpole, with a bill of fifty pounds out of his Majesty's royal bounty, for which he brought a receipt in form, which I signed with humble thanks.

"For this book of mine I had thanks afterwards sent me by several Dignitaries of the Church of England, some of whom were Bishops and Deans."—vol. ii. pp. 445—450.

A closet-audience, a descent by the back-stairs, an opportunity of lecturing three Princesses in a row, and a Treasury warrant for fifty pounds, must be reckoned among very rare *bonnes-fortunes* of a Non-Conformist. Did it never occur to the excellent Preacher that he was paid for the support which he afforded to the doctrine of *Election*, rather than that of the Trinity?

The Memoirs terminate abruptly on the 16th of December, 1731; Calamy died in June of the following year. His character may be summed up in a very few words. He appears to have possessed a fair, plain, average understanding; against the enlargement of which an irregular education and Sectarian habits

acted as impenetrable barriers. To Scholarship or Literature, even his most devoted admirers will scarcely assert for him any *high* pretensions; and it is not a little remarkable, that although he *flourished* (such is the Biographical idiom) during what is commonly esteemed the Augustan period of our Language, and was the contemporary of Dryden, Newton, Locke, Pope, Swift, and Addison, (of how brilliant a galaxy do those great names remind us!) he is silent concerning them, unless by mere incidental mention. Of the squabbles of the Conventicle, the controversies of Hand Alley and Long Ditch, the subtilties in dispute between Dr. Crisp and Dr. Daniel Williams, the doubts which agitated the comprehensive minds of Mr. George Griffyths, Mr. Robert Trail, and countless other Misters *similis farinae*, details the most ample are given; and there may be those for whom they possess interest. For the rest, it is but just to commend the constitutional gentleness of temperament wherewith Calamy evidently was blessed. It was this complacency which, united with a deserved reputation for moral habits, and an accurate knowledge of the Dissenting Microcosm, gave him that influence over his brethren which he undoubtedly possessed in his own days, and which has made them think it worth while to publish these his *Acts*, for the advantage of posterity.

ART. III.—*The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy*. By the Rev. G. S. Faber, B.D. 3 vols. 8vo. Price £1. 16s. Rivingtons, London.

THE Apocalypse of St. John has been a fruitful source of strange and ridiculous speculations. It is an ocean without a shore as yet discovered, on which ingenuity has freely sailed before the gales of imagination, without a limit to her career, without a chart to guide her, without the fear of foundering on heresy, but at the same time without a hope of reaching the harbour of conviction. The early commentators, indeed, had a very summary mode of despatching most of its difficulties: in every emblem of power they discovered the Church; for in their scheme no order or continuity of events was sought; the occurrences unfolded by the progress of time being then but few, the historical method of interpretation was out of the question. Hence the rider of the white horse was the Church; the blood-coloured moon under the sixth seal was the Church; the cloud that clothed the angel coming down from Heaven was the Church; the angels with the trumpets were the Church; the four angels standing on the four corners of the earth were the Church in the four quarters of the globe; the two witnesses, the two olive trees, the two

candlesticks were still the Church distinguished by the two testaments. In short, the Church—not the Church of Christ, but the Church of Rome—is found in every corner, except in Babylon and the ten-horned monster. The seven heads, indeed, are admitted to glance at the city of Rome, but only for the purpose of intimating the extensive domination of Antichrist. Even the opening of the seals is supposed to represent the revelation of sacramental mysteries, and the loosing of the angels bound in the Euphrates, the binding and loosing power of the Papal Church. This mode of dealing with the darkness simplified the matter amazingly, and its obscurities were read with as much facility as hieroglyphics by Champollion; but then it was a plain objection to it, that the book contains explicit marks of time—the numbers and succession of events.

St. Bruno, however, (12th cent.) disposed of this objection with as little difficulty as the rest. According to him, the numbers are all indefinite, except indeed in the case of the two witnesses, who are undoubtedly Enoch and Elias. The seven churches, for instance, signify all Christian churches; the seven seals, all Christian mysteries; the seven trumpets, the seven phials, and the seven heads of Antichrist represent all the persecutions of the Church, how many soever they may be, even to the end of time. And the reason he assigns for this use of a specific number is very satisfactory;—because there are seven days. Primasius, (6th cent.) however, is unreasonable enough not to be satisfied with this solution, and accordingly he gives another. Universality, he says, is often represented by the number seven, because every whole consists of its subordinate diversities; and so the unity of seven consists of the first unequal and equal numbers—three and four. At first sight it seems hard that one and two should be excluded from this privilege; but the argument by which he supports the claims of three and four is quite unanswerable. We have an example, he says, in ourselves, that the totality of ourselves is compounded of three and four: for there are three things belonging to the soul, and four to the body; for it is said, that God must be loved with all the *heart*, and with all the *soul*, and with all the *mind*; and we have four qualities that distinguish the body—*hot* and *cold*, *dry* and *moist*. His other remarks upon the numbers of St. John are equally worthy of attention. The number of the horsemen when the sixth trumpet sounded, (ix. 16.) seems to have been in his copy eighty thousand; which he accounts for thus: eight and its multiples by ten are used in representations of evil, because eight is formed from four, which enumerates not only the qualities of the body, but also the perturbations by which life is often mightily disquieted—*fear*, *desire*, *grief*, and *joy*—which, being

doubled because there are two sexes, make eight. Upon this principle he accounts too for the number of furlongs (xiv. 20.) which the pool of blood is to cover in the great destruction of the last day; for four times 400 make 1600, and in the same spirit of cabalistic interpretation, he finds the doctrine of the Trinity (xxi. 6.) in that declaration of our Lord, “I am Alpha and Omega”—for these letters, taken numerically, express *one and eight hundred*, which is also the sum of the numerals contained in the Greek name of a dove, ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ, i. e. the Holy Spirit. As a set-off against these triflings, it is fair to Primasius to give his sound Protestant exposition of a passage which the Romanists since his days have exceedingly perverted. Jesus, says he, is the rock or Petra on which the Church is founded, and Peter is called Petrus from him, as Christianus from Christ. In the interpretation of the Apocalypse, however, he certainly failed; and all the actors in that comprehensive drama discovered by him may be reduced to four—Jesus and Satan, the Church and Antichrist. Among those who have adopted the compendious mode of getting rid of the difficulties arising from exact numbers, by assuming that they were not intended to be exact, may be reckoned the notorious Hildebrand, whose infallible decision ought to have settled the question long ago. The thousand years of the Millennium, says he, is altogether allegorical. By a synecdoche of species, a definite number is placed for an indefinite number of years, and the meaning is this: when the Church shall have been sufficiently afflicted, all persecution shall at length be removed, and she shall reign with Christ, that is, she shall be at peace, and shall flourish a thousand years, or, in other words, a pretty considerable length of time—*tempus bene longum*.

But the most daring inroad upon this mystery, and that which would most shock the sensibilities of our Millennarians in the present day, was made by a German divine. With that boldness of conjecture for which the theologians of his country are remarkable, it was maintained by John Christopher Romig, that we are now actually in the middle of the Millennium. If this be so, we recommend to all ministers and preachers of the Gospel to forbear inveighing against the devil: for what can he do? he is bound in chains, he is shut up in the bottomless pit, and his prison is so fast that he cannot get forth. It must be a mistake to suppose that so many are deceived by him every day; for we Protestants, who have not the mark of the beast upon our foreheads, have been reigning with Christ, and sitting on thrones of judgment, ever since the Reformation. For if 1260 years be counted backwards from the time when Luther published his translation of the Bible, and England threw off her subjection to the Pope, we shall find

their commencement nearly coincide with the birth of Constantine—the birth, that is, of the man child, who was to rule the nations with an iron rod, and the first resurrection means no more (at least so says Mr. Romig) than Protestantism bursting the restraints of the charnel-house, in which Papal tyranny confined her, and rising to a life of liberty and peace by the free preaching of the Gospel.

Doubtless this scheme of interpretation must be very agreeable to a certain Independent, who talks of opening heaven as if something less difficult than a Bramah's lock. In a book to which he has affixed the presumptuous title of "*Heaven Opened* by J. Addis," he insists that, "as long as the civil magistrate adopts and associates with him one sect, we are deprived of the Spirit of the Lord." We conclude, therefore, that the Independent church alone enjoys this privilege, and consequently that she is the Woman, who, when the child was born, fled into the wilderness to be persecuted 1260 years. But here Mr. Addis involves himself in a tissue of contradictions. He is not content, like the German, to terminate the persecution of the Woman at the Reformation; for he complains that "it is shamefully tyrannical to impose one service upon a whole nation:" from whence we learn, to our great surprise, that there is no toleration in this country, no dissent permitted, no Independent congregation. He thinks that "the seven angels are not distinct from the two witnesses; the only difference is, that the trumpet angels mark out the chronology of the Church from Constantine to the second Advent, and the two witnesses its geography."—(p. 60.) His principles, no doubt, warrant him in saying, that the witnesses began to prophesy in sackcloth from the time when that emperor took the Church into alliance with the state; but unfortunately their geographical claims are not quite so clear as their chronology: the period of their prophesying is expressly limited to 1260 days or years. If, therefore, they are not distinct from the trumpet angels, that is, if the periods they occupy commence and terminate together—for it is difficult to imagine any other point of resemblance—but if that be so, then it follows that the witnesses have long ago ascended into heaven; the last trumpet has sounded; the second Advent is past; and we are already in the third century of the Millennium. It may not be unamusing to the reader to know the reason why the two witnesses are supposed to represent the geography of the Church—because forsooth it was "distributed in the two empires of the East and West, and afterwards, when the Eastern empire ceased, in the two Prætorian or Papal Præfectures of Gaul and Italy."—(p. 60.) When Constantinople was taken by the Turks, the Western empire, which then existed,

was not divided into two Præfectures; and as for calling them Prætorian, he might as well have called them Antediluvian: but his two witnesses did not continue under any form up to that period. When Augustulus was deposed from the throne of the West—when Odoacer ruled in Italy and Euric in Gaul—when Arian Heruli overran the former, and Arian Visigoths the latter—and the rest of Europe was a prey to other barbarous hordes—where were the two Prætorian or Papal Præfectures to be found? and more than three centuries elapsed before the Western empire revived.

It appears that in this country we have been too vainly dreaming of the delinquencies of Rome. It is time that we should look to ourselves: we have been fondly imagining that we saw the man of sin in Popery, and the mother of abominations seated on the seven-hilled Babylon. But here is a Nathan who bids us take the opprobrium to ourselves! Yes, it has been discovered by this lynx-eyed prophet, that the Church of England, and by the same rule the Church of Scotland too, is the Anti-christ—a harlot establishment—the Lady of the Scarlet mantle carried by the Beast; and it is the duty of every Christian to disconnect himself from it and come out of it.—(p. 154.) We have wasted too much time perhaps on this aperient of Heaven: one more will suffice before we dismiss him to oblivion. Let it not be supposed that we wish to fasten him upon the respectable body of Independent dissenters. We have only used the term for want of some more appropriate designation; for in truth he is quite independent of every known creed or discipline. He holds that “the Holy Spirit is no other than the joint ecclesiastization of the Father and the Son; not a distinct person, but the third pleroma of the only true God;” and he sees no reason (p. 106) why the laity should not divide themselves according to their towns, and in each of them appoint one of themselves as bishop, while the parishioners acted the part of presbyters, by performing the public duties in rotation. This would save tithes, and every father of a family would save the lay presbytery the trouble of baptizing his children by baptizing them himself, because he himself would be a presbyter, and every man has now a divine right to the priesthood;—all are kings and priests by a divine law, because Christ told his disciples not to be called masters. This is the magna-charta of our liberties, and this Hercules of a truth is stationed in the very vestibule of that wonderful exhibition of God’s poetry of prescience—the Apocalypse.—(pp. 127, 128.) The scheme of abolishing tithes and priesthood may furnish an useful hint to Joseph Hume; but if Mr. Addis insists upon being a king likewise, perchance the attorney-general may

discover arguments to persuade him that the Millennium has not yet arrived, and he may find that neither Newgate nor Heaven are easily opened by feebleness and folly. It was a most ill-advised temerity, in such a mind, to venture its crazy bark among those rocks and shoals, through which much superior understandings cannot work their way in safety.

The difficulties indeed that environ the undertaking may be guessed from the universal disagreement of expositors. The Bishop of Utica makes the devil ride three of the horses under the first seal, and Jesus Christ the fourth; but the author of "*The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ explained*," seats Constantine on the white horse, Theodosius on the red, Honorius on the black, and Justinian on the pale or green. Cunninghame opens the first seal at the Crucifixion of our Lord; Frere postpones it till three centuries later. Cunninghame wraps up the six first seals in the seventh, and assigns the four first trumpets to the second; Croly makes the seven seals consecutive, and assigns the four first trumpets to the third. Pastorini, or Walmsley, makes seals, trumpets and vials all begin together. One writer (Woodhouse) is of opinion, that the subject of the seals is the state of the Church from first to last, and the subject of the trumpets, its persecutions. Another thinks the seals represent the Western Roman empire, and the trumpets the Eastern. One finds the Triumph of the Church under the seventh seal, and another the French Revolution; one refers the four first triumphs to the fourth century, another reads in them the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and the wars of Louis XIV., nay, the very foundations of all interpretation are disputed. Maitland denies that prophetic days are equivalent to years, and Schenek wrote a dissertation to prove that "times" do not mean times, but empires.* Even those expositors who concur (as most of them certainly do,) in ascribing to the prophetic period so often repeated a duration of 1260 years, nevertheless differ most widely in fixing the date of its commencement. Mede places it in 456; Frere in 533; an author quoted by Hales in 583; Faber in 606; Hales in 620; Bishop Newton in 727; Lowman in 756, and Sir Isaac Newton twenty years later still: but the greatest diversity of opinion appears in those who strive to earn the character of "him that hath understanding," by counting the number of the Beast—a diversity so great as to contradict the assertion of Solomon, that "Wisdom is easily seen of them that love her, and found of such as seek her."† The various explanations of the numbers 666 are thus enumerated by Mr. Croly, in Greek—

O Nicetes, Gensericus, Benedictus, Loutherana, Saxoneios, Bonneparte.
Ο Νικήτης, Γενσερικός, Βενεδίκτος, Λουθεράνα, Σαξονείος, Βοννεπαρτε.

* Dan. vii. 25.

† Wisdom, vi. 12.

Euinas.

Jerome finds in *Ευινας*, a serpent-finder; Grotius in *Ουλπιος*, a name of Trajan, (in which, by the way, it is remarkable that he supposes the final character (ς) to be identical with the Episemon, and to have the same power as a numeral: he asserts too that the same character represented both in the literæ majusculæ (c).)

Maometis.

Lateinus.

Teitan.

Walmsley finds it in *Μαομετις*, Irenæus in *Λατεινος* and *Τειταν*. In Latin we have these solutions—Vicarius filii Dei, Ludovicus, Silvester secundus, Linus secundus, D. F. Julianus, Cæsar Atheus: in Hebrew, Vitranga has suggested Adonikam; others Romiith; and the Opener of Heaven, Keisar Romim. This list, however, is very incomplete, and many more might be added, but that they are more absurd and unintelligible. There is a solution first proposed by Archdeacon Wrangham, and since by Mr. Faber, which is, to say the least of it, sufficiently ingenious—*Αποστατης* (Apostates); for add together the numerical powers of all its letters, and you find that they amount to 666; and it is the number of a man—the Roman pontiff. It is supposed to be peculiarly descriptive of the beast, or power, which opens his mouth in blasphemy against God by pretending to turn a wafer into God; to whom it was given for 1260 years to “make war with the saints, and overcome them;” and who has been “worshipped by all that dwell on the earth whose names are not written in the Book of Life of the Lamb, that was slain from the foundation of the world.”* To the obvious and formidable objection, that the small character was not then in existence, and that the mental vision of St. John must have seen the word written in uncial or capital letters, which would bring out a very different result computed as numerals, the supporters of this conjecture reply, that the solution of the enigma was reserved for the age which should witness the fulfilment of the prophecy, and St. John himself seems to intimate that he did not understand it. The fact was revealed to him, but not the explanation. We cannot dismiss this catalogue of discordant conjectures without briefly adverting to two writers, who have discovered far more recondite mysteries in that perplexing number. Mr. Croly supposes it to signify the number of years that elapsed after the date of Justinian’s decree, by which power was given to the Beast, and the commencement of the 1260 years in A.D. 533, and before the birth of the Inquisition in 1198. The hypothesis of Irenæus is still more fanciful. Noah, he says, was 600 years old when the flood came to punish the apostasy of the world. Sixty cubits and six cubits were the dimensions of the statue which Nebuchad-

* Rev. xiii. 6, 7, 8.

nezzar set up to tempt the Israelites to apostasy, when three of the principal Jews, refusing to worship it, were thrown into the heated furnace. Now that image represents the Antichrist, who is "worshipped of all them that dwell on the earth;" therefore the 600 years of Noah, and the sixty and six cubits of the image, show the number of the name whose apostasies, accumulated through 6000 years, shall be punished with a deluge of fire.

Enough has been now advanced to expose the unsatisfactory and contradictory results of all attempts that have hitherto been made to develope the meaning of the Apocalypse, and, undeterred by the denunciations of Mr. Croly, who declares that "to discourage Apocalyptic studies is awfully impious," we are naturally led to conclude that "all is vanity and vexation of spirit." When Mr. Cunninghame, deluded by his theory, had the misfortune to predict the restoration of the house of Judah in 1822, and similar mishaps have befallen some of the foremost champions in the same cause, it is not unreasonable to warn the smaller fry to consider "*quid valeant humeri quid ferre recusent*," and to beware of the fate of him, who, "in a cloudy chair ascending, rode audacious through the wild abyss, but that seat soon failing, his fluttering pennons failed, and plumb down he dropped ten thousand fathoms deep."

But the author of the Sacred Calendar stands on much higher ground. Mr. Faber has brought to the task he has undertaken more learning, more acuteness, more logical induction, more accurate sifting of evidence, and more comprehensive views than any of his modern competitors. His principles of interpretation indeed, as well as the name of his work, are borrowed from Mede, who first opened out the true path, by which these heights of prophecy must be climbed. He discovered certain conformities in the various periods mentioned in the Apocalypse, which pointed out "a necessity of contemporation," and accordingly he arranged all the events in a series of synchronisms, which greatly abridge the labour of the interpreter, by filling up the canvass with a greater variety of symbolical figures, and reducing the number of dates. Thus he argues, (*Remains*, b. iii. c. 9.) that the continuance of the woman in the wilderness, and the times of the ten-horned beast, have the same epocha and beginning, namely the dethroning and vanquishing of the Red Dragon; *ergo*, being equal times they must also have the same ending; but the times of the beast and of the two witnesses come out together, at the end of the sixth trumpet; *ergo*, being equal times they must needs begin together, and so contemporate throughout. Again, the times of the two witnesses, and of the Gentiles treading down the Court and Holy City, are concurrent by the plain construction of the

text: therefore the four periods connected with these symbols—the Time, Times and half a Time, or 1260 days in the first instance, the forty-two months in the second, the 1260 days in the third, and the forty-two months in the fourth, exactly coincide, they begin and end at the same points of time. Again, (*Clavis Apocal.* b. 3.) the two-horned beast, or false prophet, and the ten-horned beast, whose wound was healed, make their entrance and their exit from the scene together; therefore they synchronise or are contemporaneous; but so also then is the mystic Babylon, for she is the rider of the ten-horned beast: and so also are the 144,000 virgins, for they are the same who would not worship the beast. Therefore all these synchronise, and are to be looked for within the same period of 1260 days or years. Upon these principles he constructed a system, the result of which is, that the man of sin is now no more; the false prophet and the apostate are destroyed, the saints are reigning, the judgment is set, the heavens and the earth are new, the kingdoms of the world are become the kingdoms of Christ. But though the superstructure is false, the foundations are firmly laid. An interpreter may be mistaken in fixing the commencement of a period which comprises so large a space of what now is history, but he cannot err much in this grouping of the events prefigured, because it is the result of intrinsic evidence, and independent of hypothesis. Mede begins the 1260 years in A. D. 455 at latest; experience has shown him to be wrong. But surely he is right in his great leading position, (b. iii. c. 12,) that “for the true account of Times in Scripture, we must have recourse to that Sacred Calendar and great Almanack of Prophecy, the four kingdoms of Daniel, which are a prophetic chronology of times, measured by the succession of four principal kingdoms, from the beginning of the captivity of Israel until the mystery of God should be finished.”—(*Epistle viii.*) Now the four kingdoms in Daniel are twice revealed: 1, to “Nebuchadnezzar, in a glorious image of four sundry metals; 2, to Daniel himself, in a vision of four diverse beasts, arising out of the sea. The intent of both is, by that succession of kingdoms to point out the time of the kingdom of Christ, which no other kingdom should succeed or destroy.” In the first of these visions, it is affirmed by Daniel himself, that the kingdom of Babylon, then existing under Nebuchadnezzar, was signified by the head of gold. In starting from this point, therefore, there can be no mistake; accordingly it is from this point that Mr. Faber commences his career: his ethereal coursers, “Obstantes scindunt nebulas, pennisque levati, Prætereunt ortos iisdem de partibus;” not Euros, but interpretes. To establish his theory, he asks but one postulate; but it is a concession of which we must beware; for if it be but granted he may bid defiance to criticism. It is like

the point upon which Archimedes wished to stand: let him once rest his *fulcrum* there, and he has the whole system of prophecy at his command. He supposes, then that the whole series of years comprised in this great Almanack or Calendar of Prophecy is bipartite, and the sum of the one half being given both by Daniel and by St. John, the sum of the other half, though no where expressed, must of course be equal to it, and in order to fix the commencement of the latter, you have only to ascertain the termination of the former. He contends, (vol. i. p. 64) that the three times and a half, which constitute the latter portion of the Sacred Calendar, are “evidently a broken or imperfect number, the moiety (as it may reasonably be presumed) of an unbroken or perfect number.” The reasonableness of this presumption may possibly be disputed; but if it should appear, that standing at the point of bisection, and calculating backwards and forwards, he can show that the prophetic dates, with their included symbols, coincide with historical facts corresponding to the symbols, a strong presumption would be raised in favour of the hypothesis.

Still it would be no more than an hypothesis; and instead of being able to sustain the whole weight of the subsequent analysis, like Atlas with the globe upon his shoulders, it would be compelled to look for support for itself from more decisive probabilities. The ingenious author, therefore, brings forth an argument, *à priori*, to prove that the number of seven times or periods is positively set forth in Scripture. Nebuchadnezzar being the golden head of the image in his own vision, “he is the vital principle of the entire statue, as the natural head is the vital principle of the natural body. In this capacity he is mystically represented to us as a type or exemplar of the metallic image; shadowing out in his own person both the age and the fortune of the great compound, progressively increasing empire, which the image, during its growth is employed to symbolize.”—(vol. ii. p. 26.) Now Nebuchadnezzar was afflicted with madness, but not in the way of an ordinary disease. It was the subject of a prophecy, and that too a prophecy which was not entirely explained by Daniel, nor literally fulfilled in his own person. The tree in his vision was hewn down, but the stump remained firm in the ground, and so far the vision was fulfilled; the king was humbled to the earth by the temporary loss of his intellects, but his kingdom was left in safety. But Daniel takes no notice of the brass and iron bands that secured the stump, nor does the narrative of the literal accomplishment of the prophecy afford the smallest hint of explanation, these, therefore, indicate a more remote allusion, and prove that the whole vision had a secondary design. Now since brass and iron were two of the metals in the previous vision of the statue, they are the

links that connect the two, and seem intended to conduct our thoughts back to that great Calendar of Prophecy, of which the Babylonian king was the head, and the mountain of salvation filling all the earth will be the conclusion. But the literal madness of the king lasted seven times; therefore the moral insanity, which it typified, the madness of idolatry, and apostasy, and sin, must be of the same duration. The very vagueness of the word *times*, seems to have recommended it to both the prophets, because it preserved its emblematic form; while by virtue of its expansibility it could be adapted to the different magnitudes of its first and second subjects.

"The image," says Mr. Faber, "is described as being compounded of four metals, gold and silver and brass and iron; but the gold and the silver soon passed away; the brass and the iron alone remained from first to last as dominant or binding metals. Respecting the actual duration of the iron through all the seven times, though in the vision first apparent only on the legs of the image, there can be no dispute; for the iron empire of Rome commenced anterior to the commencement of the seven times, and it will remain under its final political arrangement to their very termination. Nor can the parallel duration of the brass be denied, if we attend to the varied fortunes of the brazen empire. Both the kingdom of Macedon in particular, and the Grecian states in general, existed before the commencement of the seven times—and they have ever since been two distinct bands; first under the names of the Latin empire and the Greek empire, and afterwards, under the names of the Western empire and the Ottoman empire. Thus, through the whole period of the seven prophetic times, has the mystical stump been firmly rivetted to the ground by the iron band of Rome and the brazen band of Greece; the two for a short season wreathed together, though not confounded, but existing for by far the longest term in a perfectly separate state. These two solid bands, without asking or needing the aid of the gold and the silver, have hitherto made sure the kingdom of the great compound image, and as we may abundantly collect from prophecy, they will cease not to make it sure unto the very end of the seven allotted times of moral insanity."—(vol. ii. p. 34.)

It is remarkable that one of the earliest writers upon the Apocalypse had some notion of this bipartition of seven times. Hippolytus, after reciting the passage of St. John, in which the two witnesses are appointed to prophesy in sackcloth 1260 days, adds, (De Antichrist. c. 47,) "that is, half of the hebdomad of which Daniel speaks," for he had before remarked, (De Antichrist. c. 43,) that the "one week" designated a final hebdomad of years, during half of which, *i. e.* 1260 days, the prophets, Enoch and Elias, or in other words, the "two witnesses," would preach repentance to all nations. He seems to have thought that the singular expression of three times and a half did afford a reason-

able presumption that it was only the moiety of an integer, and he could find no distinct mention of any hebdomad to be divided, except these seven prophetic days in Daniel. If, indeed, relying only on the uniformity visible in God's administration of the world, we were to conjecture from analogy the number of periods into which some unknown series of years would probably be distributed, in any revelation concerning its future progress, we should, without hesitation, fix upon seven; for it is a number that seems peculiarly consecrated to sacred purposes. Time was originally divided into seven days, and hence arose the notion which prevailed among the Jews, that the duration of the world would be limited to seven millenaries—a notion readily adopted by the early Christians, in whose minds it was strongly confirmed, by discovering in the thousand years of St. John the sabbatical millennium of rest. The number of days appointed for the consecration of the Jewish priests was seven; for making an atonement for the altar, seven; for eating unleavened bread, seven; for the purification of a woman, seven; for the judgment of leprosy, seven; for blowing the trumpet round the walls of Jericho, seven; the seventh year was sabbatical; the seven-times seventh, the Jubilee; seventy years was the duration of the Captivity; seventy weeks the prophetic period of Daniel, which Mede calls the lesser Calendar of Prophecy;—and without enumerating all the instances in which the number seven is employed in Scripture, which gave Bede occasion to call it “*perfectio et plenitudo*,” let it suffice to observe, that the subdivisions of time in the Apocalypse itself are principally distributed under seven trumpets, seven seals, and seven vials. Now, though we do not think with the Council of Trent, that the number of seven sacraments can be defended from “the universality and superior dignity of the number seven,”—yet if we can gather from the books of Revelation, that God designed to solace the captivity of his chosen people, by shadowing forth the future fortunes of his Church under the obscure veil of prophecy, till its probation should be fully completed and its triumphs finally achieved—if one of the periods into which that space of time is divided is full of such important events, as may well be supposed to occupy one half the field of view, and if that period is designated “three times and a half;” it is at least a very natural inference that the integral number through which the destinies of the world were appointed to roll, can be no other than seven. When the angel upon the Euphrates pronounced the duration of the wonders seen by Daniel to be three times and a half, it is remarkable that two men were seen by him standing on the opposite sides of the river, and one of them asks about the length of time. Now why are

the two introduced, since the answer is given only to one, unless it be intended to mark the division of time; the two periods being separated from each other, like the two men who represented them, and the duration assigned to one being assignable also to the other? “The Apocalypse of St. John,” says Sir Isaac Newton, “hath the same relation to the prophecies of Daniel, which they have to one another, so that all of them together make but one complete prophecy.” He afterwards observes that “the prophecy is distinguished into seven successive parts” (p. 254). Dean Woodhouse, who rejects this chronological succession, is so much captivated with the notion of seven great prophetic periods, that he considers the seventh trumpet “the sabbatical one, which, after a long period of warfare, should bring rest and peace to the Church (p. 239). It is admitted by the same writer, (p. 262,) that the ten horns upon the Apocalyptical beast denote that he belongs to the same period as the emblem of Roman power described by Daniel, and indeed that “he is the same;” the principal difference consisting in this—that the description of the latter was to be “accommodated in such a manner as to take in the type contained in his prophecy, which is supposed to be fulfilled in Antiochus Epiphanes, while that of St. John had only to look to the later accomplishment. It is no objection to this identity of subject that there was in one case a previous fulfilment of the prediction. It is a latitude which must be allowed to all the prophecies of Scripture, which run in successive parallels through one well-connected system. “They have,” as Lord Bacon expresses it, “springing and germinant accomplishment throughout many ages, though the height or fulness of them may refer to some one age” (A. of L. B. 2.) If then the fountain-head, from which the stream of emblematic prophecy has rolled along, is to be found, where Daniel points it out, in the Babylonian king; and if its course was divided into seven eras, the latter half of which, being again and again subdivided into seven, alone deserved that its events should be foreshown with increasing minuteness of detail; it follows that the double of the period that synchronises with the latter three times and a half, that is to say, twice 1260 years, counted from Nebuchadnezzar, will bring us down to the end of the prophetic chronology, and the extreme point of each half being thus determined, the intermediate dates may be ascertained by the same sort of process as that which the late Dr. Young employed in deciphering the hieroglyphics upon the Rosetta stone. For the order of this knowledge is, as Hurd has well observed, (Serm. 10,) “a great restraint upon the fancy of an expositor, who is not at liberty to apply the prophecies to events of any time to which they appear to suit, but to events

only falling within that time to which they belong in the course of this pre-determined method; and if to this restriction we add another, which arises from the necessity of applying not one, but many prophecies to the same time, we can hardly conceive how an interpretation should keep clear of these impediments, and make its way through so many interfering checks, unless it be the true one. Just as when a lock is composed of many and intricate wards, the key that turns easily within them and opens the lock, can only be that which properly belongs to it."

Proceeding upon these principles, and adapting the events to the symbols that represented them in chronological order with wonderful plausibility, Mr. Faber concludes that the millennium may be expected to begin in the year 1865. It is a proposition that may well startle those who believe with Dr. Burnet, that a general conflagration will renovate and purify the earth at the commencement of that period; or, like our modern Chiliasts, look for the personal Advent of our Lord, to take vengeance on his enemies, and reign with his saints in the same visible, tangible, real body which he had before. There was a grossness in the ideas of the ancient Chiliasts which cannot be imputed to the Millenarians of the present day: but they had one or two qualities which their successors would do well to imitate. They were candid and docile. Coracio and the other followers of Nepos, although they had been accustomed to lay so much stress upon the study of the Apocalypse as to incur the charge of undervaluing the other Scriptures, yet listened to the remonstrances of Dionysius, and, convinced by his arguments, renounced their reveries. It is quite clear that such expressions as the "The day of the Lord, and "The coming of the Son of Man," are used sometimes in a lower and figurative sense, to signify the judgments of God upon a wicked nation, as in the instance of the destruction of Jerusalem. And accordingly Mr. Faber easily confutes the error of supposing that Christ is to come in person to reign on earth at the commencement of the Millennium, by showing that it contradicts the whole tenour of Scripture properly understood, the express declarations of our Saviour himself, and his apostles, Paul and John. His personal advent is referred by all of them to that day of judgment, when he "shall sit on the throne of his glory, and before him shall be gathered all nations." There are three different epochs at which the dead are said to live again; first, at the commencement of the Millennium; 2. At its conclusion; 3. At some undetermined subsequent period, which is not revealed. The Father alone knoweth it. Now it is plain that this last must be the literal and general resurrection, with which the personal Advent of our Lord is identified, when he shall come to judge the world.

The others are merely figurative resurrections: the first is the resurrection of the martyrs, which “denotes the reappearance of men animated by the temper and principles of the martyrs:” the second, which is the resurrection of their enemies, “denotes the reappearance of men influenced by the same anti-christian spirit as that which characterized their enemies.” There may be a priority in the order of resurrection from the dead, and “the dead in Christ shall rise first.” But why should the interval be more than sufficient to divide the events? Suppose, however, it should please God to interpose a thousand years, still they cannot be the thousand years of the Millennium, for at that period “death shall be swallowed up in victory,” and the sting of death destroyed. But at the close of the Millennium, Satan being loosed, sin will still reign, and by sin, death. A fresh antichristian confederacy will then be formed, and the nations will be gathered together to battle, and the apostates will be “devoured by fire out of heaven” (Rev. xx). It is evident, therefore, that they who anticipate a speedy termination of the present state, because the period of 1260 years will soon expire, are bad interpreters of prophecy. The Millennium of St. John implies no more than a period in which the Gospel shall be faithfully embraced by a considerable majority of mankind; a general diffusion of holiness will take place,” by a large outpouring of the Holy Spirit, “and with it (what is indeed its natural consequence) a general diffusion of happiness” (vol. iii. p. 478.) It is not necessary to suppose that the change will be either instantaneous or universal.

“Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo—
 Pauca tamen suberint priscæ vestigia fraudis.”

The prophecy will be sufficiently fulfilled, if the springs of faith shall burst forth copiously at the commencement of the thousand years, and flow on to the end of the term in uninterrupted streams, enlarging as they flow; it will be sufficiently fulfilled if the flood of divine knowledge overspreads the surface of the earth, even though the tops of the mountains be not covered.

We have thus endeavoured to put our readers in possession of an outline of Mr. Faber’s theory, elucidating it by various considerations which have been urged in its support by some ingenious and learned believers in its accuracy. For ourselves, while we gladly place the author on a separate shelf from those which are occupied by the generality of modern *prophets*, we must at the same time declare that we are altogether unconvinced of the truth of his speculations. We have no faith in any explanation of prophecies which are still unfulfilled. When the predicted events come to pass, they will bring their own explanation with them.

Those writers who endeavour to comprehend them beforehand, must go on, as they have done for very many years, inventing systems to-day, and admitting their fallacy to-morrow—dating their great epochs later and later, as they themselves live to an older age—and leaving nothing on record but ingenuity misapplied, and warnings which will not be attended to. If nothing worse arises from such speculations than waste of time, and disappointment, we may, perhaps, have no great reason to complain of them. But we fear that they tend to unsettle weak heads, and to draw men off from real duties; and we are confident that they give a great and unnecessary advantage to the sceptic, by furnishing fresh food for that process of reasoning by which he endeavours to fasten upon Christianity itself the blunders and absurdities, not less than the vices of every individual Christian.

ART. V.—*History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century.* By Thomas M'Crie, D. D. Blackwood, Edinburgh; Cadell, London. 1829.

UPON the perusal of this work we have felt that a desire for information has been created, but not fully gratified. In particular we have been seized with an ardent wish to know more about the causes which finally led to the suppression of the Lutheran opinions in Spain; to have a clear statement of the doctrines which were held by the majority of the reformers in that country; and, above all, to learn what were the motives which provoked the resentment of Charles V. and of his son Philip, against men whose principles were not corrupted by any mixture of political disaffection, nor even with the desire to extend the limits of a legitimate freedom. We know not whether there be in existence materials to supply the deficiencies in Dr. M'Crie's volume, of which every one must find reason to complain. There is in it, we admit, an ample detail of insulated facts, the most part of which seem sufficiently well authenticated; there is a number of biographical sketches, some of which are rather interesting and curious; and there are descriptions of *autos da fê*, extracts from last speeches, and abridgments of creeds, all of which bear the strongest marks of having been faithfully reported. But still there is something wanting in order to complete such a history of the religious struggle which took place in Spain, about the middle of the sixteenth century, as is required in these days to satisfy the philosopher and to instruct the divine.

What was there in the situation of the Italians in the time of Leo X., and of the Spaniards under Philip II., which prevented

the spirit of the Reformation from extending to all classes of the people, and from effecting a permanent change in the doctrines of the Church? Were we to take upon us to answer this question, we should say that the inhabitants of the two countries just mentioned, were, generally speaking, well satisfied with the civil government under which they lived; and that their desires for religious improvement were not inflamed by those more ordinary but more stimulating passions which respect political rights, personal security, and the undisputed possession of their worldly goods. The Spaniards, in particular, enjoyed at that epoch great prosperity at home and abroad; they had just extended their dominion over a new continent, which seemed to promise inexhaustible treasures; their monarch, Charles V., had attained to a higher pitch of power than was possessed by any European sovereign since the days of Charlemagne; while the recent union of the several kingdoms within the Pyrenees had given to the pure race of ancient Christians, as they termed themselves, a complete ascendancy over their fellow-subjects of the Jewish and Moorish lineage.

In this state of contentment in relation to the character and policy of their rulers, and satisfied that they were, in all respects, the most powerful and distinguished nation in the world, the Spaniards, at the era of the Reformation, were strangers to all those irritating motives, whether of revenge or ambition, which, in other parts of Christendom, filled so rapidly the ranks of the disaffected, and shook for a time the firmest thrones. When men have no other motives to desire a change of religion but such as concern the conscience, they are in general found to act upon the precept of the great Author of their faith; and when they are persecuted in one city, they flee unto another. Mere matters of opinion, especially when opposed to the prevailing creed of a whole nation, exert but a feeble influence on the popular mind; and in all cases where the usual rights of citizenship are respected, where the person and the property are exempted from the caprice of tyrannical rulers, any difference of sentiment that can be excited in regard to disputed doctrinal points, is never held of sufficient importance to justify an infringement of the public peace, and far less an appeal to arms.

It will, therefore, be found, we think, that in every instance where, in order to make way for a new creed, men have defied the authority of an established government, they have had at the same time other objects to achieve, or grievances to be redressed. In Germany, for example, the spirit of political independence in the minor states had combined with zeal for evangelical truth, long before a triumph was secured for the Monk of Wittemberg. The Dutch acted from the influence of similar motives in asserting at

once their right to be Protestants and to be freemen. The Scotch, too, however much their historians have attempted to conceal it, had one eye directed to the improvement of their civil polity, and the other fixed on a more orthodox faith; the secular object, as is usually the case, exerting upon their leaders the more constant and intelligible incitement to action. In this part of the island, it is well known, there was no national effort made in the cause of religion until its interests were mixed up with those of public liberty. During the reign of Henry VIII. the people were almost universally passive, and contented themselves with acting the part of mere spectators in the drama which was performed by the king and his pliant courtiers. In the abruption of the kingdom from the Roman See, the mass of Englishmen felt as little concern as if the government had only broken off a treaty of alliance with one of its continental neighbours, or had ceased to pay toll to his Majesty of Denmark at the Straits of Elsinour. We find accordingly, that when Mary ascended the throne, the great body of the inhabitants were willing to imitate the Court in returning to the ancient usages, and in acknowledging the supremacy of the sovereign pontiff. Even in Elizabeth's time the zeal of the nation was not kindled until it became obvious to all men that popery was inconsistent with the civil privileges which they had already been taught to regard as their birthright. The enterprize of Philip, too, for the subjugation of their country, confirmed their principles as Protestants, and attached them to their Church, which they henceforth very naturally esteemed as the bulwark of freedom not less than the standard of sound belief. The Armada of Spain did more than the learning of Cranmer, or the steadfastness of Latimer and Ridley, to convert the English people to right views, and to strengthen the faith of those who had already yielded their minds to argument, or to the words of Scripture.

During the eventful times now alluded to, a party continued to gain strength within the pale of the Church, who, from their principles, were the most likely to provoke persecution, and, from their temper, were the most inclined to oppose it. The Puritans murmured under the strong government of Elizabeth, but were kept from extremities as well by the dread of her anger, as by the apprehension of Popery, should her hands be weakened by domestic strife. The pacific policy of James afforded no opportunity to the Reformers, as they were willing to esteem themselves, for alarming the multitude, on the usual ground that the true religion and their personal liberty were in danger. It was reserved for the days of the ill-fated Charles to witness the maturity of the fruit which had been gradually ripening under the eyes of his two predecessors. Then did that union take place between the strong

feeling of religion and the equally strong desire for political innovation which no government can long resist. Either separately may be amused or subdued by a wise and determined ruler; but whenever they combine their powers and act in concert, the legions of the greatest monarch melt away in their presence, and even the Inquisition, more terrible than an army with banners, proves as weak as a sick infant. Fuller was, therefore, far wrong in the opinion that whenever "Christians have resorted to the sword, in order to resist persecution for the Gospel's sake, as did the Albigenses, the Bohemians, the French Protestants, and some others, within the last six hundred years, the issue has commonly been that they have *perished* by it, that is, they have been overcome by their enemies and exterminated; whereas in cases where their only weapons have been the 'blood of the Lamb,' and the word of their testimony, loving not their lives unto the death, they have overcome."*

It may be said, with greater reason, that whenever Christians have resorted to the sword, solely to maintain the excellence of a particular creed, they have not succeeded, because the gentle spirit of religion is not fitted to support those high passions which carry men through the carnage of a field of battle, impel them to storm towns, and subject whole provinces to fire and slaughter. The studies which precede and accompany the discovery of evangelical truth, qualify the disciples of Christ to become martyrs but not generals. The courage of such persons is passive rather than active: it shows itself in all its magnanimity in the prison, on the rack, or at the stake; but it has never proved a match, singlehanded, for bayonets and the thunders of artillery, where squadrons cover the plain under the eye of experienced leaders; nor even for the stratagems of a ghostly tribunal, who triumph by abusing the most sacred feelings of our nature, by converting the conscience into an accuser, and by devoting innocent error to the most cruel punishments. Unprotected by allies more worldly than itself, both in spirit and in weapons, Religion can find no asylum but in prudence or in flight; and fortunately for the cause of goodness the service of God is perfect freedom, and may be performed without suspicion under the eye of a despot, and even within the more deadly grasp of an inquisitor.

Our object in these remarks is to supply the means of accounting for the suppression of the reformed opinions in Spain, which, at one period, were received by a considerable number of individuals among the better instructed classes, were embraced by bishops, by whole monasteries, and even by the chaplain of the Emperor himself. The government succeeded in extirpating the

* Christian Patriotism, by Andrew Fuller.

doctrines of Luther, because the people at large were content with their civil privileges, were proud of their sovereign, and generally delighted with the institutions of their country. The reformation which awaits Spain will reach the ecclesiastical body through the medium of some mighty political change; accomplished too, it is probable, by men whose greatest boast will not respect the purity of their faith, but their love of freedom and hatred of antiquated despotism. When that moment arrives, the Inquisition will crumble to the earth like a decayed sepulchre, unable longer to conceal its dead men's bones and hideous rottenness; and were it possible that the invincible armies of Charles the Fifth could once more appear on the plains of Castile, they too would find themselves opposed by enemies still more formidable than the disciplined battalions of France led on by their gallant king.

It has been usual for historians, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, to ascribe the suppression of the reformation in Spain to the activity of the Inquisition. Viewed as the proximate cause of this effect, there is no doubt that the Holy Office performed the task for which it is still lauded by Popish writers, on both sides of the Alps.

"Had not the Inquisition taken care in time," says La Croze, "to put a stop to these preachers, the Protestant religion would have run through Spain like wildfire; people of all ranks, and of both sexes, having been wonderfully disposed to receive it."

Paramo, too, remarks that all the prisoners in the Inquisitions of Valladolid, Seville, and Toledo, were persons abundantly well qualified.

"I shall here pass over their names in silence, that I may not, by their bad fame, stain the honour of their ancestors, and the nobility of the several illustrious families which were infected with this poison. And as these prisoners were persons thus qualified, so their number was so great, that had the stop put to that evil been delayed two or three months longer, I am persuaded all Spain would have been set in a flame by them."

Spanish writers impute the extensive spread of the Protestant opinions in the Peninsula, in a great degree, to the circumstance that many of their learned countrymen, who were sent into foreign parts to confute the Lutherans, returned infected with heresy; an acknowledgment, as Dr. M'Crie remarks, not very honourable to the cause which they maintain, as it implies that their national creed owes its support chiefly to ignorance, and that when brought to the light of Scripture and argument, its ablest defenders were convinced of its weakness and falsehood. Formerly, says Illescas, the author of the Pontifical History, such Lutheran heretics as were now and then apprehended and committed

to the flames, were almost all either strangers, Germans, Flemings, and English, or if Spaniards, they were mean people and of a bad race; but in these late years we have seen the prisons, scaffolds, and stakes crowded with persons of noble birth; and, what is still more to be deplored, with persons illustrious, in the opinion of the world, for letters and piety. The cause of this, he adds, and of many other evils, was the affection which our Catholic princes had for Germany, England, and other countries without the pale of the Church, which induced them to send learned men and preachers from Spain to these places, in the hope that, by their sermons, they would be brought back to the cause of truth. But unhappily, he concludes, this measure was productive of little good fruit; for of those who went abroad to give light to others, some returned home blind themselves, and being deceived or puffed up with ambition, or a desire to be thought vastly learned and improved by their residence in foreign countries, they followed the example of the heretics with whom they had disputed.*

These are remarkable facts, and proceed from authority which in this case cannot be questioned. They are confirmed, moreover, by the testimony of contemporary writers in our own country, with a reference to those divines whom Philip the Second brought along with him into England, on his marriage with Queen Mary. "It is," says Pilkington, the venerable Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, "much more notable that we have seen come to pass in our days, that the Spaniards, sent for into this realm on purpose to suppress the Gospel, as soon as they were returned home, replenished many parts of their country with the same truths of religion to the which before they were utter enemies."

Animated with that strong feeling of dislike to the Inquisition, which is so natural and even honourable to every Protestant mind, Dr. M'Crie ascribes to the members of the Holy Office a degree of furious activity which is not quite consistent with the facts which he elsewhere records. Had the familiars of that Establishment been as zealous to root out heresy as they were to confiscate property, and, it may be, to accept of bribes, the doctrines of Luther could not have spread to such an extent in Spain, and so long kept possession of the principal cities. This observation is confirmed by the fact that when the Inquisition, at the impulse of the merciless bigot who was on the throne, resumed its proceedings in earnest, the secret friends of the German theology were ferreted out, in noble houses, in nunneries, and even in cathedrals. Then *autos-da-fé* were celebrated almost as fre-

* Illescas, tom. ii. p. 337, quoted by Dr. M'Crie.

quently as the festivals of the Church. Hundreds were brought to the stake, thousands were shut up in hopeless prisons, and tens of thousands were branded with the ignominious mark of heresy, and subjected to the most humiliating penances. But at an earlier period, especially as long as Charles V. was on bad terms with the Pope, it is perfectly obvious that the sons of St. Dominick must have reposed on their gloomy benches, and shut their eyes to the incipient abominations of heterodoxy. It is mentioned by Dr. M'Crie himself, as a fact at least somewhat singular, that in the proceedings of the first Spanish council whose records have reached our time, we find a deeper stigma affixed to the character of informers than to that of heretics. The council of Elvira, after limiting the duration of the penance of those who might fall into heresy, decreed that if a Catholic become an informer, and any one be put to death or proscribed in consequence of his denunciation, he shall not receive the communion even at the hour of death.* Nay, it is farther admitted, that prior to the establishment of the Court of Inquisition, heretics were more mildly treated in Spain than in other countries. Jews who relapsed after having been baptized were subjected to whipping and spare diet, according to the age of the offenders. Those who apostatized to Paganism were condemned to exile, and if slaves, to whipping and chains. The general law on this head was, that such as refused to recant, if priests, should be deprived of all their dignities and property; and if laics, that they should, in addition, be condemned to perpetual banishment. Even after the barbarous custom of committing heretics to the flames had been introduced into other parts of Europe, the Spaniards testified their aversion to sanguinary measures. In 1194, when Alphonso the Second of Aragon, at the instance of the Papal Legate, published an edict commanding the Vaudois and all other sectaries to quit his dominions, those who remained after the time specified were expressly exempted from suffering either death or the mutilation of their bodies. We need not add, that the spirit of the government soon afterwards experienced a deplorable change, and measured its services to God and to the Church, by the number of victims which it immolated on the altar of an intolerant superstition.

Considerable obscurity hangs over the history of those laws, originally sanctioned by the Roman emperors, which set the example of inflicting the punishment of death on an erring faith. Perhaps our author is right in his conjecture, that Manicheism, which was considered by the ancients as subversive of natural religion, was the first heresy which was visited with the loss of

* Concil. Illiberit. can. 22. 73.

life. This penalty was afterwards extended to the Donatists, who, besides deviating from a sound creed, were charged with exciting tumults in various parts of the empire. But it is deserving of remark, that at the early period now mentioned, the leading churchmen were extremely averse to the execution of such severe statutes. When, for instance, in the year 384, Priscillian was put to death at Treves as a convicted Manichean, St. Martin, the bishop, remonstrated with the Emperor Maximus against the deed, which was regarded with abhorrence by all the clergy in France and Italy. St. Augustine, in like manner, protested to the pro-consul of Africa, that if capital punishment were inflicted on the Donatists, he and the other ministers of religion would themselves suffer death at the hands of those turbulent heretics rather than be instrumental in bringing them before the tribunals. But as Dr. McCrie well observes, it is easier to draw than to sheathe the sword of persecution. The ecclesiastics of a following age were zealous in stimulating reluctant magistrates to execute the most sanguinary statutes, and even to direct them against those individuals whose guilt did not go beyond the reception of opinions, which their own predecessors looked upon as harmless or praiseworthy. In the eleventh century, capital punishment, even in its most dreadful forms, was extended to all who obstinately adhered to tenets which were conceived to be inconsistent with the established faith.

“Historians are divided in opinion as to the exact time at which the inquisition was founded. Inquisitors and informers are mentioned in a law published by the Emperor Theodosius against the Manicheans; but these were officers of justice appointed by the prefects, and differed entirely from the persons who became so notorious under these designations many centuries after that period. The fundamental principle of that odious institution was undoubtedly recognized, in 1184, by the Council of Verona; which, however, established no separate tribunal for the pursuit of heretics, but left this task entirely in the hands of the bishops. Rainier, Castlenaw, and St. Dominic, who were sent into France at different times, from 1198 to 1206, had a commission from the Pope to search for heretics, and, in this sense, may be called inquisitors; but they were invested with no judicial power to pronounce a definitive sentence. The Council of Lateran in 1218 made no innovation on the ancient practice. The Council held at Thoulouse in 1229 ordained, that the bishops should appoint, in each parish of their respective dioceses, one priest and two or three laics, who should engage upon oath to make a rigorous search after all heretics and their abettors, and for this purpose should visit every house from the garret to the cellar, together with all subterraneous places where they might conceal themselves. But the inquisition, as a distinct tribunal, was not erected till the year 1233, when Pope Gregory IX. took from the bishops the power of discovering and bring-

ing to punishment the heretics who lurked in France, and committed that task to the Dominican friars. In consequence of this, the tribunal was immediately set up at Thoulouse, and afterwards in the neighbouring cities, from which it was introduced into other countries of Europe.”*

Spain did not long enjoy an immunity from the pressure of this hateful association. The Dominicans had already several convents in that country, whence they were supplied with favourable opportunities for introducing their agents beyond the Pyrenees. In the course of the thirteenth century, they erected inquisitorial tribunals in the principal towns of Arragon, from which they were forthwith extended to Navarre. It does not appear that they succeeded in extending the power of this terrible engine into Castile; for although a papal bull was issued for that purpose in 1236, and Ferdinand, surnamed the Saint, is said to have carried wood with his own hands for burning his subjects at the stake, there is no evidence on record that the Holy Office actually commenced proceedings within the limits of his government; the dread which it inspired proving, perhaps, a sufficient antidote to the plague of heresy. Nor are the records of this early court stained with any flagrant acts of cruelty or oppression; or if there were any such, they have been so completely thrown into the shade, by the bolder iniquity of the more modern tribunal, as to escape observation. We are told that the form of process in the Inquisition, when first erected, was extremely simple, and differed very little from that which was followed in the ordinary courts of justice. In particular, the interrogatories put to persons accused, and to witnesses, were short and direct, evincing merely a desire to ascertain the truth on the subjects of inquiry.

But at the distance of two centuries from the period of its first institution in Spain, the Holy Office was so entirely new modelled, as to assume a character and objects altogether unknown to its original members. Under this new form it is usually called the Modern Inquisition, and has been limited in its operation to the kingdoms of the Peninsula. The court, which was sanctioned by the authority of Gregory the Ninth, was intended to check the errors propagated by the Albigenses, and other heretical sects on both sides of the mountains; but the *reformed* institution comprehended a greater variety of objects, and, among others, the con-dign punishment of such Jewish converts as should apostatise from the Christian religion.

In this last case, all the bad passions which war against humanity were combined with superstitious zeal in giving a frightful energy to the proceedings of the Inquisition. During the lengthened hostilities in which the Spaniards were engaged with the

* General History of Languedoc, tom. iii, p. 131. Llorente, chap. ii.

Moors, the descendants of Israel had engrossed a large portion of the national wealth, and thereby attained to considerable influence in the governments of Aragon and Castile. Their riches and power did not fail to create many enemies, who, taking advantage of popular prejudice, excited against them a severe persecution as avowed contemners of the Cross of Christ. In one year, five thousand Jews were cut off by legal murder, and their property seized by the agents of the Inquisition. With the view of saving their lives, many of that devoted people submitted to baptism; and it is computed that, in the course of a few years, nearly a million of individuals renounced the Law of Moses, and made profession of the Christian faith. The number of converts, as they were called, was increased in the beginning of the fifteenth century, by the zeal of the Dominican missionaries, and especially of St. Vincent Ferrer, to whom, as our author observes, the Spanish historians have ascribed more miracles and conversions than were wrought by the apostles. These converts, says he, were called "New Christians," and sometimes *Marranos*, from the form of abjuration in use among the Jews. As their adoption of the faith which they had formerly detested, proceeded from the fear of death rather than from the dictates of conscience, the greater part repented the step which they had been induced to take, and resumed in secret the practice of their native religion, while they outwardly conformed to that of their oppressors. This hypocritical compromise with circumstance could not fail to be painful to their minds, and hence, as was to be expected, their conformity relaxed in proportion to their increasing numbers, and as the fears for their personal safety abated. Many of them, of consequence, were discovered by the monks, who exclaimed that if some severe measures were not adopted to check this apostasy, the whole body of the converted Jews would relapse into their former state, while the faith of the old Christians would be corrupted and undermined by the concealed traitors with whom they were intermingled.

The alarm which was thus expressed, roused the Spanish government and the Papal See from their temporary inactivity, and suggested, on the part of both, expedients suitable to an emergency so extremely momentous. The union of Aragon and Castile, which had been recently effected by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, produced, in forming the scheme of a national tribunal, a greater degree of unanimity and decision than had hitherto appeared in the conduct of the inquisitors. The persons employed in this ungracious duty were Felipe de Barberis and Alphonso de Hoyeda, both of them Dominican friars, assisted by Nicolas Franco, bishop of Treviso, who was at that time nuncio

from Pope Sixtus IV. to the Court of Spain. On the first day of November, in the year 1478, a bull was issued for establishing the Inquisition in Castile; and on the 17th of September, 1480, their Catholic Majesties named the first inquisitors, who commenced their proceedings on the 2d of January thereafter, in the Dominican convent of St. Paul, at Seville. The tribunal did not, however, assume a permanent form till the year 1483, when Friar Thomas Torquemada, prior of Santa Cruz, in the town of Segovia, was placed at its head, under the designation of Inquisitor General. He proceeded, without delay, to exercise the high powers with which he was intrusted, by choosing his assessors, and by erecting subordinate tribunals in different parts of the kingdom. Over the whole was placed the "Council of the Supreme," consisting of the inquisitor-general, as president, and two counsellors, two of whom were doctors of law; the main duty of which body was to regulate the inferior courts, and to prevent encroachments on the secular authority. His next employment was to construct a system of rules for the government of his institution, which, with a few alterations made by his successor, Valdes, continues to be the code of law in force at the present day.

"In the course of the first year in which it was erected, the Inquisition of Seville, which then extended over Castile, committed two thousand persons alive to the flames, burnt as many in effigy, and condemned seventeen thousand to different penances. According to a moderate computation, from the same date to 1517, the year in which Luther made his appearance, thirteen thousand persons were burnt alive, eight thousand seven hundred were burnt in effigy, and one hundred and sixty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-three were condemned to penances; making in all one hundred and ninety-one thousand four hundred and twenty-three persons condemned by the several tribunals of Spain in the course of thirty-six years. There is reason for thinking that this estimate falls much below the truth. For, from 1481 to 1520, it is computed that in Andalusia alone thirty thousand persons informed against themselves, from the dread of being accused by others, or in the hope of obtaining a mitigation of their sentence."

In fact, according to Puighblanch, a Popish writer and by no means hostile to the Inquisition, the number of the reconciled and banished in Andalusia, during the period just specified, was a hundred thousand; while forty-five thousand were burnt alive in the archbishopric of Seville. Llorente, another author of the same communion, expresses himself in the following terms:—

"I do not stop to describe the several kinds of torture inflicted on the accused by order of the Inquisition; this task having been executed with sufficient exactness by a great many historians. On this head, I declare that none of them can be accused of exaggeration. I have read many

processes which have struck and pierced me with horror, and I could regard the inquisitors, who had recourse to such methods, in no other light than that of cold-blooded barbarians. Suffice it to add, that the Council of the Supreme has often been obliged to forbid the repetition of the torture in the same process; but the inquisitors, by an abominable sophism, have found means to render this prohibition almost useless, by giving the name of *suspension* to that cessation from torture, which is imperiously demanded by the imminent danger to which the victim is exposed, of dying among their hands. My pen refuses to trace the picture of these horrors, for I know nothing more opposed to the spirit of charity and compassion which Jesus Christ inculcates in the Gospel, than this council of inquisitors; and yet, in spite of the scandal which it has given, there is not, after the eighteenth century is closed, any law or decree abolishing the torture.*

It is justly observed, that the part of the process which relates to the infliction of torture, is a monstrous compound of injustice and barbarity. If, after the evidence is closed, the tribunal find that there is not sufficient proof of guilt against the prisoner, the members are warranted by their instructions to have recourse to the rack or pulley, in order to force him to supply additional evidence against himself. He is allowed indeed to appeal to the Council of the Supreme against the sentence of the inquisitors ordering him to be tortured; but then, by a refinement in cruelty, it is provided that the inquisitors themselves shall be judges of the validity of this appeal, and if they deem it frivolous, are empowered to execute their own sentence without delay. In this case, says Dr. M'Crie, the appeal of the poor prisoner is as little heard of as are the shrieks which he utters in the subterranean den to which he is conducted, where every bone is moved from its socket, and the blood is made to start from every vein of his body.

The principles of the ancient and modern Inquisition were no doubt radically the same, but they assumed a more malignant form under the latter body. During the existence of the former the bishops had always a certain degree of controul over its proceedings; the law of secrecy was not so rigidly enforced; greater liberty of defence was allowed to the accused: and in some provinces, as in Arragon, in consequence of the civil rights acquired by the people, the inquisitors were prevented from sequestering the property of those whom they had convicted of heresy. But the leading difference between the two establishments consists in the organization of the modern court into one great independent tribunal, which, extending over the whole kingdom, is governed by one code of laws, and yields implicit obedience to one head. At no distant period the Inquisitor-General possessed an autho-

* Llorente, vol. i. 306, &c.

rity scarcely inferior to that of the King or the Pope; by joining with either he could command the acquiescence of the other; and when supported by both his power was irresistible. The ancient Inquisition was a convenient engine for harassing and rooting out a small body of dissidents; the modern Inquisition has stretched its iron arms over a whole nation, upon which it lies like a monstrous incubus, paralysing its exertions, crushing its energies, and extinguishing every other feeling but a sense of weakness and terror.*

“It is but justice, however, to the Spaniards, to state that the erection of this tribunal was viewed by the nation with the greatest aversion and alarm. Talavera, the excellent Archbishop of Grenada, resisted its introduction with all his influence. The most enlightened Spaniards of that age spoke of its proceedings with horror and shame. ‘The losses and misery which the evil ministers of the Inquisition have brought on my country can never be enough deplored,’ says Gonzalez de Ayora, in a letter to the secretary of King Ferdinand. ‘O unhappy Spain, mother of so many heroes, how unjustly disgraced by such a horrible scourge,’ exclaims Peter Martyr.”

D’Arbuis, the first inquisitor of Aragon, was not the only individual who fell a sacrifice to the indignation against the Inquisition shared by all classes of the community. Torquemada was obliged to adopt the greatest precautions for his personal safety. In his journeys he was uniformly accompanied by a guard of fifty familiars on horseback, and two hundred on foot; and he had always on his table an instrument for discovering and neutralizing poisons. In Aragon, where the inhabitants had been accustomed to the old Inquisition for two centuries and a half, the introduction of it in its new form excited tumults in various places, and met with a resistance almost universal.

Nor was the terror of the Inquisition confined to natives of Spain; it was extended likewise to foreigners who were casually resident in the country, and even to Englishmen engaged in the pursuits of commerce. Nicolas Burton, a merchant of London, having entered a Spanish port with a vessel laden with goods, fell into the hands of the Holy Office, when, refusing to abjure the Protestant faith, he was burnt alive. Llorente, the ex-secretary of the Inquisition, observes in regard to this occurrence—

“Let it be granted, if you will have it so, that Burton was guilty of an imprudence, by posting up his religious sentiments at San Lucar de Barrameda and at Seville, in contempt of the faith of the Spaniards; it is no less true that both charity and justice required that, in the case of a stranger who had not his fixed abode in Spain, they should have contented themselves with warning him to abstain from all marks of disrespect to the religion and laws of the country, and threatening him with

* Llorente, vol. i. p. 168. McCrie, p. 103.

punishment if he repeated the offence. The Holy Office had nothing to do with his private sentiments, having been established, not for strangers, but solely for the people of Spain."—vol. ii. p. 283.

But that the charge against Burton was a mere pretext, if not a fabrication, is evident from the fact mentioned by our author, that William Burke, a mariner of Southampton, and a Frenchman named Fabianne, who had come to Spain in the course of trade, were burnt at the same stake with him, although not accused of any insult on the religion of the country.*

We are further told, on the authority of Strype, that part of the goods in Burton's ship, confiscated by the inquisitors, belonged to a merchant in London, who sent out John Frampton to Seville, with a power of attorney, to recover them. The Holy Office had recourse to every obstacle in opposing his claim, and after fruitless labour during four months, he found it necessary to return to England to obtain ampler powers. Upon his landing the second time in Spain, he was seized by two familiars, and conveyed in chains to Seville, where he was thrown into the secret prison of the Triana. The only pretext for this violent and most unjustifiable attack upon the liberty of a foreigner, was founded upon the very trifling circumstance, that a book of Cato, in English, was discovered in his portmanteau. Being unable to substantiate a charge of heresy on this ground, the inquisitors proceeded to interrogate him on his religious opinions, and insisted that he should purge himself of suspicion by repeating the "Ave Maria." In submitting to this test he left out the words "Mother of God pray for us;" upon which he was put to the torture. After enduring three shocks of the pulley, and while he "lay flat upon the ground half-dead and half-alive," he agreed to adopt as the articles of his faith whatever his tormentors might choose to dictate. But this concession was not deemed satisfactory. He was still suspected of the taint of Lutheranism; for which reason the property which he had come to reclaim was forthwith confiscated. He appeared among the penitents at the *auto da fe* where Burton was committed to the flames, and was not set at liberty until after he had been confined in prison more than two years.

It is not our intention to enter into the horrible details of those public executions in which the faith and steadfastness of so many Protestants were tried by fire. There were four grand *autos* celebrated in the years 1559 and 1560, two of which were exhibited at Valladolid, and the same number at Seville. The first of these heart-rending scenes was got up in the former city, on Trinity Sunday, 1559, in the presence of Don Carlos, the heir-apparent

* Llorente, vol. ii. p. 285. Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 238, quoted by Dr. M'Crie.

to the crown, and his aunt Juana, Queen-dowager of Portugal, attended by a great concourse of people of all ranks. It was performed in the grand square between the Church of St. Francis and the house of the Consistory. In the front of the Town-house, and by the side of the platform occupied by the inquisitors, a box was erected, which the royal family could enter without interruption from the crowd, and in which they had a full view of the prisoners. The spectacle continued from six in the morning till two in the afternoon, during which space the people exhibited no symptoms of impatience, nor did the queen retire until the whole was concluded. The prisoners brought forth on this occasion amounted to thirty, of whom sixteen were reconciled, and fourteen were delivered over to the secular arm. Two of these were thrown alive into the flames; the rest were strangled before they were burnt. On this occasion the inquisitors administered an oath to the prince and Juana, binding them to support the Holy Office, and to reveal to it every thing contrary to the faith which might come to their knowledge, without respect of persons. At the second *auto*, which took place in the same city about five months afterwards, Philip II. appeared, attended by his son, his sister, the Prince of Parma, three ambassadors from France, with a numerous assemblage of prelates and nobility of both sexes. The inquisitor-general, Valdes, administered a similar oath to the king; on which ceremony Philip, rising from his seat, and drawing his sword in token of his readiness to use it in support of the Holy Office, swore and subscribed the oath, which was afterwards read aloud to the people. It was, we think, on the same occasion that Domingo de Roxas, son of the Marquis de Poza, who was condemned to suffer death for his opinions, made an appeal to the mercy of the king, while passing the royal box on his way to the stake. "Canst thou, sire, thus witness the torments of thy innocent subjects? Save us from so cruel a death!" "No!" replied Philip sternly; "I would myself carry wood to burn my own son, were he such a wretch as thou." De Roxas was about to say something in defence of himself and his fellow-sufferers, when the unrelenting despot waving his hand, the officers instantly thrust the gag into the mouth of their victim, and hurried him onward to the flames.

The insensibility displayed by Philip was not altogether unparalleled in his royal house. When the familiars of the Holy Office were first let loose on the Protestants of Seville, they caught in their fangs Constantine Ponce de la Fuente, the favourite chaplain of Charles V. The emperor had already retired from the cares of government into the monastery of St. Juste, where he was informed of the apprehension of his clerical friend at the instance

of the inquisitors. "If Constantine be a heretic," he exclaimed, "he is a great one!" And when assured at a subsequent period, by one of these unrighteous judges, that he had been found guilty; "You cannot," he replied, "condemn a greater!" But respect for the feelings of the sovereign, who had selected Ponce to attend his son into the Netherlands, "to let the Flemings see that Spain was not destitute of polite scholars and orators," secured for this distinguished reformer milder treatment than would have been thought due to his own character and station. Soon after the death of Charles he was removed from the apartment which he had hitherto occupied, and thrust into a low, damp and noisome vault. Oppressed, and worn-out by suffering, he was heard to exclaim, "O, my God, were there no Scythians, or cannibals, or pagans still more savage, that thou hast permitted me to fall into the hands of these baptized fiends." He could not exist long in such a situation. Putrid air and unwholesome food, together with grief for the ruin of the reformed cause in his native country, brought on a disease which terminated his misery, after having been about two years in confinement.

The following anecdote presents a melancholy illustration of the effects of bigotry in an age of comparative barbarity and darkness, when the best feelings of the heart are so far corrupted as to become motives to the worst of actions. Juan Diaz, a native of Cuença, became a convert to the Protestant faith, and took up his residence at Geneva, in the society of Bucer and other distinguished divines. Intelligence of this change was soon conveyed to his brother, Doctor Alfonso, who held the office of advocate in the sacred Rota at Rome. Enraged to the highest degree at the apostacy of Juan, he set out instantly for Germany, determined in one way or other to wipe off the stain which had fallen on the hitherto spotless honour of his family. Meanwhile the young convert had removed to Neuburg, a small town in Bavaria, whither his relative followed him, accompanied, it was observed, by a very suspicious attendant. Failing in his endeavours to bring him back to the Church of Rome, the wily Alfonso pretended to be shaken by the arguments which his brother employed in support of the Protestant doctrines, and ended by proposing that he should go with him into Italy, where there was a greater field for disseminating the truths of the Gospel than in Germany, which was already provided with an abundance of labourers. To this proposal Juan would have acceded, in the hope that the advocate of the Rota would assist him in his evangelical mission, and enable him to sow the good seed even within the walls of the papal city. But the experience of Bucer and other friends suggested powerful reasons against a step so full of hazard. Concealing the

chagrin which he felt at this unexpected obstacle, Alfonso took an affectionate leave of his brother, after he had in a private interview forced a sum of money upon him, and expressed the warmest gratitude for the spiritual benefit which he had derived from his conversation.

“ He proceeded to Augsburg, on the road to Italy; but next day, after using various precautions to conceal his route, he returned along with the man whom he had brought from Rome, and spent the night in a village at a small distance from Neuburg. Early next morning, being the 27th of March, 1546, they came to the house where his brother lodged. Alfonso stood at the gate, while his attendant, knocking at the door, and announcing that he was the bearer of a letter to Juan Diaz, from his brother, was shown up stairs to an apartment. On hearing of a letter from his brother, Juan sprung out of bed, hastened to the apartment in an undress, took the letter from the hand of the bearer, and as it was still dark, went to the window to read it, when the ruffian stepping softly behind him, dispatched his unsuspecting victim with one stroke of an axe, which he had concealed under his cloak. He then joined the more guilty murderer, who now stood at the stair-foot to prevent interruption, and ready, if necessary, to give assistance to the assassin whom he had hired to execute his purpose.

“ Alarmed by the noise which the assassin’s spurs made on the steps as he descended, the person who slept with Juan Diaz rose hastily, and going into the adjoining apartment, beheld with unutterable feelings his friend stretched on the floor, and weltering in his blood, with his hands clasped and the instrument of death fixed in his head. The murderers were fled, and had provided a relay of horses to convey them quickly out of Germany; but the pursuit after them, which commenced as soon as the alarm could be given, was so hot that they were overtaken at Inspruck, and secured in prison. Otho Henry, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria, within whose territories the crime was perpetrated, lost no time in taking the necessary measures for having it judicially tried. Lawyers were sent from Neuburg with the night-cap of the deceased, the bloody axe, the letter of Alfonso, and other documents; but though the prisoners were arraigned before the criminal court at Inspruck, the trial was suspended through the influence of the cardinals of Trent and Augsburg, to whom the fratricide obtained liberty to write at the beginning of his imprisonment. When his plea for the benefit of clergy was set aside, as contrary to the laws of Germany, various legal quirks were resorted to, and at last the judges produced an order from the emperor, prohibiting them from proceeding with the trial, and reserving the cause for the judgment of his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans. When the Protestant princes, at the subsequent Diet of Ratisbon, demanded first of the emperor, and afterwards of his brother, that the murderers should be punished, their requests were evaded; and in the issue the murderers were allowed to escape untried and with impunity, to the outraging of humanity and justice, and the disgrace of the Church of Rome, whose authorities were bound to see

that the most rigorous scrutiny was made into the horrid deed, under the pain of being held responsible for it to heaven and to posterity. The liberated fratricide appeared openly at Trent along with his bloody accomplice, without exciting a shudder in the breasts of the holy fathers met in council; he was welcomed back to Rome, and finally returned to his native country, where he was admitted to the society of men of rank and education, who listened to him while he coolly related the circumstances of his sanctified crime."*

The history of religion in Spain proves beyond all reasonable doubt that it is possible, by means of terror and death, to check the progress of sound views, and to confirm for a long time the dominion of error, even in a nation comparatively civilized. As the propagation of the reformed opinions was chiefly confined to that higher rank where some degree of learning and reflection enabled their possessors to keep pace with the discovery of truth in other countries, the mass of the Spanish people took little interest in the great cause which had excited the fears of the Church, and even of the throne. They crowded to witness the Acts of Faith, and to have their bigotry nourished by the overflowings of zeal on the part of dignified ecclesiastics, as well as of princes and sovereigns; not perceiving that the bonds of civil and religious despotism were thereby riveted on the body of the state for generations to come, and that they were adding to the difficulties of a struggle, through which their descendants are doomed to recover liberty of conscience, and the other natural rights of the human being.

We purposely refrain from following Dr. M'Crie through the revolting scenes which accompanied the suppression of the Reformation. This part of his work, indeed, is necessarily a mere abridgment of the History of the Inquisition; a new arrangement of materials drawn from the pages of Montanus, Puighblanch and Llorente, who have compiled the annals of that execrable association. Such details, derived from sources so pure and unsuspected, supply a most valuable document to the Protestant world; they remove all doubt as to the melancholy fact that hundreds of thousands have been condemned to death or exile for presuming to discover the will of God in that inspired volume which was written for the learning of the Christian community in all ages of the Church. But the repeated description of those horrors answers no good purpose, and hence we do not deeply sympathize in the disappointment felt by Dr. M'Crie at the want of encouragement shown in England to Llorente, who proposed to publish the trials of those who suffered for religion in his native country. The

* Of the various narratives which were published of this murder, one was written by Melancthon, under the title of "*Histoire von Alfonso Dacio*."

closest view that could have been presented to us of the iniquities of the Inquisition, the fraud, cruelty and hypocrisy which disgraced that odious tribunal, would not have extended our knowledge in regard to the points about which we are most desirous to be informed; the causes, namely, which produced in Spain a result in many respects so different from that which crowned the exertions of the Lutherans in Germany, Flanders, England, and even in France.

Besides the reasons already assigned for the defeat of the Protestant cause in Spain, we may add that the geographical situation of the Peninsula removed it from the influence of those powerful feelings which had already begun to shake in the centre of Europe the stability of the oldest institutions. Even in point of literature the Spaniards did not partake of the zeal which had warmed the breasts of public men on both sides of the Alps; and we find accordingly, in the dedication by Enzinas of his translation of the New Testament, to Charles V., that the neglect of letters was imputed to his native subjects as a proof of idleness and superstition.

“The second reason, Sacred Majesty, which has had weight with me is the honour of our Spanish nation, which has been calumniated and ridiculed by other nations on this head. There is no people, so far as I know, except the Spaniards, who are not permitted to read the Bible in their native tongue. In Italy there are many versions, the greater part of which has issued from Naples, the patrimony of your Majesty. In France they are innumerable. In Flanders, and throughout the whole of your Majesty's territories in that quarter, I have myself seen many; while new ones are published daily in its principal towns. In Germany they are as plentiful as water, not only in Protestant, but also in Catholic states. The same may be said of all the realms of the illustrious King Don Fernando, your Majesty's brother; as also of England, Scotland and Ireland. Spain stands alone, as if she were the obscure extremity of Europe. For what reason that privilege has been denied to her which has been conceded to every other country, I know not. Since in every thing we boast, and that not unjustly, that we are the foremost, I cannot see why in this business, which is of the highest moment, we should be the last.”

In truth, nothing is more remarkable in the history of central Europe during the fifteenth century than the attention bestowed on sacred literature, especially on the original languages of Scripture. It is unnecessary to mention minutely the several works which at that period awakened the curiosity, and in some measure purified the faith, of the Roman priesthood; suffice it to observe, that by means of these studies the minds of the learned were turned to the inspired writings, and prepared for taking a part in the religious controversy which soon afterwards arose. Even in the conclave there were individuals, such as Egidio, Fregoso and Alexander,

who were skilled in the sacred tongues, which were now studied in the palaces of bishops, and in the cells of monks. We find accordingly, among the converts to the reformed doctrine, men eminent for their literary attainment, the rank they held in the Church, and the character which they obtained for piety in those orders to which the epithet Religious had long been appropriated. In surveying this portion of history, it is impossible not to admire the arrangements of Providence, when we perceive monks, and bishops, and cardinals, and even popes, active in forging and polishing those weapons which were soon to be turned against themselves, and which they afterwards laboured to decry as unlawful and empoisoned.

These remarks apply to Italy rather than to Spain, where the progress of letters was both later and more tardy. Recent researches into the literature of the Peninsula have indeed brought to light certain poems, and other works of imagination, which prove that the Muses had not altogether deserted one of the most romantic portions of Europe. But the age of Boccaccio and Petrarch arrived among the Spaniards a century and a half after the Romans had begun to think of more serious things; and had it not been for the spirited rivalry of the Moors, and the oriental pursuits of the Jewish Rabbis, the study of religion, as a subject of erudition and history, would have slumbered much longer among the ecclesiastics of Spain. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the appearance of the famous Polyglot, under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes, redeemed, in some measure, the reputation of his countrymen for zeal and learning. But these expedients, it is obvious, however much they may reflect honour on individuals, were too limited in their operation to affect the public mind. The mass of the people remained as ignorant and indifferent as before: they were therefore ready tools in the hands of bigoted nobles and persecuting prelates, and, in the end, willing spectators of the misery and degradation which oppressed their native country.

The friends of religion and of civil liberty are indebted to Dr. M'Crie for his two volumes on the Suppression of the Reformation in Italy and Spain. It is to be regretted that his materials were not equal to his industry, and to the skill with which he works them up into narrative and description. His observations on the Italian republics may be applied to the several kingdoms of the Peninsula, where the workings of that rising spirit which distinguished the beginning of the sixteenth century are only to be found perpetuated in the martyrology of private families, which sank under the tyranny of an ignorant priesthood; or in the annals of such oppressed and unhappy sects as were doomed to sustain the failure of their generous designs, and to transmit to future gene-

rations the sorrow and disappointment which closed their last efforts in behalf of evangelical truth. Unfortunately few of the Spanish Protestants thought of recording the facts connected with the religious movement which issued in their expulsion from the place of their birth. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic writers appear to have agreed from the very outset, to pass over a subject at once unpleasant and dangerous; or if they did touch it, to represent any agitation which took place as exceedingly slight and transient, and as produced by a few individuals of no note or consideration, who had suffered themselves to be led astray by fondness for novelty. But, notwithstanding these arts, the Church historian will henceforward find himself supplied with many facts unknown to his predecessors, illustrative of that glorious struggle for mental freedom, which, although it was not successful in the dominions of Philip II., was crowned with a complete triumph in still more important parts of the European commonwealth, and will, at no distant period, carry captivity captive even in the strong holds of papal superstition and tyranny.

ART. V.—*Life of Oliver Cromwell.* By the Rev. M. Russell, LL.D. Author of “A Connection of Sacred and Profane History,” &c. Edinburgh. Constable and Co. 2 vols. 1829.

HOWEVER copious may be the materials whence our knowledge of the Great Rebellion, and the Usurpation consequent on it, may be derived, still the far larger number of the countless Works relating to that disastrous period, may be considered more as *Mémoires pour servir*, than as absolute History; and though little, perhaps, that is wholly new can now be stated of Cromwell, we think there is much which may be stated in a more attractive form than it has heretofore assumed. We rejoice, therefore, that the Biography of that *remarkable* man, (the epithet has been well-weighed before we employ it,) has fallen into the hands of a writer who brings to his task so much diligence, research, moderation, good feeling and good sense, as Dr. Russell has manifested in the pages before us. Without dissembling that we more than once disagree from him, and with no small conviction that his agreeable volumes have been somewhat hastily put together, we still think them calculated to increase the deserved reputation which their author has already established; and above all, (a praise which we are convinced that he will value more than any other which we could offer,) that they are likely to do much good.

We by no means propose to follow the well-known and beaten track of the Protector's History. We shall content ourselves with a few extracts, illustrative of the manner in which it has been treated

by Dr. Russell, and a few remarks upon some incidental matters arising from it. Of his more recent strictly biographical predecessors it may be enough to premise, that it is not easy to exhibit greater labour and accuracy than have been shown by Noble; that it is very easy in both these qualifications, and in many others which contribute to the formation of a trustworthy writer, such as modesty, consistency, impartiality, &c. &c. to exceed Mr. Thomas Cromwell; and that with all our respect for the honourable motives which prompted that other excellent old gentleman, in whose veins flowed similar blood, and whose pen, whenever he signed his name, dropped similar letters to that of the Protector, in his attempt to whitewash his notorious ancestor; still, after a perusal of his Work, we are only confirmed in the very natural suspicion which was awakened before we opened it. Of the three modern Biographers of the Usurper, therefore, Noble may always be believed, but we much doubt whether he will ever be read; Thomas Cromwell ought never to be read, because he can seldom be believed; and Oliver Cromwell may be read equally without harm and without profit, because every body will perceive in the outset that it is not at all requisite to believe him.

The mildest terms which can be applied to Cromwell's early years are, that he was an unlucky boy and a dissipated youth. The unsavoury practical joke which brought upon him the displeasure of his paternal uncle, rests on too good authority to be disbelieved; or else, from its very grossness, it would be incredible. No other proof can be wanting that, from the very dawn of life, Cromwell in his tastes did not aspire to the character of *emunctæ naris homo*. His quarrel with his uncle on the other side, involves a charge of much more heinous offence—of *moral* filthiness—which, after every extension of charity, it is not easy to purge away. Noble admits the imputation that Cromwell attempted to obtain a commission of lunacy against Sir Thomas Steward, well knowing that he was sane, in the hope of supplying his own necessities from the estate. Mr. Oliver Cromwell peremptorily denies the fact; but it is established beyond doubt by contemporary evidence; and it is in no wise contradicted by any subsequent act of the life of him against whom it is imputed. Can his advocates produce a single instance in which he hesitated to compass that which he thought most accorded with his own interests, because the path to its attainment was crooked? Is there any point of his eventful history at which he turned aside from personal gain, because it was only to be approached through fraud, duplicity, and falsehood?

In the second chapter, "containing a short account of the Political and Religious Principles which led to the Civil War in

the Reign of Charles I." we meet with one or two paragraphs which we wish had been more completely evolved. We are convinced that the meaning which they may be *supposed* to bear is by no means that which Dr. Russell intended; for he belongs to a widely different school from that which charges the calamities of Charles and his adherents upon themselves. When we are told that

"The great body of the Commons, too, were desirous to revive the original principles of the Constitution, and thereby to place personal liberty and property on a more secure foundation than they had enjoyed from the death of Richard the Third."—vol. i. pp. 84, 85.

Dr. Russell surely cannot mean to speak of the existence of any "original principles" of the Constitution previous to the great struggle of which he is treating, sufficiently defined to ensure our liberties. To that struggle, notwithstanding all its enormities and its blood-guiltiness, through the benevolent dispensation by which Good is always produced out of Evil, there can be no doubt that we mainly owe our present Freedom; for in its course not the *original* principles (Heaven forbid! where would they then be found?) of our Constitution were *revived*, but by the discussions which it created, and the attention which it excited both to abstract and practical principles, the ground was prepared, the piles were driven, and the foundations were laid, whereon the goodly and well-compacted structure arose, which was to receive its crowning-stone at the Revolution. Charles violated no Constitutional *principles*, for he found none to oppose him. He exercised the prerogative as it passed into his hands, and as it had been asserted by his predecessors. Happy was it for us, though most unhappy for himself and his contemporaries, that this prerogative was disputed and restrained. But if Charles had succeeded to his utmost hope, in governing without Parliaments, his rule, however justly it might be accounted arbitrary, ought never to be stigmatized as unconstitutional.

Again, we are told of Laud, (and Warburton has said much the same thing before,) that

"It was next to impossible that he should at once restore the Church and obtain popularity. But his conduct was so injudicious or so unfortunate, that he sacrificed both: he hastened the downfall of the establishment, increased the embarrassments of the Monarch, and finally paid the penalty of his unseasonable ardour on a bloody scaffold."—vol. i. p. 91.

Respecting Laud, one of the sincerest Confessors and Martyrs of the Church of England, we have written too much of late to make it necessary that we should repeat our fixed opinions. So

widely do we differ from the above judgment, that we are convinced any other course than that which the Archbishop adopted would have been infinitely more destructive to the Establishment. If Abbot had been Metropolitan, concession after concession would have been accorded, till not a shadow remained to be defended: the Independent would have snapped the Crozier, the Presbyterian would have trampled on the Mitre, the Fifth-Monarchy-man would have torn away the vestments, and insisted on primitive nakedness; and, in the end, not only reviled and injured, but dishonoured and debased, the victim equally of his own weakness as of the malice of his persecutors, would have been dragged to the block, and there requested to deliver the axe to the executioner. Laud resisted and perished. The fortress which he defended was taken by storm, and not surrendered by treachery; and though the garrison was put to the sword in the heat and fury of the assault, yet when the enemy had passed away and tranquillity was again restored, it was far easier to repair the towers and bulwarks in which a single breach only had been effected, than it would have been if they had been generally undermined, by the want of courage and lack of fidelity of those who should have maintained them with their lives.

Every part of the Scottish transactions, during this period of our History, is so replete with disgrace to those concerned in them, that we cannot but feel a little misgiving whether Edinburgh is the precise climate and latitude under which we may look for a fair representation. Dr. Russell has acted with sound discretion on this point, and has introduced his neighbours as little as possible upon the scene. On their very first appearance he seems to imply, with much honesty, that he is quite aware of his difficulty.

“There is no doubt that the Scots, *however inconsistent with their principles their actual conduct may be deemed*, were sincere in their professions of supporting the Monarchy, and even of preserving the person of Charles.”—vol. i. p. 167.

If such indeed were their intentions, well might Charles, in resolving to place himself in their hands, aver that he was about “to resolve the *riddle* of their loyalty.”* Alas! that riddle, when expounded, too clearly proved that they had not profited by the opportunity which he afforded them, “to let the world see they mean not what they *do*, but what they *say*.”* Of the national infamy which they brought upon themselves by the peddling bargain wherewith they trafficked in innocent blood, we should cer-

* K. Charles's *Works*.

tainly be inclined to speak in words less courteous, than that they "were not disposed, from any chivalrous sentiments in behalf of their native Prince, to incur the hazard of a war with the rising Commonwealth." But Dr. Russell soon after very wisely drops the curtain.

"It belongs not to the biographer of Cromwell to state the terms of that unfortunate stipulation which provided for the delivery of Charles into the hands of the English commissioners. It is enough to mention, that the rejection of their propositions, and the firmness which he displayed in refusing to give his sanction to their religious model, had so much incensed the majority of the Presbyterians against the Monarch, that the Independents had no immediate cause to apprehend a union of their interests."—vol. i. pp. 232, 233.

We notice these passages not, most assuredly, with any wish to detract from a Work of great merit, but with a sincere desire to call Dr. Russell's attention to a cautious review before his next impression. We will permit him to say as little as he pleases about the Scots; but in that little he must frankly express the feeling which we doubt not he deeply entertains—a generous detestation of their baseness. He must not appear to lend his very valuable sanction to the clamours which ignorance or design have raised against the memory of Laud. Nor must he run the hazard of being mistaken for a member of any other band than that of such who consider what has been called the *Civil War*, to be flat Rebellion; and the *execution* of Charles, a foul, wicked, and most atrocious murder.

That such are in truth, Dr. Russell's own opinions, we do not for a moment admit the slightest shadow of doubt; and it is on this account that we are most anxious that his readers should not feel more hesitation concerning them than we do ourselves. His second volume is more likely to produce this effect than his first. Of the career of blood upon which Cromwell entered in Ireland, he speaks with just abhorrence; and in reply to the untenable palliation which has sometimes been offered, namely that his object in the massacres at Wexford, Drogheda and elsewhere, was to set such an example of severity, as would terrify other garrisons from resistance, he promptly answers that, such a policy is one "of the most barbarous nature, which cannot be defended upon any principle of humanity or international law." The mind, indeed, revolts even from that species of military execution, which has too often been deemed necessary in cases of open rebellion; where some of the unhappy and misguided persons taken with arms in their hands, survive the battle, only that they may perish more ignominiously on the scaffold. Not all the princely qualities which, on many other occasions were evinced by the victor of Culloden,

have been able to preserve his memory from the blight which it suffered after the triumph of that field. But how few, in comparison with those numbers which Cromwell sacrificed, were the victims whom the Duke of Cumberland thought it right to set apart as an example! how entirely distinct were the circumstances of the two cases! Taking Cromwell's own accounts as our guide, we hear of 2000 men put to the sword, under Sir Arthur Ashton, in the Mill Mount at Drogheda; 100 more burned in St. Peter's Church; out of a body who occupied one of the towers, "the officers were knocked on the head," the soldiers decimated, and such as were not killed in cold blood, were shipped for Barbadoes.

"I believe all the friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two, the one of which was Father Peter Taaf, brother to the Lord Taaf, whom the soldiers took the next day and made an end of: the other was taken in the round tower, under the repute of lieutenant, and when he understood that the officers in that town had no quarter, he confessed he was a friar, but that did not save him."—vol. ii. p. 21.

More than 3000 lives were offered up on this *Aceldama*. They were, for the most part, men; but at Wexford, after submission, even while the capitulation was arranging, the troops found means of entering, and murdered indiscriminately, the armed soldier, the unresisting citizen and the defenceless female.

"Three hundred of the latter flocked round the great cross which stood in the street, hoping that Christian soldiers would be so far softened by the sight of that emblem of mercy as to spare the lives of unresisting women; but the victors, enraged at such superstition, and regarding it perhaps as a proof that they were Roman Catholics, and therefore fit objects of military fury, rushed forward and put them all to death."—vol. ii. p. 26.

And of this fiendish outrage, the perpetrator profanely writes, that "God by an unexpected providence, in his righteous justice, brought a just judgment upon them, causing them to become a prey to the soldier." At Newborough the garrison refused his first summons, yet before the assault, beat a parley. He gave the soldiers their lives, probably on the usual condition of being sold to slavery; but as to the officers,

"Next day the colonel, the major, and the rest of the commission officers, were shot to death, all but one, who, being a very earnest instrument to have the castle delivered, was pardoned. In the same castle, also, we took a Popish priest, who was chaplain to the Catholics in this regiment, who was caused to be hanged. I trouble you with this, the rather that this regiment was the Lord of Ormond's own regiment."—vol. ii. p. 33.

These murders were hailed with joy by the friends of the Com-

monwealth, and Cromwell returned to England, amidst thanks and gratulations. Of his real desert, Dr. Russell has spoken well and strongly.

“ But the fame which he left in the kingdom he had just conquered, did not reflect upon his achievements the same degree of praise which he received from his more partial countrymen. On the contrary, the cruelties of which he was guilty in that unhappy land, sank so deeply into the hearts of the sensitive people who endured them, that the lapse of a hundred and eighty years has not worn out the impression of horror and detestation with which his bloody career was accompanied.”—vol. ii. p. 36.

Then, after refuting the sophistries which have been advanced in apology, he adds,

“ But no reasons, founded on mere expediency, can ever justify the violation of those original sentiments of human nature, upon which the laws of morality and religion have their chief dependence. Besides, excessive severity in a conqueror usually defeats the ends for which it is adopted ; because, as the governor of every fortress could not be expected to surrender at the first summons, and as resistance in every case incurred the punishment of military execution, the garrisons would not only hold out to the last extremity, but even then rather lose their lives in the defence of their walls, or in fighting at the corner of every street, than lay down their arms, to be butchered in cold blood. The policy adopted by Cromwell succeeded, indeed, for a time ; but it would soon have produced a reaction, by giving to despair the attributes of courage. The horrors of Drogheda and Wexford did not open the gates of Kilkenny, Ross, Waterford, and Clonmell ; and if the Irish could have trusted one another, and resisted the solicitation of English gold, the camp of the invader would have been converted into an hospital before his flag could have appeared on so many of the citadels of Munster.”—vol. ii. pp. 37, 38.

In the following campaign against the Scots, Cromwell appears to have been animated by a similar spirit. No quarter was given at Dunbar. His men are described as having been weary with killing ; and the pursuit, “ the chase and execution,” as he terms it, lasted nearly eight miles. Prisoners, however, there were, and we are acquainted with their fate.

“ It is reported, moreover, that he granted liberty to about five thousand prisoners, who appeared unfit for future service ; the number whom he sent into England not much exceeding three thousand, the most of whom soon afterwards died a miserable death. When they reached Morpeth, they were put into a large walled garden, where they ate up raw cabbages, leaves and roots ; ‘ so many,’ says Sir Arthur Hazlerig, to whose charge they were committed, ‘ that the very seed and labour, at fourpence a-day, was valued at nine pounds ; which cabbage, as I conceive, they having fasted, as they themselves said, near

eight days, poisoned their bodies, for as they were coming from thence to Newcastle, some died by the way-side.' At Durham, they lodged in the cathedral, the bishop's house being converted into an hospital: but such was the destructive nature of the dysentery, brought on by the miserable treatment to which they had been subjected, that, on the 8th of November, only six hundred enjoyed any degree of health, while five hundred were sick, and ' sixteen hundred were dead and buried.'—vol. ii. pp. 72, 73.

On his advancement to the Protectorate. Dr. Russell allows that Cromwell lost all sense of honour in Political transactions, and made no scruple of sanctioning by the most solemn protestations, the most notorious falsehoods. Was it only *after* his great ambitious aim was gained, that this system was adopted by him? or rather did it not form every round of the ladder whereon he mounted?

Altius omnem

Expeditam, primâ repetens ab origine, famam.

Other bold, bad men, while compassing like objects with Cromwell, have committed equal, some of them far more flagitious crimes; but, for the most part, they have thrown around them a dazzling blaze of glory, which prevents us from regarding them with a steady view. They are in great measure dimmed as it were, "by excess of light." In Cromwell, on the contrary, we look in vain for magnanimity. He is (to adopt with a slight variation, the well-known and witty *soubriquet* given by the Abbé du Pradt, to the incomparably nobler toy with which Fortune has sported in our own days) never to be seen as *Jupiter*, always and altogether as *Scapin*. In his boldest acts there is to be discovered some spice of the swindler; and the Protector crept, crawled and shuffled, in a tortuous and slimy obliquity, to that giddy height which Cæsar and Napoleon won by an elastic bound. In his entire course, and at every separate stage of it, Cromwell reminds us of the sordid and plebeian dishonesty, the mean, low, vulgar, retail roguery of some petty shopkeeper; who stands, with smoothed hair and sleek forehead, behind his rascal counter, endeavouring to pass his bad shilling or his damaged ware, (which he will not scruple to avouch by oaths, to be of the truest mintage and the choicest fabric,) upon some open-pursed, simple-hearted, confiding and unsuspecting customer.

The tyranny of the Protectorate is vividly represented in the following passage.

"The next step was to divide the whole kingdom into a certain number of military governments, placed under the command of a corresponding number of officers with the rank of Major-general; whose duty it should be to raise a militia force within their respective jurisdictions to be ready whensoever the exigencies of state should require their services;

to levy the public taxes, including the decimation inflicted on the royalists; to suppress all tumults and insurrections, to disarm all Catholics and cavaliers; to inquire into the conduct of ministers and schoolmasters; and to arrest, imprison, and bind over all dangerous and suspected persons, without the power of appealing to any but the Protector himself and his council.

"Beyond this it was hardly possible to go, in imitating the practice of the most despotic governments. Not only was the supreme authority usurped and held by illegal force, but the people were now parcelled out into so many subdivisions of slavery, over whom he had delegated to his inferior ministers the same unlimited power which he himself thought fit to exercise. The sanguinary struggle of the Civil War, in which so many lives were lost, and so much suffering endured: and which, during ten years, had burst the bonds of domestic concord in half the families of England, ended, as we have seen, in a military despotism; where laws were dictated at the point of the sword; bills interrupted in their progress through parliament by companies of armed soldiers; property confiscated by an order of the General: taxes imposed and collected by officers at the head of their troops; and ministers, schoolmasters, and tutors expelled from their employment, at the instance of commissioners surrounded by fixed bayonets. Even Cromwell had ceased to cant about liberty; he compared himself to a constable in a mob, who was bound at all hazards to suppress riots, and to keep the peace."—vol. ii. pp. 188, 189.

The fearful reaction of this tyranny upon its contriver, and the bitterness of heart wherewith in his highest elevation he paid the price of successful ambition, need not be told. While established in uncontrolled despotism at home, and courted and feared by every European Government abroad, peace was a stranger to his bosom. Perpetual terror of assassination haunted his most inmost privacy; he never stirred from his palace without a picked body-guard; he wore a shirt of mail; carried loaded pistols in his pocket; changed his bedroom almost nightly; and conducted his rides of pleasure (could such a word be known to him!) with as much secrecy and circumspection, as he would have regulated the march of an army. Death released him from the torture of these hourly apprehensions; perhaps it saved him from beholding that power fall away, to consolidate which, he had sinned so deeply against his own soul.

"His finances were exhausted; his army was unpaid; and the means by which he had formerly replenished his treasury were, since the meeting of the last Parliament, pronounced unlawful. He attempted to raise a loan in the city; but when the merchants asked for a more substantial security than the credit of his name and government, he had nothing to offer. They suggested a mortgage on the estates of his friends, or a debenture on the landed property of the royalists; and he listened to their proposals so far as to name a commission to make enquiry as to

the extent to which such security could be procured. No expedient, however, could be discovered by these counsellors for meeting the wants of the state. The embarrassment was allowed to increase; the treasury continued empty; and those who had hitherto placed the utmost reliance on the vigour and wisdom of the Protector, began to perceive that there was no longer any aid in the devices of man. He had consented to listen to the expediency of summoning another Parliament, whom he hoped to find more obsequious than the last, when a great domestic calamity absorbed all his thoughts, and matured in him the seeds of a fatal disease which had already begun to waste his vital powers.

"His favourite daughter, who had herself been touched by the hand of sorrow, was fast approaching to the grave. She had ever possessed a deep hold on the affections of the Protector: but now, when he saw her daily sinking under the pressure of a mortal illness, he became more and more interested in her sufferings and anxious for her recovery. He spent much of his time at Hampton-Court where she resided; endeavouring to support her mind with the consolations of religion, and to reconcile her to the political necessity of certain measures in his administration, which she had never ceased to condemn. She lamented the death of Dr. Hewet, for whom she had interceded with the most passionate entreaty; she exhorted him to restore the throne to its rightful owner; and to withdraw himself from the sin and danger of supreme power. It is added, that when her mind was seized with delirium, she stunned his ears by uttering cries of 'blood,' and announcing predictions of coming vengeance.

"When the death of Elizabeth was communicated to him, he was already confined to bed under a complication of gout, fever, and ague. About the middle of August his complaints became so serious as to alarm his medical attendants; and perceiving, from their looks and whispers, that they thought him in danger, he desired to be propped up with pillows until he should execute his private will. But whatever were his own fears, he laboured to conceal them from others. When his wife came into the room, he took her by the hand, and said, 'Do not think that I shall die; I am sure of the contrary.' Observing that this remark excited some surprise, he instantly added, 'Say not that I have lost my reason: I tell you the truth. I know it from better authority than any which you can have from Galen or Hippocrates. It is the answer of God himself to our prayers? not to mine alone, but to those of others who have a more intimate interest in him than I have. Go on cheerfully, banishing all sorrow from your looks, and deal with me as you would with a serving-man. Ye may have skill in the nature of things, yet nature can do more than all physicians put together; and God is far more above nature.

"This last observation probably alludes to a circumstance mentioned by several of Cromwell's biographers, that, when his illness assumed an alarming aspect, his chaplains and the other clergy in attendance distributed themselves into different apartments, and betook themselves to their devotions separately; wishing, it was said, to ascertain, by private appeals to the will of Heaven, and by examining the impression made upon

their own hearts, as the answer of prayer, whether it was the intention of God that the Protector should die, or be restored to health. After this most modest and rational address to the secret purposes of the Almighty, the functionaries met to compare their feelings : and, it is added, that with one voice they declared, 'he shall recover.' This, we may presume, is the 'more intimate interest,' to which the dying man alluded, and by which he was most grievously misled.

"Fleetwood in the same spirit writes to Henry Cromwell, 'His Highness hath made very great discoveries of the Lord to him in his sickness, and hath had some assurances of his being restored and made farther serviceable in this work.' Goodwin, too, in one of the prayers which he offered up in his behalf, is reported to have said, 'Lord, we do not ask thee for his life : of that we are assured ; thou hast too many great things for this man to do for it to be possible thou shouldst remove him yet : but we pray for his speedy establishment and recovery.' Cromwell himself, the night before his death, is said to have uttered the following petitions : 'Lord, I am a poor foolish creature : this people would fain have me live ; they think it will be best for them, and that it will redound much to thy glory ;—all the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die : Lord pardon them, and pardon thy foolish people ; forgive their sins, and do not forsake them ; but love and bless them, and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest, for Jesus Christ's sake.'

"During his sickness, the Protector had revised some of his theological opinions, in connexion perhaps with the events of his busy life ; and had it is probable, derived some comfort from the Calvinist tenet which asserts the perseverance of the saints. In this frame of mind, he is reported to have asked one of the ministers who frequented his chamber, whether the doctrine were infallibly true, that he who is once in a state of grace can never fall back into the condition of the reprobate ? Upon being answered in the affirmative, he exclaimed, 'Then I am safe ! for I am sure I once was in a state of grace.'"—vol. ii. pp. 221—225.

We had marked a few passages in the concluding chapter, containing a review of Cromwell's actions and character, in the relations of private as well as of public life ; in order to show that Dr. Russell is not always quite at unison with himself in this general estimate. But it may be as well to leave them for the reader's discrimination. We close by strongly recommending his volumes to public attention. They are by far the most valuable produce of the very respectable Miscellany of which they form part ; and Dr. Russell has plainly shown as much power and adaptation of mind for a lighter style of Literature, as he has heretofore displayed in the severer walk of Divinity. As more connected with the latter subject than with Cromwell's life, we shall part by citing a note respecting the Millenarians, (on whom we rejoice to find that we are soon about to meet Dr. Russell again) which comprises much sound sense in a very few sentences ; and which may be accepted as a word spoken in season to certain

Religionists among ourselves, and to a yet larger body in the sister island.

"In the 'Connection of Sacred and Profane History,' I have endeavoured to explain the origin of the expectation now mentioned, and to account for the embarrassments, both prophetic and chronological, in which it involved the early Fathers of the Christian Church. It is worthy of observation, that when, from whatever cause, any religious excitement is produced in the public mind; the Jewish notion of a millennium is instantly revived; and the same hopes, the same reasonings, the same follies, and the same disappointments, take their wonted round, and occupy attention for a season."—vol. ii. p. 289, note.

ART. VI.—*The Family Library*—Nos. V., VI., IX.—*History of the Jews*. Murray. 1829. 15s.

WHILST general education is leading forth its numerous and motley troops upon "the March of Intellect," the different departments of the commissariat of literature have most undoubtedly been by no means idle in endeavouring to provide for the mental sustenance of the recruits. It has been the labour, and a very proper and praiseworthy labour it is, of those who are interested in the success of the war upon ignorance, to meet the wants and gratify the appetites of the rising and reading generation, by a proportional supply of books and treatises adapted to the various callings, and characters, and feelings, and understandings of the different classes of society. We have, therefore, a Library of Useful Knowledge on the one hand, and a Library of Entertaining Knowledge on the other. We have Constable's Miscellany coming down in all the elegance of type and illustration from the Athens of the North, and we have the Classical Library and the Family Library arrayed to meet and compete with it in our own metropolis. But in our opinion, and in the opinion, as we conceive, of the greater part of our readers, the Family Library will be deemed by far the most interesting and important. A library of useful knowledge comes home indeed to the business—a library of entertaining knowledge to the recreations, and a classical library to the taste; but a family library comes home at once to the bosoms of mankind. It enters with us into the privacy of our domestic circle, and as far as it is read and approved, pollutes or purifies the sources of the whole nation's happiness and virtue. As it is either well or ill conducted,—as it is either righteous or unrighteous in its purposes,—it has an almost irresistible tendency to correct or pervert the principles, and to elevate or deprave the affections of our sons and our daughters, our sisters and our wives. Nor is it merely on account of the persons to whom the Family Library is addressed that we are led to regard it as of such essential consequence. The very manner in which it must necessarily treat

the subjects which it undertakes to introduce to the susceptible minds of women and of children, renders it peculiarly liable to be abused. When an art or a science is investigated, as in the *Library of Useful Knowledge*, for the instruction and improvement of the mechanic and artisan, it is indeed requisite that the reasoning processes should, as far as it is practicable, be simplified and reduced to the level of an ordinary capacity, and of understandings not very deeply imbued with mathematical knowledge. But whatever be the topic which is selected for the instruction of a family, it is clear that, if the book is to effect its end, it must be read, and in order to be read, it must be interesting. It must, therefore, be written with such graces of style as will at once arrest the attention and engage the imaginations of the young, whilst at the same time it must convey its information, exhortations, correction or reproof, with such a degree of plainness and brevity, as shall neither confuse nor mislead minds the most unaccustomed to laborious exertions of thought. In the *Family Library*, therefore, what ought to be aimed at, and what we are to expect, is an agreeable and lucid statement of the results to which the best and wisest men have arrived upon every branch of knowledge with which it is thought desirable that a family should be made acquainted. The long and recondite investigations which have led to these results must in a great measure be omitted or abridged, and the most approved and safest opinions alone be recommended to notice. In science, the forbidding aspect of algebraic formulæ must disappear, and those conclusions which have a tendency to teach the scholar to look from nature up to nature's God, or which are calculated to be practically useful, must be principally put forth, and put forth rather upon the authority of the philosophers, who have verified them, than as truths which the scholar can demonstrate for himself. In morals, the word and the prophet of the Most High must be preferred to every system of ethics which has been deduced from abstract principles; and in history the lives of those who have adorned or benefited the world must be held up to exclusive imitation; whilst upon the more sacred subject of religion, and of all that is connected with it, the hand of God and the workings of a wise and holy Providence must be made the prominent features, and the pride and presumption of man's curiosity effectually checked, whenever it would pry into matters too profound for human comprehension, or endeavour to reduce them to the level of its own ignorance and littleness. A *Family Library*, conducted in such a manner and directed to such ends, would indeed be a blessing which we could scarce too highly prize: but in the very proportion in which, when so conducted and directed, it would be a blessing, it must be a curse if it be of an opposite character. We really feel, therefore, that we shall

have the whole weight of public opinion in our favour, when we declare that we think it our bounden duty to scrutinise, with peculiar jealousy, the proceedings and character of every man whom we know to be connected with this self-entitled Family Library, and to examine with more than ordinary care, and weigh with more than ordinary strictness every word, and work, and sentiment which belongs to it. But upon the subject of religion we deem ourselves particularly called upon to be vigilant, and not to allow the slightest expression, or doctrine, or statement to escape which appears likely to abate the reverence or corrupt the integrity of that faith with which we deem it essential that both the risen and the rising generation should be habituated to look up to the volume of inspiration, the written revelations of the prophets of the Almighty. We do not say this because we conceive that the objections which we are about to urge against the "*History of the Jews*," which forms a portion of the "*Family Library*," appear to us to be in the smallest degree liable to the accusation of an excessive delicacy upon sacred subjects, or a superstitious reverence for the Bible. On the contrary, we conceive that our censures will only correspond with those feelings of surprise and disapprobation which every pious reader will have felt upon the perusal of the work, and we trust that they may have the chance also of awakening the apprehensions of the thoughtless to the danger which cannot but arise from the indiscriminate circulation of such an account of God's dispensations and dealings with his chosen people. For it is indeed in no spirit of malice or of cavilling, but in the most sober sadness that we sit down to the unwelcome task of finding fault, when we should have been most anxious to praise, and of confessing how utterly grieved and disappointed we have been. We began the reading of the "*History of the Jews*," full of hope that the Divine Narrative would come from the pen of the writer, dressed in a more modern garb, but substantially of the same heavenly materials. We have terminated our reading, indignant and sorrowful, thoroughly convinced that the author is destitute of some of the most indispensable qualifications for his undertaking, and that his production is characterised, in an abundance of instances, by a want of reverence, a want of fairness, a want of faithfulness, and a want of consistency. These are heavy charges, more especially when urged against an historian who professes that he is both a believer and a steward of the mysteries of God, both a member and a minister of the Church of England, both a graduate and a Bampton lecturer in the university of Oxford. We therefore proceed, without further delay, to the production of those evidences upon which we found our accusations.

We object, then, in the first place, to that levity and affectation with which this clergyman has so often ventured to treat the most

sacred characters and subjects, under the foolish notion that they would thus become more intelligible to his readers. Miracles, with him, are *preter-natural*, and not *super-natural* works. Angels are preternatural, and not supernatural beings. The Almighty is sometimes styled "the God of the stranger" Israelites, sometimes "their own peculiar God," sometimes "their tutelar Deity," sometimes "their feudal Lord," sometimes "King and Lord of the soil" of Palestine; and the sublime dedication of the Temple of Solomon is spoken of as "the *installation* of the God of Israel in his new and appropriate dwelling." Those titles of glory and excellency, with which other writers have laboured to express their sense of their heavenly Father's majesty, are scarce ever introduced, and the whole strain of the Family Historian's language tends to encourage a sort of notion that Jehovah was distinguished from other gods only by the superior power with which he vindicated the cause of his chosen people. Thus, we are told, that, "for seven days the god of the river was rebuked before the God of the stranger." Again, Moses is described as the "Hebrew annalist," the "Hebrew bard," the "Hebrew legislator," and "inexorable leader," the "Jewish patriot," and "inexorable antagonist" of Pharaoh. These are the terms in which our author delights to represent a being on whose Divine commission, whose meek and holy character, and those miracles, which he wrought through the power of God, others would almost exclusively have dwelt. Joseph is the "vizier" of Pharaoh, and Abraham an "independent sheik or emir:" that is, if the latter word is strictly and properly interpreted, he wore a green turban, and was one of the descendants of Fatimah, the daughter of Mahomet. We really wonder he did not at once call him a turbaned Turk. It would have been much more intelligible, and not at all less irreverent, nor at all more inconsistent with chronology. But what, we would demand, is the use of introducing all this modern phraseology? The only knowledge which our families possess of sheiks and emirs, and viziers, is derived, in general, from the tales in the Arabian Nights, and we feel thoroughly convinced that such a perpetual deviation from the language of the Bible into the language of these interesting fables, can have no other tendency than that of leading the inexperienced reader to look upon the personages of the Bible in the same light as they look upon the personages of these fables. We are sure, at any rate, that the familiarity thus generated will only be a familiarity that breeds contempt for the Patriarchs and Prophets of the Old Testament.

But these are blemishes which may be regarded by many as but of small importance,—as affecting merely the phraseology

of the work, and proofs only of the bad taste of the author. We admit that they are, comparatively speaking, of very trivial consequence; for in every portion of this history which relates the events recorded in the Sacred Volume, we find such a succession of mis-statements and mis-representations as make every other kind of fault to dwindle away into utter insignificance. Thus, in the immediate opening of his work, our historian asserts, in direct contradiction to the scriptural accounts of the perpetual deviations of the Israelites from the purity of their religious creed and services, that "in every stage of society, under the pastoral tent of Abraham, and in the sumptuous temple of Solomon, the same creed (the worship of one Almighty Creator) maintained its *inviolable simplicity*." Yet, with the most glaring and unaccountable want of consistency, the *very next* sentence contains the following words: "this primary distinction. . . . after *several periods of almost total apostacy*—revives in all its vigour." Again, we are told, that the separation of Abraham from his father's house and abode "*is ascribed* to the express command of God." But we would ask, once for all, whether language so dubious as this, is the language which a sincere Christian and a conscientious clergyman ought to use when speaking of the Divine directions which guided, in almost every case, the movements of the Patriarch. This, at least, we can say, that the Book of Genesis is the only source from which any decided opinion can be formed upon the conduct of Abraham, and that it is not in such doubtful terms, but in terms the most decided and unequivocal, that the Book of Genesis speaks upon the subject. It declares plainly and positively, that "the Lord had said unto Abram, 'Get thee out thy country, and from thy father's house unto a land that I will show thee:'" and it adds, "So Abram departed, as the Lord had said unto him."

But it is a piece of still more intolerable presumption in our author to attribute the compliance of Abraham with the directions of the Almighty, to the worldly and unworthy principles of an ambitious mind. "The friend of God," he tells us, "was incited to his departure into Canaan by a direct promise, the most splendid which could be offered to the *ambition* of the head of a nomadic tribe. . . . His seed was to become hereafter a great nation." St. Paul had read and studied the same narrative of Moses, from which the Bampton Lecturer has deduced his conclusion. Let us look, then, to the language of St. Paul, and see what are the inferences which he has thought proper to draw. He says, "by *faith* Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should afterwards receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went. . . . For he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and

maker is God." Here, then, the two parties join issue. What the Bampton Lecturer ascribes to an earthly ambition, that last infirmity of noble minds, the inspired Apostle attributes to a Divine faith, one of the first graces in the character of a saint. The Bampton Lecturer insinuates that Abraham was tempted by the hope of being the founder of some great nation. The Apostle declares that his thoughts were fixed upon a city whose maker is God. The difference between these two views of the motives of the Patriarch is marked and strong. The one exalts, the other degrades him in the eyes of men. We leave our readers to judge to which the preference is due, and in whose representation the most respect for God and for the Scriptures of God is to be found.

When Abram went down into Egypt, and Sarai described herself as only his sister and not also as his wife, "Sarai," we are told, "was seized and transferred into the *harem* of the sovereign." "In a short time," it is added, "a pestilence broke out in the royal family. The king, having discovered the relationship between Abram and Sarai, *attributed* the visitation to the God of the Stranger, who thus revenged the breach of hospitality." Place beside this the account of the same transaction in the Book of Genesis, and then observe the remarkable contrast between them. "The Lord," it is there said, "plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues." It is not, therefore, Pharaoh who merely "*attributes* the visitation to the *God of the Stranger*," for that he might have done in the error of superstitious ignorance: but it is Moses who expressly declares that it originated from the great Lord of Heaven and Earth. "Pharaoh," proceeds the narrative in Genesis, "called Abram, and said, 'What is this that thou hast done unto me? why didst thou not tell me that she was thy wife? why saidst thou she is my sister? so I might have taken her to my wife.'" Now what fair or solid foundation, we would ask, is there to be found in this statement, for the comment of our Family Historian of the Jews. *He* leads us to suppose that Pharaoh, *after* he had discovered the relationship between Abram and Sarai, attributed the plagues to Abram's God. Moses rather implies that Pharaoh, being *first* of all convinced that the plagues sprung from Abram's God, afterwards sought out and discovered the relationship and the injury he had done Abram, and so inferred that this injury was the special cause of the visitation. The Family Historian asserts that Pharaoh deemed the stranger's God to have "revenged his breach of hospitality." Pharaoh, himself, almost asserts that he deemed his sufferings to have been graciously intended to keep him back from the moral guilt of taking another man's wife. The writer who could thus

misapprehend or pervert the plain drift of the Mosaic account must be miserably unfit to enter upon the task he has assumed.

The separation of Abraham and Lot is said by our author to have been dictated by "the chieftains dreading lest the native clans should take advantage of their divisions and expel and plunder both." Here we have another assumption altogether unauthorized by the Mosaic narrative. In Genesis, the words of Abram to Lot are simply these: "Let there be no strife I pray thee between me and thee; . . . *for we be brethren*. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself I pray thee from me." It was affection, therefore, and not apprehension; it was a holy desire of peace between themselves, and not a politic dread of war with the native clans which prompted the kind expostulation of Abraham. No doubt, it is said in the same passage, that "the Canaanite and Perizzite dwelled there in the land." But that is said, not with any allusion to the danger which their neighbourhood entailed, but to point out the reason why "so large a land was not able to bear both Lot and Abraham that they might dwell together." It was because the Canaanite and Perizzite, dwelling then in the land, occupied so large a space, that what remained untenanted and unclaimed was not enough for the families and flocks of the two descendants of Terah. Indeed, had fear been the motive operating upon their minds, their policy would have been not to separate, but to agree and continue united, lest by their separation they might become an easier prey to their enemies.

Of all the wonders which the Lord has wrought in his righteous wrath against the iniquities of the children of men, the Deluge of Noah, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, are the most awful and mysterious. Impressed with the power of God, the Prophet Moses has spoken with a discreet and sober reverence and brevity upon both. Upon the latter he merely says enough to mark the certainty of the fact, and refer the ruin to the immediate and direct interposition of heaven. The physical causes which the Almighty called into operation to fulfil his purposes, Moses presumes not to scan. "The Lord," he says, "rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah fire and brimstone from the Lord out of Heaven; and he overthrew their cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of those cities, and that which grew upon the ground. . . . And lo! the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace." The prophet and founder of the Church of Israel says this, and he says no more. But the minister, and, as we strongly suspect, the poet of the Church of England, disdains the trammels imposed on every "strictly historical" writer, by the silence of the only authority upon which he

can safely rest, and inspired by the "fine phrenzy" of an inventive imagination, launches forth into the following, not conjectures (for then we might have borne it) but positive and unlimited assertions with regard to "the physical agency by which Divine Providence" (not might have, but actually) "brought about this memorable destruction." He thus relates the thing, and relates it as a fact.

"The cities stood on a soil broken and undermined with veins of bitumen and sulphur. These inflammable substances, set on fire by lightning, caused a tremendous convulsion; the water-courses, both the river and the canals, by which the land was extensively irrigated, burst their banks; the cities, the walls of which were perhaps built from the combustible materials of the soil, were entirely swallowed up by the fiery inundation; and the whole valley . . . became a dead and fœtid lake."

Who art thou, O man, who hast thus dared to lay bare the works of the Almighty arm, and delineate with such easy familiarity the acts of Him, whose thoughts are not as thy thoughts, and whose ways are not as thy ways? Was thy spirit present with the spirit of the wife of Lot, when she looked back upon the scene of these operations of God's vengeance, and perished for her presumption? We care not what foundation the writer may have for such bold descriptions, nor how he may attempt to overwhelm us with the learning of Rosenmüller or Michaëlis. Sure we are, that, though a thousand Germans were on his side, his boasting that the "object of his work is strictly historical," has not the shadow of a support to rest upon. Moses is the only authentic source of a "strictly historical" delineation of this awful miracle, and Moses has said nothing which could justify such a view. The utmost to which the narrative of God's prophet extends, is to inform us that the cities were overthrown by the fire which God rained down from Heaven. When we find a theory thus exalted into a fact, our opinion of the writer's good sense sinks immeasurably low.

We have not yet done with the cities of the plain.

"Lot," says our Family Historian, "warned of the impending ruin, fled with his daughters. His wife, *lingering behind*, was suffocated with the sulphurous vapours, and her body encrusted with the saline particles which filled the atmosphere."

The natural inference from this representation is, that the wife of Lot, having ignorantly or imprudently loitered on the road, was unhappily overtaken by the fiery inundation and perished, another instance of the indiscriminate ruin which is brought on mankind by natural calamities. The statement of Moses leads to a to-

tally different inference. Moses tells us, that the Lord commanded Lot *neither* to look behind him *nor* to stay in all the plain, but to escape to the mountain lest he should be consumed." His wife, however, "looked back from behind him and became a pillar of salt." The prophet and the author under our review are thus opposed to each other. First, our author is altogether silent upon the Divine command, and leaves us to consider that death as a misfortune, which Moses leads us almost inevitably to regard as the result of an act of positive disobedience to God. Moses, again, says that two things were enjoined upon Lot, the first was, not to look back, the second, not to stay or linger in the plain. Moses also says, that it was because she did the first that Lot's wife became a pillar of salt. Our author very kindly corrects his narrative, and tells us that she did the second, and was suffocated. This, no doubt, he considers as a much more natural interpretation of the miracle. We can only say, that it is more natural than true, and that we have yet to learn the logic which would justify us in leaning upon the broken reed of a Bampton Lecturer, in preference to the rod of Moses.

A ludicrous instance of absurdity arises from the conjectural spirit of our author in his account of Ishmael. "Hagar and Ishmael," he says, "were sent forth to seek their fortune in some of the *unoccupied* and uncultivated districts which lay around." It appears, however, from the following page, that these unoccupied districts were occupied by hordes of Arabs, "some of whom Ishmael either joined, or maintained himself in independence by his bow, until he married." As yet, therefore, he had no children; yet the very next sentence declares that these Arabs, whom Ishmael might have joined, "trace their descent to this outcast son of Abraham." So much for the spirit of hypothesis, which has thus led this writer inadvertently to assert, in words at least, that Ishmael found tenants in an unoccupied land, and that those tenants were his own descendants, who dwelt there before they were born!

Faults like these are merely ridiculous, and never would we have noticed them at all had not errors of a deeper dye made it desirable, to show the true character of this work, and to warn our readers against its poison, which we proceed, once more, with grief and indignation to detect. Yet before we resume this unwelcome but necessary task, we must say, and we say it with unfeigned pleasure, that in the remainder of the history of Abraham we see little to condemn, and a good deal that we can conscientiously praise. We were more particularly pleased with the decided tone in which the act of Abraham in offering up Isaac, is described as "a simple act of unhesitating obedience to the

Divine command; the last proof of a perfect reliance on the certain accomplishment of the Divine promises." The author adds, and adds most truly—

"Still, while the great example of primitive piety appears no less willing to offer the most precious victim on the altar of his God, than the idolaters around him, the God of the Hebrews maintains his benign and beneficent character. After everything is prepared, the wood of the altar laid, even the sacrificial knife uplifted, the arm of the father is arrested; a single ram, entangled by his horns in a thicket, is substituted, and Abraham called the name of the place Jehovah Jireh, the Lord will provide. Near this same spot, eighteen centuries after, Jesus Christ was offered, the victim, as the Christian world has almost universally believed, provided by the Lord—inexplicable, if undesigned, coincidence! This last trial of his faith thus passed, the promise of the divine blessing was renewed to Abraham in still more express and vivid terms. His seed were to be numerous as the stars of heaven, and as the sands of the sea shore; their enemies were to fall before them; and the whole world was to receive some remote and mysterious blessing through the channel of this favoured race."—vol. i. p. 20.

There is truth and spirit also in the concluding remarks on Abraham—

"Such is the history of their great ancestor, preserved in the national records of the Jewish people, remarkable for its simplicity and historic truth, when compared with the mythic or poetic traditions of almost all other countries. The genealogies of most nations, particularly the eastern, are lost among their gods; it is impossible to define where fable ceases, and history begins; and the earlier we ascend the more indistinct and marvellous the narrative. In the Hebrew record it is precisely the converse, God and man are separated by a wide and impassable interval—Abraham is the Emir of a pastoral tribe, migrating from place to place, his stations marked with geographical accuracy, and with a picturesque simplicity of local description; here he pitches his tent by some old and celebrated tree, there on the brink of a well-known fountain. He is in no respect superior to his age or country, excepting in the sublime purity of his religion. He is neither demi-god nor mighty conqueror, nor even sage, nor inventor of useful arts. His distinction is the worship of One Great God, and the intercourse which he is permitted to hold with this mysterious Being. This is the great patrimonial glory which he bequeathed to his descendants; their title to be considered the chosen people of the Almighty, was their inalienable hereditary possession. This is the key to their whole history, the basis of their political institutions, the vital principle of their national character."—vol. i. pp. 23, 24.

But alas how few and far between are these brighter spots, these more scriptural views of the patriarchal history! No sooner do we come to Jacob, than we are irritated by finding him styled not only the subtle, which the sacred writer allows, but the "unscrupulous" Jacob, which is expressly contradicted in Genesis.

In Genesis it is most carefully proclaimed that Jacob *had* his scruples with regard to supplanting Esau in the blessing, but that those scruples were overruled by his mother. But this is of very little consequence when compared with the thorough violation of all historical fidelity with which the wrestling of Jacob with the Angel is recounted. The author of the Book of Genesis represents the whole transaction as a fact. The author of the Family History of the Jews, misrepresents it as "a symbolic vision." The Prophet asserts that "there wrestled a man with Jacob until the breaking of the day." Our Christian clergyman renders doubtful the Prophet's assertion, by stating that Jacob "*supposed* himself wrestling with a mysterious being." Moses confirms the reality of the whole by adding, that "he touched the hollow of his thigh, and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint, as he wrestled with him." But this man *altogether omits* not only to produce, but even to allude to that statement in the sacred narration, although (we will not say because) it was in a direct and irreconcilable contradiction to his own visionary notion of the scene. Was it ignorance, was it forgetfulness, or was it wilfulness, which made him thus bolster up his unauthorized conjectures by withholding the very circumstance which overturns them? We know not which it was. But we know that whatever it was, it proves him to be totally unfit to write the history of God's people, and his work to be utterly unsafe for any sincere believer to read.

We conclude our remarks upon the first book of this History of the Jews, by guarding against the inference which may be drawn from what the writer says with respect to the authority of the Book of Genesis. That record he considers to have been derived "from cotemporary" (authentic) "traditions"—and he adds no more. If by this brevity he means to deny every idea of inspiration in the author, we strongly protest against his views. If he did not mean to deny it, we think he has very imperfectly expressed his meaning.

The wonderful revolutions of Joseph's life, the plagues of Egypt, the final and triumphant deliverance of the Israelites from their house of bondage, these constitute an important portion of the Pentateuch, which it becomes all to treat with reverential caution and care. With how little our present author has treated it, it will now be our painful duty to show.

To his account of Joseph then we object, that whilst he styles him, with affected familiarity, "the Vizier" and "Interpreter of the royal dreams," he never once hints at his deriving his skill in interpretations from a Divine source. In a word, this Christian writer displays less reverence and less correctness of thought than

even the heathen Pharaoh: for "Pharaoh said unto his servants, can we find such a one as this is, a man in whom the Spirit of God is? And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, God hath showed thee all this."

But we hasten over several other doubtful or improper passages to develope what we consider to be this author's entire misconception of the character and proceedings of Moses. For who but this writer would have ventured, unless he were a sceptic, to have spoken of the divinely commissioned Moses as the "Jewish Patriot," or of the meekest of men as "the inexorable antagonist" of Pharaoh? Who but he would have uttered the supposition, that when he slew the Egyptian, "an unformed notion of delivering his countrymen from their bondage was *already brooding* in the mind of Moses;" or have hinted that "his *ambitious hopes*" were then crushed by the conduct of his countrymen; or have talked of "a direct commission from God, and a power of working *preternatural wonders*" (not miracles) as the "means of success *on which Moses calculated*?" Did he calculate weakly or untruly on these means? We believe that he did not, and we trust this Bampton Lecturer believes the same; but never was any fact narrated by a believer in a manner so fatally formed to mislead men into doubt, as the manner in which the "direct commission from God" to Moses is narrated by this historian. He first recounts the appearance of the Lord to Moses in the burning bush, and the particulars of the Divine communication there made to him, and then adds, "Such was *his* (Moses's) *relation* before the elders of his people." This is suspicious. What follows is still more so. "Aaron, his brother, who had gone forth by Divine authority, *as he declared*, to meet him, enters boldly into the design." We say that this is just the language, which one who wished to insinuate a doubt of the truth of the relation of Moses and the declaration of Aaron, would naturally have used. What then must be its impression upon the young reader's mind—if not a conviction either that our author did not believe, or did not desire others to accept the story with unhesitating faith? The bottom of the same page would still further confirm the idea, for it is there stated that Pharaoh rejected "the presumptuous interference of these *self-constituted* authorities." Is that the term which one who would uphold with all his might the Divine legation of Moses ought to use; or can such language be safely sent into the bosom of our families? Undoubtedly not: and if he thinks it may, the Family Historian is egregiously ignorant of the manner in which the mind is operated upon by words.

We cannot describe this writer's account of the Plagues of Egypt in terms more accurate than those in which he himself has

spoken of a passage of Josephus,—that it is written “in his worst spirit of compromise.” For nothing can well be more disgusting than our author’s irreverence, or more dangerous than the affected candour of his reasoning, and his continued efforts to soften down the miraculous into the extraordinary. It is thus that he opens his relation of the contest between the magicians and Moses—“Aaron cast down his rod, which was instantaneously transformed into a serpent. The magicians performed the same *feat*. The dexterous tricks which the Eastern and African jugglers play with serpents, will easily account for this without any supernatural assistance. But Aaron’s serpent swallowed up the rest—a circumstance, however extraordinary, yet not likely to work conviction upon a people familiar with such *feats*, which they ascribed to magic.” Why, we would ask, is the word miracle, which our pious Translators of the Bible have distinctly applied to this act of Aaron, and absolutely put into the mouth of God himself when speaking of it, been so sedulously avoided by our author? Why has he desecrated the whole transaction by the disrespectful title of a *feat*, and brought it into an odious and unholy comparison with the “dexterous tricks of jugglers?” But above all, we ask how he could, with the slightest appearance of reason, assert that when Aaron’s rod swallowed up the serpents of the magicians, “the circumstance was not likely to produce conviction?”—who told him that the Egyptians were “familiar with *such* feats,” or authorized him to designate it as an “extraordinary,” rather than a supernatural event? It is an absolute libel on the Scriptures to talk thus; they represent to us that God wrought this wonder, among many others, as a proof that he was the Lord. This presumptuous writer has not trembled to assert that the Lord God of all wisdom and truth either miscalculated the effect, or deluded his Prophet by leading him to the performance of a *feat* which was “not likely to work conviction” upon those whom it was professedly intended to convince.

This is bad enough; but there is still greater obliquity, either of faith or understanding, in the view which he has taken of the Plague of Frogs. After asserting the undoubted possibility that “the corrupted waters might quicken the birth of these creatures,” and so leading us to conclude that the Plague might, after all, be natural,—he adds, that “the sudden cessation of this mischief, at the prayer of Moses, is by far the most *extraordinary* part of the transaction;” but he still abstains from distinctly admitting that it was miraculous. Nay, if he indeed considered it to be miraculous, we can scarce conceive how he could possibly have concluded this statement, by declaring that “thus far the contest had been continued without manifest advantage on either

side." Aaron's serpent had proved the superiority of his power by swallowing up the rest. Pharaoh had said unto Moses and Aaron, "Intreat the Lord that he may take away the frogs from me, and I will let the people go And Moses cried unto the Lord, and the Lord did according to the word of Moses, and the frogs died." And yet we are gravely told that hitherto "there had been no manifest advantage on either side!" Even a Deist could not have ventured to deny the superiority of Moses, however he might have denied the Divine agency to which it is in Genesis referred. Even Pharaoh would have resisted the bad logic of such a conclusion, until a brief respite from suffering had induced him to quench the pious impression, and harden his heart. But we can trace, in a subsequent passage, the fatal origin of our author's folly. Writers of all ages, he says, have examined the narrative of Moses, and "according to the bias of their minds, have acknowledged or denied the miraculous agency, increased or diminished its extent." By the lucubrations of these authors, either the head of our Bampton Lecturer has been bewildered, or his heart beguiled, and unlearned or unstable, the melancholy weakness of his understanding, or the fluctuating uncertainty of his faith has led him to desert the character of a "strictly historical" writer; and, in direct opposition to Moses himself, he has sometimes most shamefully denied, and, at others, as shamefully diminished the extent of his miraculous powers. As a parting proof of this accusation, we will quote our author's narrative of two signal miracles. When manna and quails were provided for the sustenance of the hungering and murmuring Israelites, our historian tells us, that "Moses promised an immediate and plentiful supply." That he did so at the special direction of the Lord himself, and at a time when God made a public manifestation of his glory to the whole congregation of Israel, is never mentioned. "Moses," we are again informed by our historian, "struck the rock, and water flowed forth." This is his whole account of the miraculous production of water to assuage the thirst of the Israelites. With what Moses smote the rock, or why he thought of smiting it at all, we are left to conjecture; and the reason of the water coming forth, is left a profound mystery. That God's command and promise were the moving and instrumental cause of the action and success of Moses in smiting the rock, is never once hinted. Now, certainly we are not harsh or unjust in maintaining, that if our author had really intended to banish from his own and his reader's mind the idea of any interposition of the Deity, he could not more effectually have secured his end, than by such silence and such omission of the most important particulars of these transactions. And what excuse will he urge for his

meagre narrative? Perhaps he will repeat the apology contained in the Preface to his third volume, and tell us, "that in order to keep up the rapidity of the narrative, which his limits rendered necessary, he has described too briefly, and, in consequence, imperfectly developed the circumstances of the transactions." We answer, unhesitatingly, that this is no apology at all, even if true, because, as a faithful historian and a sincere believer, he was bound, at all risks, to make prominent in his narrative the *leading feature* of the Mosaic history, the continued and immediate superintendence of the Divine Being in all the affairs, and more especially in the deliverance and Exodus of the Israelites. We tell him also that his apology is not true. Instead of sacrificing even important circumstances in order to preserve his allotted limits, he has often idly wandered forth, and wasted whole pages in detailing what was perfectly unnecessary, the silly additions of Josephus, and the absurd reveries of the Rabbins.

The enactments and sanctions of the Mosaic Law is a subject of far too extensive and serious a nature for us to enter upon in the brief limits of a review. Besides, it is our object rather to enable the reader who is not deeply imbued with theological learning, to perceive and appreciate the dangers and follies and unfaithfulness of this History of the Jews for himself, than to enter into any deep disquisitions upon the controverted question, how far the Lord permitted the Israelites to follow the usages of surrounding countries, and in what instances and for what reasons he ordained a series of observances and statutes of an opposite tendency and character. Our remarks, therefore, on the third book of our author's work will be very brief. Now it is really a most silly piece of affectation in him to talk of the "diet," the "rude convention of estates," and the "provincial parliaments" of the Jews; but it is more than silly to dwell with such apparent satisfaction and perpetual repetition upon what he is pleased to term their "sanguinary and relentless conduct," their "merciless violence," and their "long and dreadful career of bloodshed and massacre." Unqualified as these expressions generally are, and unaccompanied by any vindication of the Divine authority which enforced that line of conduct the Israelites were to pursue, they are only calculated to raise such a prejudice in the unlearned and youthful reader's mind against the whole history of the Conquest of Canaan, as no subsequent reasoning would ever be able to subdue. But it is absolutely unjust to say that the invasion of Canaan was, on the part of the Jews, an "*ambitious* invasion;" or that, by the Law, "their *ambition* was inflamed; military habits formed; the love of restless enterprise fostered; the habit of subsisting upon plunder encouraged." So far, indeed, does this

anxiety to execrate the Jews in the destruction of the Canaanites extend, that it has betrayed him into a sentence which is absolute nonsense. "The war," he says, "in which the Hebrew tribes were embarked, was stripped of none of its customary horrors and atrocities; nor was it till *these* savage and unrelenting passions had fulfilled their task, that the influence of their milder institutions was to soften and humanize the national character." What passions does the writer refer to? He has mentioned none. The only things he has mentioned are "the horrors and atrocities" of war. But these, are results of passions not the very passions themselves? and so the whole passage, in its present state, becomes absurd. We say in its present state, because we conceive that the author will tell us that he meant to write "*their* passions," and this, in fact, reveals to us his whole theory with regard to the Canaanitish wars. His theory is this:—that the extirpation of the Canaanites, instead of being positively enjoined upon the Jews under pain of the severest penalties, was prompted and executed by the cruelty of their national character, and the barbarous and uncivilized state of society at the time. For he distinctly affirms in his apologetical Preface, that "the *seeming* (mark the sceptical term!) authorisation of fierce and sanguinary acts, which frequently occur in the Hebrew annals, resolves itself into no more than this—that the Deity did not yet think it time to correct the savage, I will add, unchristian spirit, inseparable from that period of the social state." We do not hesitate to declare that this view of the subject is not only irreconcilable both to the letter and the spirit of innumerable passages in the writings of Moses, but also to several strong representations in the pages of our author himself. But unhappily it is almost always the case that those who shrink from the fair statement of the truth, as it is set down plainly in Scripture, fall gradually into the most miserable inconsistencies, and are tossed about on a sea of doubt and difficulty, whose natural tendency is towards an utter renunciation of the Divine authority of the sacred writings.

After what he has already seen, the reader will not be surprised to find the scape-goat, described as "sent into the desert to Azazel, the spirit of evil." Of Azazel the book of Leviticus says nothing, and we can see neither the use nor the propriety of introducing his name, unless it be the author's wish to insinuate that the scape-goat was intended rather to placate the spirit and author of evil, than to make an atonement to the Giver of good. But this we cannot persuade ourselves after all to suppose, shocked though we have been by his irreverence in denominating the Almighty "the *feudal* Lord" of the Israelites, and his almost blasphemy in speaking of Mount Sinai as having been "*haunted* by

the presence of *their* God!"—as if the Lord were one among many Gods, and not the only Lord of All, and as if His presence could be compared, without impiety, to the fancied appearance of some ghost, whose only existence is in the disturbed brain of superstitious fear.

No sooner do we pass from the giving of the Law to the sojourning of the Israelites in the wilderness, than we are again assailed with these efforts to keep out of sight the direct interposition of the Deity, and those ignorant and insidious misrepresentations of the sacred narrative of which we have all along complained, and which argue a carelessness, or a wilfulness, both equally inexcusable. Thus the Bible positively asserts, that when at Taberah "the people complained, it displeased the Lord: and the Lord heard it; and his anger was kindled; and the fire of the Lord burnt among them." But our author kindly corrects the positiveness of the assertion, and renders it dubious, by telling us only that the fire "was *ascribed* unto the Lord." He next proceeds to afford the aid of his superior wisdom to the writer of the Pentateuch, in presenting us with a reason for a most important transaction, which is entirely different from that which is assigned in the Book of Numbers. Moses there tells us, that feeling the burden of the people too heavy for his single strength, the Lord commanded him to gather seventy elders, and to bring them into the tabernacle, and that there God himself would, and did take of the spirit that was upon Moses, and put it upon those elders, that they might "bear the burden of the people" with Moses, and that he should not "bear it" himself "alone." The family historian of the Jews begs leave to remind you, that "a permanent council of seventy elders was appointed," (whether by God or man he does not presume to decide) *not* to relieve and spare the fatigues, but "to strengthen the authority of the leader" Moses. We also presume that the Christian reader has hitherto imagined that, as Moses asserts, when Eldad and Medad "prophesied in the camp, the Spirit had really rested upon them," and that their prophesying was of such a nature as to be a sufficient evidence of the Divine influence under which they spoke. No such thing. According to this Bampton Lecturer, "Eldad and Medad, *of their own accord*, began to prophesy;" and to prophesy is merely "to speak in the name of God, or to testify religious zeal by some peculiar and *enthusiastic* language." Not only, however, according to our Bampton Lecturer, is the nature of facts erroneously interpreted in the Book of Numbers, the facts themselves are, in his opinion, erroneously stated. David, indeed, tells us, that "Phinehas rose up and executed judgment, and so the plague was *stayed*." The Book of Numbers says the same.

“ Phinehas took a javelin and thrust them through. So the plague was *stayed* from the children of Israel.” But according to the Family Historian, it was not so. Phinehas, he allows, trans-fixed “ the Simeonite and his mistress in each other’s arms.” But then he says, “ no sooner had this been done than a pestilence *broke out* in the camp, by which 24,000 persons died.” This is gravely asserted in a “ strictly historical work,” by a pious clergyman and a learned Bampton Lecturer ! We therefore expect that the Church of England and the University of Oxford will unite to justify the faithfulness of their son, by making the necessary change in the authorized version of the Scriptures : and hereafter we suppose we shall read, “ Phinehas rose up and executed judgment, and so the plague *broke out* in Israel.” But we must now quit this tone of irony, which we have employed in heaviness of heart, much more than in bitterness of spirit, to reason with our author in real earnestness upon his misrepresentations of the character of Moses in general, and of his conduct upon one of the most memorable occasions of his life. It must be in the recollection of every one who has perused the Pentateuch with any degree of attention, that when the spies, who had been sent to search out the land of Canaan, returned, they agreed in representing it as a land “ flowing with milk and honey,” but differed as to the propriety of endeavouring to make the conquest. Ten of the spies, looking only to the power of an arm of flesh, said, “ We be not able to go up against the people, for they be stronger than we.” But Caleb and Joshua said, “ We are well able to overcome them for they are bread for us : their defence is departed from them, and the Lord is with us, fear them not. But all the congregation bade stone them with stones,” having previously resolved “ to make them a captain and return into Egypt.” The Lord in his anger threatened to smite them with the pestilence and disinherit them,” and make of Moses “ a greater nation and mightier than they.” Moses in great meekness entreated the Lord that he would “ pardon the iniquity of this people. And the Lord said, I have pardoned according to thy word ; but because all those men which have seen my glory and my miracles have tempted me now these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice ; surely they shall not see the land which I swore unto their fathers, neither shall any of them that provoked me see it. To-morrow turn you and get you into the wilderness.” It is evident from this narration, first, that the resolution was not immediately made, nor the people ordered to retreat directly. The resolution was not made until after the intercession of Moses, and the retreat was not to commence until the morrow. But our Family Historian says,

“ The decision was *instantaneously* formed; the plan of immediate conquest at once abandoned; and the people are commanded, on the authority of God, to retreat *directly* from the borders of the promised land.” All these slight deviations from truth are introduced merely for the sake of making an *effective* and well-sounding sentence. It is evident, secondly, that there is no statement whatever to enable us to conclude that the Israelites had degenerated in stature and strength. Yet this writer asserts that “ the same causes which tended to the rapid increase of the Jewish people in that country, were unfavourable to their height and vigour.” It is evident, thirdly, that there is not a single word in the intercession of Moses to imply that he entertained either a thought or wish that the expedition into Canaan should be deferred until another, a stronger and hardier generation, whose minds had not been debased by long slavery, should arise. What Moses besought was pardon for the people. The Lord granted the pardon, but only on certain conditions and with certain restrictions, which he himself, in his own wisdom, prescribed. But our author forgets the Lord, and transfers the whole proceeding to the wisdom and policy of Moses as its source. “ In utter disappointment,” he says, “ the great lawgiver perceived that a people accustomed to the luxuries of a relaxing climate, and inured to slavery from their birth, are not the materials from which *he* can construct a bold, conquering, and independent nation.” He afterwards asserts that *Moses*, “ finding them unfit for his purpose, kept them for forty years under the same discipline of the desert, *then* led them as conquerors to take permanent possession of a most fruitful region :” *then*, that is, “ when the former generation had gradually sunk into the grave, and a new race had sprung up, trained to the bold and hardy habits of the wandering Arab, when the free air of the desert had invigorated their frames, and the canker of slavery worn out of their minds.” In this manner does he attribute to man what belongs wholly to God, and to mortal prudence what sprung from Divine wrath. But he goes on even still further in his irreverence, and declares that “ the Hebrews would either have been absorbed in the population of Egypt, or remained a wretched Pariah caste, had”—what? Had God not redeemed them from their bondage and danger? No; but “ *had Moses never lived.*” Just as if every thing belonged to Moses alone, and as if God could not have exalted Joshua or Caleb to the same office, and endued them with the same wisdom, and power, and success in their undertakings. He will tell us, no doubt, that this is said when considering Moses “ merely in an historical light, without any reference to his Divine inspiration.” But we tell him that it is impossible to consider Moses without

reference to his Divine inspiration, because it is directly contrary to the only authentic "historical light" which we possess, the light of the Holy Scriptures. We tell him further, that though such a view might have been tolerated in a professed course of reasoning against a Deist, it is utterly unfit and dangerous to be introduced into a work written professedly for the families of a Christian country. But even this paltry excuse can never be alleged either for the other presumptuous violations of the sacred text, which we have already noticed, or for his perversion of the account of the punishment of the Israelites by serpents. It is *not* the statement of Scripture that "the Israelites arrived at a district dreadfully infested by serpents," but that "the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people," in that district at which they had arrived.

We have only one remark to make upon our author's account of the conquest of Canaan under Joshua. It relates to the very imperfect statement which he has given of the punishment of Achan. Achan, he says, "was stoned, and his remains burned with fire." This is the truth, but not the whole truth: the penalty was much more extensive. Achan "and his sons, and his daughters, and his oxen, and his asses, and his sheep, and his tent, and all that he had . . . all Israel stoned *them* with stones and burned *them* with fire." This is no unimportant omission; for such a sweeping destruction inflicted upon a whole family for a single crime of a single *Israelite*, shows, that whenever the wisdom of the Divine justice deemed a signal example necessary to deter others from a similar sin, it was inflicted with as much severity upon his own people as upon their idolatrous enemies. Consequently, we conclude, that whether we can discover it or not, there must have been some powerful moral reason to induce Him to command the extermination of the Canaanites, and that it was in equity and not in partiality that they were condemned to perish.

The writer who could treat the character and conduct of Moses as we have seen it treated in the history under our review, could scarcely be expected to deal out to the Judges of Israel a very lenient sentence. Yet, we confess, that after all the symptoms of irreverence and injustice towards the personages introduced in Holy Writ which we had met with, we were still astonished at our author's want of equity towards the Judges. We were indeed surprised to find them designated in a mass as a set of "gallant *insurgents*, or guerilla leaders," and to hear it gravely stated, that "personal activity, daring, and *craft* were the qualities which raised them to their title and eminence." The members of a body so vilified are naturally treated with equal disrespect. Of Deborah it is said, that "she was richly endowed with at least the *poetic*

part of the character of a *prophetess*." Jephthah is described as "lawless," and "a noted captain of freebooters . . . whose profession, however, according to their usage, was no more dishonourable than that of a pirate in the older days of Greece." And then to seal the doom and fill up the measure of condemnation against this "fierce freebooter," he interprets the vow of Jephthah in its most literal sense, but never condescends in any way to obviate the difficulties which the actual offering-up of a human sacrifice naturally creates. The levity, however, which pervades his delineation of Sampson, exceeds them all. "It was his *amusement*," he tells us, "to plunge headlong into peril," and "as in those of the Grecian Hercules, and the Arabian Antar, a kind of *comic* vein runs through the early adventures of the *stout-hearted* warrior, in which love of women, of riddles, and of slaying Philistines, out of *mere wantonness*, vie for the mastery." Not even the faithful Gideon, though he admits that he had "received the Divine commission as the deliverer of his country," can escape the venom of his slanderous pen. "The gratitude of his compatriots," he says, "induced them to make an offer of royal authority to Gideon; but his *ambition* was satisfied with the deliverance of his country." We assert, without a fear of contradiction, that ambition had nothing whatever to do with the conduct of Gideon or his refusal of the crown. That refusal was dictated by a much purer feeling—a consciousness that God was their king; and that without the special direction of heaven, he could not innocently assume the name or power of royalty. "I will not rule over you," he said, "neither shall my son rule over you. *The Lord shall rule over you.*" It is equally untrue and unjust to Gideon, to say that "he *set up* a worship distinct from the one sacred place in Shiloh, where the ark rested;" undoubtedly, and most unwisely, and perhaps in vanity, he made an ephod out of the spoils which had been taken in his victories; but he made it only to "put it in his city;" and though it afterwards, like the brazen serpent, became an object of unlawful adoration, it was not "set up" for the purpose of being so worshipped. It merely became so in the ordinary progress of human frailty. "It became a *snare* unto Gideon and to his house." We cannot disguise from ourselves, however, and we have no wish to conceal from our readers, that there appear to us to be several circumstances connected with the characters and conduct of some of the Judges, which we have never as yet seen satisfactorily explained, and which perhaps, with the scanty information we possess, may never be thoroughly and irresistibly vindicated. But we at the same time remember, that the history of the whole Israelitish nation for more than four hundred years is summed up by the sacred

writers in about forty pages, and that it is a period of which we are unable to gather much information from any other source. To this we add, that the transactions were of a nature extremely peculiar, and occurred under a system of religion and government of which the world affords no parallel in its present state. We take all these things into our mature consideration, and then, we think, that we do not make any very violent demand upon the faith or reason of a fair inquirer, if we ask him to suspend his judgment upon events and persons of which he knows so little, and not to think it strange if he is incapable of satisfying his own mind upon the propriety of every portion of what is so briefly narrated, and so far removed from his own age and experience. A variety of other events, in themselves not at all less singular, and not at all less opposed to our usual habits of thinking, occur in the Old Testament, and of these we are fully able to show the perfect wisdom and justice, because it has pleased the Almighty that they should be recorded in such a manner as to supply us with all the premises which are requisite to form a decisive judgment. Surely then we are not only authorized, but bound in common equity, to extend to the Scriptures the same favour which we allow to every other writer, and conclude that it is from the brevity of the account, and our own consequent ignorance of the whole state of the case, rather than from any incorrectness or impropriety in the proceedings with regard to the Judges, that we are incapable of vindicating them as we think they ought to be vindicated. Had our Family Historian then been content merely to state the difficulties with temper, and confess his own ignorance and inability to remove them, we should have been far from quarrelling with him. But when we find him rejoicing in what he deems the iniquity of the Judges, and revelling in the most indecorous descriptions of their conduct, calling Jephthah lawless, and accusing Sampson of slaying God's enemies in mere wantonness, we are sorry, but we are compelled, to infer that there is either in his heart a want of charity, in his mind such a want of seriousness, in his faith such a want of firmness, in his judgment such a want of candour, or, as we really believe, in his imagination such a degree of wantonness and poetic misrule, as would be unbecoming in any ordinary Christian, but are most of all unseemly in a sober-minded clergyman, when writing professedly for the instruction of families in righteousness and truth.

The transition of the Israelites from a state of theocracy to a monarchy is treated with our author's usual propensity to represent every thing merely as the result of human policy. The regulations which, in the book of Deuteronomy, are laid down for the election of a king, are regarded by the Family Histo-

rian as a matter, not so much of Divine command, as of the prudence and foresight of Moses himself; who, notwithstanding we are told, that from Mount Nebo he beheld "in prophetic anticipation his great and happy *commonwealth*, occupying its numerous towns," yet, at the same time, "either perceived that a free republic, or rather a federal government of twelve distinct republics, was an experiment in the constitution of society, or that the external relations of the commonwealth might so far change as to require a more vigorous executive." In perfect harmony with this view of the subject, but in direct opposition both to Scripture and experience, he tells us, that "the prosperity of the state under David and Solomon *amply justifies* this deviation from the original constitution." We can only say, in answer to this, that "the thing displeased Samuel," and that the Lord himself, though he heard the request of the Israelites, and granted them a king, yet, instead of justifying their deviation from the original constitution, declared, that in making the request, "they had rejected HIM, that He should not reign over them." So much for the contrast between our author's views and those of Scripture; and if the prosperity or adversity of the Jewish nation under a monarchical form of government is to be taken as a criterion of the propriety or impropriety of the change which they made, it certainly seems to us that experience is strongly against them. The reign of their first king Saul was calamitous, that of David chequered, that of Solomon alone, and in its earlier periods alone, one of union and prosperity. Division into two kingdoms followed his death; the power of the nation was gradually weakened, their territories circumscribed, and their existence and monarchy in the land of Canaan fell together at the Babylonish captivity.

We are next introduced to the reign and character of Saul, and here one of the very first events of his reign is totally misrepresented. Samuel, we are told in Scripture, after privately anointing Saul, directed him to go down to Gilgal, after having told him certain things which should happen to him; one of which was that he should "meet a company of prophets," and that "the Spirit of the Lord should come upon him, and he should prophesy with them." It is clear that this was to be the transaction of a very short space of time, and the account of it, as it actually occurred, confirms the idea of this sudden change in Saul. For it is said, that when Saul had "turned his back to go from Samuel, God gave him another heart: and all those signs came to pass *that day*. And when they came to the hill, behold a company of prophets met him; and the Spirit of God came upon him, and he prophesied among them." The Bampton Lecturer,

however, is pleased to omit every allusion to the Spirit of God, which is twice mentioned in Samuel, and records the change as the effect of time, and "a course of religious instruction." He (Saul) "was sent," he tells us, "to one of those schools of the prophets . . . where the prophets were initiated in the circle of Hebrew education, religious knowledge, religious music, and religious poetry. Here the character of the youth was totally changed: he mingled in the sacred dances: his spirit became full of lofty and aspiring thoughts. So totally was (were) the former levity and carelessness of his youth cast off, that his wondering compatriots exclaimed, *Is Saul also among the Prophets?*" The most hasty reader will perceive the utter irreconcilableness of these two statements, and perceive also that the Bampton Lecturer, so far from being "strictly historical," has totally laid aside that character, and become "theological," after the worst manner of some of the worst schools of the compromising theology of philosophising Germany.

Another of those violations of the sacred narrative of which our author is so perpetually guilty, occurs in his account of the interview between Saul and the witch of Endor, and is plainly dictated by the same spirit as the rest, a desire to banish every thing supernatural from the "Jewish annals." Scripture says, that when "*the woman saw Samuel*, she cried with a loud voice . . . thou art Saul." This evidently leaves upon the reader's mind an impression of the reality of the vision, and at any rate it proves that it was the sight of Samuel, whatever that means, and not the demand of Saul, which made her recognise the king. But the Family Historian says otherwise. He tells us that at the "*demand* of raising a man of such dignity and importance, the woman first recognises, or pretends to recognise, the royal visitor." In order still further to weaken the notion of the reality of the scene, our author proceeds to observe, that "the figure, if figure there were, was not seen by Saul; and *excepting* the event of the approaching battle, the spirit said nothing which the living prophet had not said before." Truly this is a very singular exception; for what the spirit did say is just what Saul demanded it to say. Saul said to the spirit, "the Philistines make war against me therefore I have called thee that thou mayest make known unto me what I shall do. Then said Samuel, The Lord will also deliver Israel with thee into the hands of the Philistines: and to-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me." This was a full answer to the question of Saul, and if we are to doubt the prophetic knowledge of the spirit, because it added no more than it was required and was requisite to declare, I know no prophet whose divine inspiration can be safe. But our author,

once more labours to render the claims of the prediction to be of God untenable, by remarking that "the prophecy, like many others, may have contributed to its own accomplishment." We deny it altogether. Had it been declared to Israel aloud and from the house-tops, it might then indeed have dispirited the army and been conducive to a defeat. But it was whispered in the deepest secrecy to Saul, who surely can scarce be suspected of having made it publicly known that he had been the violator of his own laws against wizards. But even if this were granted, the prophecy could never have accomplished that peculiar part of it which related to the death of Saul and his sons, whose fate was in no way necessarily connected with the defeat of his army. We almost wonder that, instead of this threadbare remark, the Bampton Lecturer had not pointed out the survival of one of Saul's sons, Ishbosheth, as contrary to the terms of the prediction. It would have been little, but it would have been certainly more to his purpose, than the conjectures and insinuations he has thrown out.

We have seldom been more provoked than by our Family Historian's account of David. Of all the monarchs of Judah and Israel his life was the most eventful and interesting. Of all narrations our author's is the most dry and barren. It is little more than a table of contents, a synopsis of the events of his reign. There is nothing of that reverence with which it becomes every believer to treat the type of Christ, one whose name is sometimes put in the books of the prophets for the Messiah himself, and there is scarce any thing which can throw additional light upon his character. He is throughout regarded rather in a political than a religious point of view: himself considered as the founder of a flourishing and powerful monarchy, for the permanence of whose prosperity he provided "as far as human wisdom can provide, and whose heroes remind us of those of Arthur and Charlemagne." This certainly is not the form under which we have been accustomed, or would wish ourselves, our wives, or our children, to contemplate the conduct of David; and still less can we consent to regard him merely as "the chieftain of an eastern and comparatively barbarous people." But we have even stronger objections to the manner in which the faulty parts of his actions and character are treated, and compared with his virtues. "If," says our author, repeating the remark he has made on Jephthah, "if David, in his exile, became a freebooter, he assumed a profession, like the pirate in ancient Greece, by no means dishonourable. If he employed craft or even falsehood in some of his enterprises, chivalrous or conscientious attachment to truth was probably not one of the virtues of his day. He had his harem, like other

eastern kings. He waged war and revenged himself on his foreign enemies with merciless cruelty, like other warriors of his age and country. His one great crime violated the immutable laws of morality, and therefore admits of no excuse. On the other hand, his consummate personal bravery and military talent—his generosity to his enemies—his fidelity to his friends—his knowledge of and steadfast attention to the true interests of his country—his exalted piety and gratitude towards *his* God, justify”—what? the favour which was shown, the promises which were made to him by heaven? No such thing. David's excellencies are said merely to “justify the zealous and fervent attachment of the Jewish people to his memory.” The *sure mercies of David*, which were the constant meditation of his countrymen in after ages, are never mentioned by this author, and he talks of him, out of whose loins was to come the king whose throne was to be established for ever, as if he were an ordinary monarch, whose fame and glory were to be measured only by the reputation his policy or generalship could obtain for him. Never did we so deeply lament, or so strongly perceive the fatal error of this writer in endeavouring to divest of every theological character, a history which is essentially theological, a history in which God is perpetually and immediately engaged, for purposes which had a lasting and powerful influence upon the future prospects and proceedings both of the whole Jewish nation and the whole world. We have no desire improperly to palliate the guilt of David. We allow that “his one great crime admits of no excuse.” But we have a fervent and longing desire to find every one who treats of that crime, not briefly dismissing it as inexcusable, but labouring, as every Christian minister is bound to labour, in a faithful endeavour to vindicate the dispensations and mercies of God to David, notwithstanding the greatness of his crime. And we hold every historian, who is a believer, to be guilty of a dereliction of his positive duty, if he does not strive so to represent the whole matter, as not again to “give occasion to the enemies of God to blaspheme” upon the fall of so pious a man.

We have similar objections to urge to the view which our author has taken of David as a poet; we mean that he has entirely separated the poet from the prophet. The maledictions which occur in the Psalms, he talks of as “a few fierce and vindictive passages natural in the warrior-poet of a sterner age.” He never hints that they may be regarded as predictions of what the enemies of Christ should receive and deserved; nor though our blessed Lord has expressly taught us to regard the Psalms as prophetic, in many parts, of Himself, does our Bampton Lecturer take any notice of them in that character, though it be indeed

one of their highest excellencies, and one without which they never can be either correctly estimated, or vindicated, or understood. He tells us truly, but he tells us only, that they have "consoled the wretched; softened, purified, and exalted the human heart, and brought the affections into unison with their deep devotional fervour." But this, though a correct, is a very imperfect historical view of the sacred poetry of David, and of David himself as a writer.

Why will our author degrade the wisdom of Solomon by stigmatising his judicial sagacity "in the memorable history of the two women, who contested the right to a child," as a "*wild act of oriental justice?*" And why will he render doubtful the communication of God to Solomon, by telling us that "it is related that . . . God appeared to him in a dream and offered him whatever gift he chose." *It is related*, is always an ambiguous form of speech; for a thing may be related truly, or related falsely, and it is one of the leading principles of those who believe a thing firmly themselves, to speak of it clearly and distinctly to others. But this rule our author has so frequently violated that we cannot consent to be silent upon so blameable a habit.

We dare not venture to weary the reader's patience and our own by pursuing our author through the history of each successive monarch of Judah and Israel. We shall content ourselves with first stating the general impression which we think his narrative is calculated to make, and then producing one or two instances in confirmation of that statement. We conceive then that it would be impossible to read the Books of Kings and Chronicles in the Holy Scriptures, without perceiving that the writers have referred almost every memorable event, and very often the means which were employed to bring about those events, to the special and frequently predicted interposition of God; who, whether the kingdoms of Judah and Israel were in prosperity or adversity, was always the moving cause, and wrought always for his own glory, the preservation of the religion which he had ordained by Moses, and the punishment or reward of those who neglected or obeyed its precepts. For these purposes miracles were performed, prophets inspired, armies overthrown, kings raised up or cast down. We see in fact this great difference between the history of the chosen people and that of all other people. Amongst other nations we know indeed that the hand of Providence is always at work, and at work for good, but we cannot presume to say what is in each particular case, the special and immediate object God has in view. We are compelled, in most instances, to terminate our inquiries in a mere elucidation of the *secondary* causes, and human agency which have been employed. In the Scripture

history of the children of Abraham, on the other hand, that veil is removed which hides from our sight the direct operation of the Almighty arm, and obscures our perception of the ends which the Deity has immediately in view. From the principles which are laid down in the Mosaic writings, we are enabled to form in general a pretty accurate judgment of the times and cases in which Providence has particularly interposed, and can discover why he has overruled the ordinary course of events, either for or against his people and their rulers. But to aid us in our judgment, and to confirm or correct the opinions we might have formed by ourselves, with regard to the incidents which occur in the history of the Jewish monarchy, God has graciously and continually made revelations of his intended operations, or explained the reasons of those which have already occurred, and established the Divine authority of these revelations by prophecies fulfilled, or by the most astonishing and appropriate miracles. In a word, we see in other histories only how Paul planted and Apollos watered, but we see also in the Scripture history of Israel, both how and why God gave or withheld the increase. Such we say is the characteristic and distinguishing feature of the accounts contained in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, and we certainly consider that in treating of the same events, every "strictly historical" writer is bound inviolably to preserve that feature, and to refer every thing to the direct interposition of heaven, which the authors of the Books of Kings and Chronicles have already so referred. Now we scruple not to say that when we compare these portions of the Bible with the History of the Jewish Monarchy, as written by the Bampton Lecturer, we observe a remarkable contrast. The Bampton Lecturer has in a variety of instances referred to human means and policy what the sacred writers attribute directly to God, and the general tenour of his narrative is, in direct opposition to theirs, marked by a studious silence upon the continual interposition of the Divine arm. "Thus Asa," he tell us, "pursued the wiser *policy* of establishing the national religion in all its splendour and influence, encouraging those who came up to the feasts from the neighbouring kingdom, and checking idolatry." It is added that "Baasha endeavoured to counteract the *prudent policy* of Asa, &c." But Scripture speaks in a far different strain. "Asa," it says, "did that which was" not politic and prudent in the eyes of men, but "right in the eyes of the Lord." Again, the Bampton Lecturer says—"Asa strengthened his army and fortified his cities, and *thus* was enabled to repel a most formidable invasion, headed by Zera, the Ethiopian." Scripture says, "Asa cried unto the Lord his God, and said . . . Help us, O Lord our God, for we

rest on thee So the Lord smote the Ethiopians before Asa." Once more. The Bampton Lecturer says, "Ahab spared the lives of some Assyrians: but this unusual lenity, and the neglect to secure the inviolability of the Holy Land by the exemplary punishment of foreign invaders, roused the *indignation of the prophets*, one of whom appeared wounded and with ashes on his head, and rebuked the king for this, according to the existing notions, most criminal *weakness*." Scripture says nothing of the "indignation of the prophets," but carefully records the judgment of God upon an act, not of weakness but of disobedience. It speaks thus—"The prophet waited for the king by the way and said unto him. Thus saith the Lord. Because thou hast let go out of thy hand a man whom I appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people." We content ourselves with these, among many other examples, to prove what is the pervading spirit of the Bampton Lecturer's pages. Yet there are cases in which he speaks in a different tone, and follows strictly and faithfully the phraseology and representations of the Old Testament. His account of the contest of the Prophet Elijah with the Priests of Baal, is written in a manner at once to show that the writer himself was fully impressed with a belief in the direct interposition of heaven, and was anxious also to produce the same impression upon his readers, and he has done it well. When he speaks also of Uzziah as having "commenced a long, *religious*, and *therefore* prosperous reign," though we may doubt how far the description is altogether applicable to that king, yet we cannot doubt that he conveys the very notion which it is the unflinching effort and desire of the sacred writers to convey, namely, that amongst the chosen people, both as a state and as individuals, the fear of God and the welfare of man were inseparably connected together. But when we thus behold a conformity with Scripture in some instances, united with such a flagrant deviation from it in others, we are utterly at a loss to understand the state of our author's mind, or give a rational solution of such incongruities.

It is not our intention to follow our author through the remaining portion of the history of the Old Testament. Neither shall we make any attempt to rescue the characters of Esther and Mordecai from the aspersions which are thrown upon them. It is true we consider these aspersions to be in a great measure unmerited, and it is true that the Book of Esther forms a part of the canon of the Jewish Scriptures. But the Book is written in a strain altogether different from those of Joshua and Samuel, the Books of Chronicles and Kings. The author of the Book of Esther, whoever he might be, never presumes to bring "God upon the scene," but

refers every thing to the operation of second causes and human agency alone. “Esther did the commandment of Mordecai”—“Mordecai spake unto Esther”—and “the fear of Mordecai fell upon them.” Such is the uniform tenour of the phraseology in Esther, and it is in vain that we look for these perpetually recurring expressions which so distinctly mark the writer’s conviction of his own knowledge of the times when, and the reasons for which, the Almighty was pleased to interfere. It is not said that *the Lord raised up* Mordecai, as he did the Judges; it is not said that *the Lord put it into the heart* of Esther to speak unto the King, or of the King to listen to her requests: the matter is related in the manner of our ordinary history. Hence, though we may disagree with our author in his conclusions, we feel that we have no right, and we are sure that we have no wish, to make unnecessary objections, or accuse him, when he does not deserve it, of any departure from the authority of his historical guides, or a want of reverence for the Scriptures, or an anxiety to evade the acknowledgement of God’s direct and frequent interference in the affairs of Israel and her kings. We pass, therefore, at once to the history of the New Testament, for it was never our intention to review any portion of the History of the Jews in which the Sacred Writings are not concerned.

What then, it may be asked, is the view which this writer has taken of the ministry and the miracles of our blessed Lord and his Apostles? Doubtless he has treated *them* with becoming reverence, with a minute faithfulness, and a deep conviction of the presence of an almighty arm. What, then, has he said of the mighty works of Jesus, and his followers Peter and Paul?—NOTHING! It is literally true. There is not any one single sentence to say how that Christ healed the sick, cleansed the lepers, cast out devils, raised the dead, and rose himself from the grave. The doctrines, the life, the death and the predictions of our Lord, had a more near connection, and a more direct and lasting influence upon the conduct and fate of the Jews, whose history it is our author’s professed object to elucidate, than those of any other being whose actions are recorded either in profane or sacred story. Yet does our author, a clergyman, and, therefore, of course a believer in the important and influential nature of our Saviour’s words and works, pass them over with contemptuous silence in a book which he has written for the perusal, and we hope the instruction, of Christian families, in that which it is most essential that they should know. We really are unable to explain the cause of this brevity. Every historian of the Jews is bound, if he discharge his task fairly, to notice the rise and progress of Christianity, and, whether he deems it true or false, to trace its

operation upon the revolutions of that people. The violation of this rule may be accounted for, though not excused, in Josephus, though even he has said more than the Bampton Lecturer, by referring to his disbelief, and perhaps contempt, of Christianity. But for the believing author of the work before us, we know neither of explanation nor apology. His is a silence unnatural in any one who deeply reveres the Gospel, and most culpable, because it loses one of the most favourable opportunities of giving to the rising generation a convincing view of the excellency of their religion, and the Divine power and character of their faith and its founder. But let us look first to what our author does say upon the Redeemer of the world, and let us then consider how far what he has said can be justified.

“The morals of the Pharisees, according to the unerring authority of Jesus Christ, were far below their pretensions.”

“Jesus Christ was led before the Sanhedrin, and by them denounced before the tribunal of Pilate.”

“Pilate was awed, perhaps, by the tranquil dignity of Jesus, or at least saw no reason to apprehend any danger to the Roman sovereignty from a person of such peaceful demeanour—he probably detected the malice, though he might not clearly comprehend the motive, of the accusation brought forward by the priests and populace. Still, however, he shrunk from the imputation of not being ‘Cæsar’s friend,’ and could not think the life of one man, however innocent, of much importance in comparison with the peace of the country, and his own favour at Rome. In this dilemma he naturally endeavours to avoid the responsibility of decision, by transferring the criminal to the tribunal of Herod, to whose jurisdiction Christ as a Galilean belonged, and who happened to be at Jerusalem for the celebration of the Passover. At length, however, finding the uproar increasing, he yields without much further scruple, and the Roman soldiery are permitted to become the willing instruments of the Jewish priesthood, in the crucifixion of that man in whom Pilate himself could find no fault. We leave to the Christian historian the description of this event, and all its consequences. Yet our history will have shown that the state of the public mind in Judæa, as well as the character of Pilate, the chief agent in the transaction, harmonize in the most remarkable manner with the narrative of the Evangelists. The general expectation of the Messiah—the impatience of the Roman sovereignty, fostered by the bold and turbulent doctrines of Judas the Galilean—the extraordinary excitement of the more fanatical part of the people, which led them to crowd round the banner of each successive adventurer, who either assumed or might assume that character—the rigid prudence of the Chief-priests, lest the least indication of revolt should compromise the safety of the city and the Temple, and expose the whole nation to the jealous resentment of the Roman governor—these circumstances of the times sufficiently account for the reception which such a teacher as Jesus of Nazareth met with in Jerusalem. Appearing,

as he did, with doctrines so alarming to the authority of the priesthood—so full of disappointment to the fanatic populace—so repugnant to the national pride, as implying the dissolution of the Mosaic constitution, and the establishment of a new and more comprehensive faith—and, above all openly assuming the mysterious title, the Son of God—it excites less astonishment, than sorrow and commiseration that the passions of such a people should at once take arms, and proceed to the most awful violence against a Teacher whose tenets were so much too pure and spiritual for their comprehension, whose character was so remote from their preconceived notions of the expected Messiah.”—vol. ii. pp. 157, 158.

This is the whole of his account, and it is impossible not to remark how totally he omits the Divine works and Divine authority of our Lord. We are told of his dignity which awed, his peaceful demeanour and innocence, in which no fault could be found by Pilate. We are also told of his “*assuming* the mysterious title of the Son of God.” But of the proofs by which the assumption of that title was justified we hear not one word; and the omission appears to us to be one of the most flagrant acts of injustice to our Lord, and a neglect of one of the fairest openings for a display of his glorious miracles, which could possibly be conceived. But this is not all. The omission has actually induced our historian to pity, rather than condemn, the infidelity of the Jews—a mistake into which he never could have been led, had he inserted any notice of the unequalled and innumerable miracles which confirmed the claims of Jesus to the Messiah of God. “The circumstances of the times,” he says, sufficiently account for the reception which such a teacher as Jesus of Nazareth met with in Jerusalem,” and “it excites less astonishment, than sorrow and commiseration, that the passions of such a people should at once take arms, and proceed to the most awful violence against a teacher whose tenets were so much too pure and spiritual for their comprehension, whose character was so remote from their preconceived notions of the expected Messiah.” It is not in terms of palliation like these that our blessed Lord himself has spoken of the unbelieving and persecuting spirit of his countrymen towards himself. “If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin; but now,” says he, “*they have no cloke for their sin.* He that hateth me, hateth my Father also. *If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin; but now they have both seen and hated both me and my Father.*” The works of Christ, therefore, were what rendered the rejection of Christ by the Jews inexcusable. But our Family Historian omits all reference to the works of Christ; and insisting only upon the opposition of his tenets to

the corrupt, and of his pretensions to the preconceived opinions of his countrymen, is naturally beguiled into lamenting where he should have condemned, and pitying that infidelity, and injustice, and cruelty, which, "according to the unerring authority of Jesus Christ," he ought most severely to have censured, as springing out of a hatred, not only of our Lord himself, but of his Heavenly Father also. We repeat it, that had our author paid that attention to the miracles of our Saviour, which is their due from every "strictly historical" writer, he never could have fallen into the error of palliating the resistance and violence which were offered to him by the unbelieving Jews. But, above all, we are inclined to quarrel with the cool irreverence of language in which the Saviour is mentioned. He speaks of Jesus Christ as he speaks of Pontius Pilate, just as if (to imitate his own anachronisms) the one was the Christian and the other the surname of the Redeemer of the world. He never talks of him as "the Son of the Most High," or the "blessed Jesus," or even as "our Saviour;" but he has not scrupled to apply to him a name of all others the most revolting to our minds, the name of a "*criminal*;" and that too without any softening accompaniment. He does not say that Pilate transferred to the tribunal of Herod him who had been accused as a criminal. He says at once, that Pilate transferred "*the criminal* to the tribunal of Herod." This is undoubtedly both plain and bold; but it is a plainness which we cannot admire, and a boldness which we deem positively irreverent in a clergyman.

Such are the remarks which we have deemed it our duty to make as a warning to parents against the introduction of this History of the Jews into their families, and as a proof, amidst many others which it would have been tedious to enumerate, of the justice of our accusations against the author, as inconsistent, not faithful and irreverent. In the eyes of every sincere and humble Christian, we feel confident that our censures will appear to be fully justified. In what manner the author himself, and his friends may regard them, we know not. But we will tell him, that had he been our brother, we could not have felt authorized to speak of his work in a different manner. We will tell him, however, and tell our readers too, that we neither suspect nor have the smallest intention of imputing to our Bampton Lecturer the slightest degree of scepticism with regard to the truth of the Scriptures, or the Divine authority of the religion they contain. We attribute to him a great want of judgment, an absence of all clear views, a heart not quite destitute of vanity, an imagination wild with poetic fancies, and a mind bewildered in the mazes of some of the worst and most dangerous writers of Germany, whose

works he has studied without the energy and acuteness which are requisite to extract the good from the evil of their daring lucubrations. Perhaps he has thought that the more he could bring the wisdom of God to a level with the wisdom of man, the more acceptable this *History of the Jews* would become, and undoubtedly he has very low and heterodox views of the inspiration of the Word of God. For it is in vain that he attempts to shelter himself under the episcopal names of Tillotson, Secker, Warburton, and Blomfield. These prelates would no doubt admit of some limitation to the inspiration of every word and letter of the Bible, but would reject with scorn and horror the extent to which that limitation has been carried by our Bampton Lecturer. And for our own parts, we see neither the good sense nor the piety of confining inspiration to points of doctrine alone. There are some portions of the history of the Bible which God alone could have known, and made known to man. As little can our Family Historian excuse his views by stating, that "while God is on the scene, the historian will write with caution and reverence, while man, with freedom, justice, and impartiality." We have pointed out many transactions in the *History of the Jews* where, though "God was on the scene," our author, as we think, has not written with caution and reverence. But we are quite certain, that the principle, though generally true, is by no means generally applicable to the history contained in the Scriptures. For the most part, God and man are there met with together on the scene, and the care and discrimination which are necessary in such a complicated state of the case, appears evidently to be far beyond the reach of our Bampton Lecturer's powers, who seems to have much more of the poet's want of controul over his imagination, than the calm and penetrating perceptions of the theologian. If this *History of the Jews*, therefore, is still to be circulated amongst the families of Christians, ready to receive the statements they read with faith and without suspicion, we would recommend, we would almost command, the author to revise and remodel the whole of that part which occupies the same ground with the Bible, and to compose his narrative with more reverence and in better harmony with the writings of the Prophets of God. It perhaps would be worth his while to do this: for though we confess that the style of the Bampton Lecturer in this history is not at all suited to our own graver taste, yet we can easily perceive that it is a style which, from its liveliness and other stimulant qualities, is likely to attract thoughtless readers, and become popular with many who would turn away from more learned and sober and instructive histories.

In conclusion, we trust that we may be permitted to express a fervent hope, that the poison which lurks under this *History of*

of the Jews, may be counteracted by some other history of the same people, written with a more holy tendency, and with something of the sacred feelings of Bishop Hall in his *Contemplations*, and, we will add, in direct contradiction to the Bampton Lecturer; with something, also, of that "pious awe," without which, in our opinion, it is impossible to enter into the real spirit of the scriptural accounts of God's dispensations towards his chosen people.

It is clear, from the success which we understand this most objectionable History of the Jews has met with, that there is a call for a Family Library—that subjects connected with religion are most greedily desired and devoured—and that if due and immediate measures are not taken to give a wholesome supply to the demand, there are to be found, even in the bosom of the Church itself, and amongst its holy ministers, men who will not scruple to disseminate the most dangerous notions, and who are ready to issue forth under the banner of any liberal bookseller who may think it his duty or interest to undertake the instruction of our families. The Church of England, we repeat it, has seen by this example what injury may be sustained by intrusting such a publication to weak or wicked hands, and it becomes her faithful followers and friends to protect her children from error and infidelity.

ART. VII.—*An Essay on the Origin, Progress, and Decline of Rhyming Latin Verse; with many Specimens.* By Sir Alexander Croke, D.C.L. and F.A.S. Oxford. 1828.

THIS is a clever and interesting little volume on an attractive subject; the leisure work of a Scholar and a man of taste, addressed to readers of his own class. It opens with a short inquiry into the origin and progress of Rhyme; which, probably, has been used in the Oriental Languages, either owing to their peculiar structure, or to design, or yet more probably to both, from time immemorial. The Hebrew, the Sanscrit, the Chinese, the Zend or old Persian, the modern Persian, the Arabic, Turkish and Tartarian dialects, all furnish specimens of Rhyme. It is found in the Slavonic, and in the two great divisions of the Western Tongues, the Celtic and Gothic. Irish possesses it as early as the IVth Century. The Triads of the ancient British yet earlier; at least, as we are not within reach of Vallancy, O'Halloran, or O'Connor, we may venture to express our belief in the priority of the Cymric claims. The Gaelic Rhyme is the youngest of the three. In the Gothic Tongues, Rhyme did not prevail over Alliteration till nearly the XIth Century; though it

might be occasionally introduced before that date; and in our own Language the two continued intermixed till a very late period. Without admitting, therefore, any fanciful theory for its adoption in the general modern practice of the majority of European Poets, it may be enough to state that Rhyme appears to have been common to most of the aborigines (not to use the term too strictly) of that division of the Globe.

That Rhyme was not unknown to the Greek and Roman Poets is sufficiently plain, from many instances which may be produced of its occurrence. That it was not generally approved, and that it was considered too meretricious an ornament for frequent use, is equally clear; and we cannot but think that several of the examples which the diligence of curious research has succeeded in exhuming from the great mass of Classical Poetry, must be attributed rather to accident, negligence or haste, than to design on the part of the writer: just as Tacitus, in the commencement of his *Annals*, unintentionally stumbled upon an Hexameter. It appears to have escaped Sir Alexander Croke, that a jingle which is so painful and ludicrous to modern ears when it invades them from Prose, was legitimately allowable in that species of composition among the Romans. Their great Teacher of Oratory has delivered rules for its use; and although he does not commend the practice, we look in vain for any condemnation of it. Quintilian reckons the second of the ornaments which he terms *similia*, to be *ut clausula similiter cadat, vel iisdem in ultimam partem collatis*, ὁμοιοτέλευτον, *similem duarum sententiarum vel plurium finem*.*

Yet it surprises us that the purity of Roman taste could endure the rapid reiteration of sound which echoes in the examples Quintilian has submitted. *Non modo ad salutem ejus exstinguendam, sed etiam gloriam per tales viros infringendam*. And again, *Neminem posse alteri dare matrimonium, nisi quem penes sit patrimonium*. Cicero himself is not always free from this vice; for such, in spite of his great authority, we must consider it. What in our own Language would have been thought of such tintinnabulary periods as the above, if they had found their way into the glowing Oratory of Burke, Pitt, Fox, or Sheridan? Who would have tolerated a Rhyme in the Begum Speech? in those upon Œconomical Reform, though in a lighter strain? How would it not have marred the δεινότης of Pitt's thunder? or have palled on the ear in the rich, copious and rapid eloquence of his great competitor. Even in subjects on which less elaboration is required; where plainness is the chief demand, and intelligibility the greatest excellence; where the passions are wholly unmoved, and where

* *Inst. Or.* ix. 3. 77.

grave, leaden and severe attention is the quality most in request from the reader; how suddenly is the train of thought interrupted, how utterly is the writer's object frustrated, if he has unluckily permitted himself to slide into an unseasonable *homoioteleuton*! We doubt whether the rigid muscles of the most sedate mathematical student ever saved themselves from reluctant relaxation, when he first arrived unawares at that melodious Theorem in Smith's *Optics*:

“ When parallel rays
Come contrary ways,
And fall upon opposite sides ——.”

But to return to our main subject. Even before Latin had ceased to be a living Language, the rules of its poetical quantity were forgotten or neglected, and an accentual pronunciation was allowed to occupy their place. An elegant writer of our own days has given his opinion that the text of Commodianus, the earliest professed rhyming Latinist now extant, (he flourished in the middle of the III^d Century,) is so corrupt, that he should by no means despair of seeing a truly critical editor nurse his lines into unblemished hexameters. Any one who is inclined to such an attempt, may practise it on the following extract; which possesses another of the graces of laborious trifling: if the initial letters be read, *more Sagarum*, from bottom to top, they form an acrostic, *Commodianus Mendicus Christi*.

“ I ncolæ cœlorum, futuri cum Deo Christo,
T enente principium, vidente cuncta de cœlo.
S implicitas, bonitas, habitet in corpore vestro.
I rasci nolite sine causa fratri devoto;
R ecipietis enim quicquid feceritis ab illo.
H oc placuit Christo, resurgere mortuos imo,
C um suis corporibus, et quos ignis ussit in ævo,
S ex millibus annis completis, mundo finito.
V ertitur interea cœlum, tenore mutato;
C omburuntur enim impii tunc igne divino;
I ta Dei summi ardet creatura gemendo.
D igniores stemmate et generati præclaro,
N obilesque viri, sub Antichristo devicto,
E x præcepto Dei, rursum viventes in ævo,
M ille quidem annis, ut serviant Sanctis et Alto
S ub jugo servili, ut portent victualia collo:
U t iterum autem judicentur regno finito.
N ullificantes Deum, completo millesimo anno,
A b igne peribunt, cum montibus ipsi loquendo.
I n bustis et tumulis omnis caro redditur acto,
D emurguntur inferno, trahunt pœnas in ævo,
O stenduntur illis et legunt gesta de cœlo,

M emoria prisca debito et merita digno.
 M erces in perpetuo secundum facta Tyranno.
 O mnia non possum comprehendere parvo libello:
 C uriositas docti inveniet nomen in isto."—pp. 27, 28.

In the following century Rhymes were much employed in Ecclesiastical Hymns. The metres chiefly used were dimeter Iambics and Trochaics, but with little or no regard to Prosody. Hilary of Poitiers and St. Ambrose were Poets as well as Rhymers. St. Augustin can scarcely aspire beyond the latter title, in that wretched trash, the Satiric Psalm which he poured out against the Donatists.

Saint Patrick is said to have cherished a very fierce antipathy against the Erse Bards, and to have destroyed no less than 300 volumes of their Poetry. Was it that he could bear no brother near the throne? In the Cotton Library, (Titus D. 24, fol. 61 b.) may be found one of his own Rhyming Hymns; and as he attained the great age of 122, it is probable that he wrote many more. Another Irish Saint, in the VIIth Century, the holy Comgill, contrived a most ingenious miscellany. The Hymn which he composed for the *Antiphonarium* of the Monastery which he founded at Bangor, exercised the diligence and sagacity of his Monks in the triple pursuit of the Alphabet, of Greek, and of Latin. The four lines of each stanza commenced with the same letter in natural order; and a plentiful interlacing of Helleno-Roman phraseology was sprinkled throughout the whole, as in the following specimen.

Audite pantes ta erga
 Allati ad angelica
 Athletæ Dei abdita
 A juventute florida.

Perhaps the good Saint adopted this tessellated style on the same principle which guided a worthy inhabitant of Canterbury, whom we have heard tell his own tale with an irresistible humour which we cannot hope to imitate. Our honest friend was a Gastrosophist, (*that* compound is legitimate,) and he used to ascend the Dane-John mound in a forenoon, and having observed what chimney afforded the most promising smoke, to direct his call accordingly, in the hope of an invitation to dinner. From this habit he termed himself a *Fumoscopist*; and when some one remonstrated upon the piebald nature of his title, his ready answer was, "Sir, if I said *Capnoscopist*, I should be supposed to be skilled in Greek only; as it is, every body must see that I understand both Greek and Latin also!"

A single extract from a Poem of the XIth Century, *De con-*

temptu mundi, extending to near 2000 lines, will show at least the copiousness of its writer in the language of vituperation. Bernhardus Mortanensis, a Cluniacensian Monk of the Order of St. Benedict, lashed the morals and manners of his Age; and he censures the Ladies in the following good round Latin of the Fish-market.

“ Nulla quidem bona,—si tamen et bona—contigit ulla,
 Est mala res bona,—namque ferè bona—fœmina nulla.
 Fœmina res rea,—res malè carnea,—vel caro tota,
 Strenua perdere,—nataque fallere,—fallere docta,
 Fossa novissima,—vipera pessima,—pulchra putredo,
 Semita lubrica,—res malè publica,—prædaque prædo,
 Horrida noctua,—publica janua,—dulce venenum,
 Nil bonè conscia,—mobilis, impia,—vas lue plenum,
 Vas minùs utile,—plus violabile,—flagitiosum,
 Insociabile,—dissociabile,—litigiosum,
 Merx leve vendita—sed citò perdita,—serva metalli,
 Flamma domestica,—diligat unica—fallere falli,
 Extat amantibus—hostis, et hostibus—extat amica.
 Ni petitur petit,—idque lucri metit,—ut sit iniqua.”—pp. 59, 60.

One of the most fertile, and, as Sir Alexander Croke determines, one of the best Leonine Poets of the XIIIth Century, was Raginald, a monk of St. Augustine's, in Canterbury. He lived at the time of the Conquest, and upwards of 5000 of his verses are still extant in the Bodleian (Laud, 40.). His chief Poem is on the Life of St. Malchus; the outline of which has been supplied by a short Biographical Memoir of that Ascetic, falsely ascribed to St. Jerome. It embraces an odd mixture of subjects; very perilous temptations conducted by the joint evil influence of Venus and Satan; a Platonic marriage; an assembly of Phœbus and the Sea Gods in the Palace of Oceanus, where dwell Wisdom and her children, the Arts and Sciences, particularly Ethics, Physics, and Logic, Hercules, the Nine Muses, and many other allegorical and Pagan personages; sundry encounters with Lions, Saracens, and Astrologers; and a finale little to be expected from the heterogeneous materials which have preceded it.

“ In the sixth Book, Malchus in his retreat composes a hymn, which is given at length. In an address to God the Father, he recites all his proceedings throughout the Old and the New Testaments, in tristicons or triads; then he celebrates the Son and the Holy Ghost in tetrastics, and concludes with a prayer to the Virgin, and all the Saints by name. He addresses his guardian angel in quaternions, beginning,

Angele, qui nobis es.custos, pietate supernâ
 Me tibi commissum serva, tueare, gubernâ.
 Terge meam vitam vitiis, et labe veterinâ,
 Assiduusque comes mihi sis, vitæque lucerna.

"His active and contemplative life is then described. The praises of Saint Jerome are sung, who pays them a visit. Malchus relates his life and adventures to him; and the poem concludes with these two lines:

Currendi finis,—quadrigis sive carinis
Nostris, hóc igitur,—pentametro dabitur."—p. 75.

To the same Century is to be referred the most celebrated of all Leonine Poems, the *Schola Salerni*, or *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum*.

"It was written by the learned doctors of Salerno, and contains rules for the preservation of health, and the prevention of disease, composed for the use of Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, to whom it is dedicated. No poem was more popular in the middle ages, and many of its precepts are frequently quoted even to this day; but it is too long for insertion here, and a new edition of it, with a copious introduction and notes, is prepared for the press."—p. 82.

Strange as it may appear, it was not until after this period that the Poet flourished from whom the Leonine style has derived its name. It must not be dissembled that other origins for the title have been advanced; and the reader may decide upon their validity for himself, although they are unnoticed by Sir Alexander Croke. They are called Leonine, says one writer, from Pope Leo; but which of the twelve Pontiffs who have assumed that *nom de Pape* we are not informed, nor whether any one of them has distinguished himself by framing such verses. The name, affirms another grave author, is derived from *Leo*, a Lion; for as a Lion is the King of Beasts, so is a Leonine Bard the King of Poets! But rejecting such unauthorized etymologies, it may be assumed that, although he was neither the inventor of this style, nor by any means the most skilful performer in it, yet Leoninus or Leonius, originally a Benedictine at Paris, and afterwards a Monk of the Monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles, is the person to whom the name must be traced. He composed XII Books in Heroic verse on the History of the Bible, before he attempted Rhyme; and these, says Sir Alexander Croke, were written with considerable purity and elegance. If such were really the case, Rhyme must have been to the good monk what Lockit's *one-guinea* fetters would prove to *Le Dieu de danse*; for never were any movements more cumbrous than those which he makes in the short passages which we may be spared the thankless labour of transcribing.

Walter de Mapes, the pleasant author of the well-known convivial Canticle, *Mihi est propositum in Tabernâ mori*, held, as he deserved to do, very considerable preferment in the reigns of Richard I. and John; and the staunchest opposer of pluralities, if he had heard the jolly Priest sing his own song, would have

forgiven him for being Canon of Salisbury, Præcentor of Lincoln, Archdeacon of Oxford, and Prebendary of St. Paul's. We need not cite the above-named celebrated Bacchanalian; but the following by Petrus Andreas Canonherius, which is less known, and not much less spirited, deserves extraction.

“ Quicunque vult esse frater,
Bibat bis, ter, et quater:
Bibat semel, et secundo,
Donec nihil sit in fundo.
Bibat hera, bibat herus,
Ad bibendum nemo serus:
Bibat iste, bibat illa,
Bibat servus cum ancillâ.
Et pro Rege, et pro Papâ
Bibe vinum sine aquâ.
Et pro Papâ, et pro Rege,
Bibe vinum sine lege.
Hæc una est lex Bacchica,
Bibentium spes unica.”—pp. 102, 103.

The revival of learning in the XVth and XVIth centuries gave a death-blow to this bastard taste, and Leonines since that epoch, have ceased to form a part of serious Literature. Some, however, of exquisite beauty are still preserved in the magnificent services of the Romish Church; and we shall subjoin one, of which, however familiar to most readers the two opening words may be, perhaps the whole, beautiful as it is, has not frequently occurred. It is “married” to music deserving of its verse.

“ Stabat mater dolorosa,
Juxta crucem lacrymosa,
Dum pendebat filius:
Cujus animam gementem,
Contristantem, et dolentem,
Pertransivit gladius.

“ O quam tristis et afflicta
Fuit illa benedicta,
Mater unigeniti:
Quæ mœrebat, et dolebat,
Et tremebat, cum videbat
Nati pœnas inclyti.

“ Quis est homo qui non fleret
Christi matrem si videret
In tanto supplicio?
Quis posset non contristari
Piam matrem contemplari
Dolentem cum filio?

“ Pro peccatis suæ gentis
Vidit Jesum in tormentis,
Et flagellis subditum :
Vidit suum dulcem natum :
Morientem, desolatum,
Dum emisit spiritum.

“ Eja, mater, fons amoris.
Me sentire vim doloris
Fac, ut tecum lugeam.
Fac ut ardeat cor meum,
In amando Christum Deum,
Ut sibi complaceam.

“ Sancta mater, istud agas,
Crucifixi fige plagas
Cordi meo validè :
Tui nati vulnerati,
Jam dignati pro me pati,
Pœnas mecum divide.

“ Fac me verè tecum flere,
Crucifixo condolere,
Donec ego vixero :
Juxta crucem tecum stare,
Te libentè sociare
In planctu desidero.

“ Virgo virginum præclara,
Mihî jam non sis amara
Fac me tecum plangere :
Fac ut portem Christi mortem,
Passionis ejus sortem,
Et plagas recolere.

“ Fac me plagis vulnerari,
Cruce hæc inebriari,
Ob amorem filii :
Inflammatum et accensus
Per te, Virgo, sim defensum
In die judicii.

“ Fac me cruce custodiri,
Morte Christi præmuniri,
Confoveri gratiâ :
Quando corpus morietur,
Fac ut animæ donetur

Paradisi gloria. Amen.”—pp. 137—139.

Of modern imitations, Sir Alexander Croke mentions those by Hall Stephenson, the Inscriptions by Glover, formerly in the Hermitage at Stowe, and Mr. Frere's stanzas in Will Whistlecraft's *National Poem*. To these might have been added, among many

others, Parnell's translation of the Toilet-scene in the first Canto of the *Rape of the Lock*, which is said to have frightened Pope almost out of belief in his own identity; a very humorous version of "*Unfortunate Miss Bayley*" which perhaps still remains in Manuscript,

Seduxit Miles Virginem, receptus in hybernis,
Præcipitem quæ laqueo se transtulit Avernis; &c.

and, perhaps the latest, and assuredly not the least pleasing of their kind, Archdeacon Wrangham's *Psyche* from Mr. Bayley's (no relation, we believe, to the unfortunate Lady just mentioned) *Songs on Butterflies*. One of these we are tempted to add. Our readers will at once recognize in it the song which, a season or two back, was trilled in their ears in every gay saloon and miserable alley of the metropolis.

Ah! sim Papilio natus in flosculo,
Rosæ ubi liliaque et violæ halent;
Floribus advolans, avolans, osculo
Gemmulas tangens, quæ suavè olent!
Sceptra et opes ego neutiquam postulo,
Nolo ego ad pedes qui se volutant;
Ah! sim Papilio natus in flosculo,
Osculans gemmas quæ suavè olent;
Magicam si possem virgam furari,
Alas has pulcras aptem mî, eheu!
Æstivis actis diebus in aëre;
Rosâ cubans Philomelæ cantu.
Opes quid afferunt?—curas, somnum rarè:
Sceptra nîl præter ærumnas, eheu!
Ah! sim Papilio; die volans in aëre,
Rosâ cubans Philomelæ cantu!
Quemque horum vagulum dicis horrore,
Frigora autumnî ferire suo:
Æstas quando abiit, mallem ego mori,
Omni quod dulce est cadente pulcro.
Brumæ qui cupiunt captent labore
Gaudia, et moras breves trahunto;
Ah! sim Papilio: vivam in errore,
Concidamque omni cadente pulcro!

We shall conclude our notice of these agreeable pages, with the *scheme* of Leonine versification which Sir Alexander Croke has given. It might be very largely extended; and there are few perhaps, who open upon it to whose memory some additions will not immediately suggest themselves.

"Rhyme being once introduced into Latin poetry was refined upon

by successive poets with infinite variety. It was either, Ist, completed in one line, or, II^dly, extended into more, so as to form stanzas.

“ I. 1. The line was divided into *two parts*, and the middle, at the pause, rhymed with the end.

“ As in the epitaph upon Roger, duke of Sicily, in 1101—

Linquens terrenas—migravit dux ad amœnas

Rogerus sedes,—nam cœli detinet ædes.

Pentameters of the same form occur—

Permutant mores—homines cum dantur honores ;

Corde stat inflato—pauper, honore dato.

These were called *versus cristati*.

“ The same rhyme was sometimes extended through many lines ; as in the convivial verses :

Funde vinum, funde—tanquam sint fluminis undæ,

Nec quæras unde—sed fundas semper abundè.

“ 2. The line was again divided into *three parts*, which all rhymed, and the verses were called *Trilices* : as,

O Valachi—vestri stomachi—sunt amphora Bacchi.

Vos estis—Deus est testis —teterrima pestis.

“ II. They formed stanzas, in which the rhymes extended beyond one line.

“ 1. The first and most usual of this kind, and the proper *Leonine* was the couplet, in which two verses rhymed only at the end, and the second was sometimes a pentameter. The rhymes were usually completed in two lines : sometimes in four lines ; and there are instances in which the same was continued for a great number of lines.

“ 2. Or each line was divided, as before, into two parts, which formed several varieties, and might be considered as four short verses.

“ The middles and the ends rhymed alternately.

Si tibi grata seges—est morum, gratus habetis :

Si virtutis eges—despiciendus eris.

Criminibus mersos—toto conamine vites,

A vitiis tersos—cordis amore cites.

Or the first and fourth parts rhymed, and the second and third :

Est domini donum—puri devotio cordis.

Contemptus sordis—initiale bonum.

Or all four parts rhymed ; and even the same words were repeated, which *Reginaldus* calls *versus reciproci Leoniniceses*, or *dicaces*,

Me recreas fessum—validus nam, si recrees, sum.

Carmine vates sum—recreas si carmine fessum.

“ 3. There were three divisions in each line, which made more varieties.

“ The beginning and middle of each verse rhymed, and the two ends as in the couplet.

“ As in a poem by Damianus, bishop of Ostia, addressed to the Virgin :

O miseratrix—O dominatrix—præcipe dictu.
Ne devastemur—ne lapidemur—grandinis ictu.

The rhyme of the beginning and middle was sometimes continued in the second line :

Virgo beata—salusque parata—benigna precanti,
Dona rogata—dabis cumulata—tibi fabulanti.

Sometimes the beginning, middle, and end, of one line rhymed with the corresponding parts of the second :

Cellula mellis—fundis ardorem—virgo serena,
Nescia fellis—cui dat honorem—nostra Camœna.

At length rhyming was carried to such an extent, that every word of one verse corresponded with those of another; and it could go no farther :

Quos anguis dirus tristi mulcedine pavit,
Hos sanguis mirus Christi dulcedine lavit !

“ Great refinements occur in the mode of rhyming, and names were given to the different kinds of rhyme.

“ When the rhyme was formed by two words, they were called *versus cornuti*, as in the satire of Reginaldus against his rival :

Lividus et rodens—putrescat in ore suo dens :
Qui veluti sorex—mea rodit et atterit, O rex,
O Deus hunc puni—cessaverit à crepitu ni.
Clam lacerat cæcos—bona limat, ut invidiæ cos.

A mode in which the first half of a word constituted the rhyme produced verses called *inversi*.

Malche, mei memor *es*—to, meosque miserere labores.
Scripta dedi, *cessa*—re precatur dextera *fessa*
Carmina jam *marce*—re vides lasso mihi *parce*.
Multa tuli, *festa*—re jube post edita *gesta*.
Præcipe me *pausa*—re, rogat finem dare *causa*.

We may recollect the humorous verses prefixed by Cervantes to his immortal work :

Si de llegarte à los bue-
libro, fueres con letu-
no te dirà el boquirru-
que non pones bien los de—

“ Besides hexameters and pentameters, other kinds of verse were used, particularly dimeter iambics, or trochaics :

Deus, tuorum militum
Sors, et corona, præmium,
Laudes canentes martyrīs
Absolve nexu criminis.

These were likewise much varied: the following is an usual and pleasing form :

Audi, Deus,
Quod te reus,
Mole pressus criminum,
Supplex orat
Et implorat,
Credens in te Dominum.

“ The strenuous idleness of the cloister gave birth to an infinite number of whimsical and laborious productions. A species of literary economy made one word, or part of a word, serve for many lines.

“ As in the following rules for a convivial entertainment :

Nemo cibum capiat—donec benedictio fiat,
Privetur mensa—qui spreverit hæc documenta.

	{	vultus hilares habe-	
		sal cultello capi-	
		quid edendum sit ne pet-	
		non depositum capi-	
		rixas, murmur, fugi-	
		membra recta sede-	
Dum manducatis	{	mappam mundam tene-	} atis.
		ne scalpatis cave-	
		nullis partem tribu-	
		morsus non rejici-	
		modicum sed crebro bib-	
		grates Christo refer-	
	}		

Another specimen :

Arbore sub qua-	{ dam,	{	dictavit clericus A-	{ dam,
Quod primus A-			peccavit in arbore qua-	
Sed postremus A-			natus de virgine qua-	
Damna prioris A-			reparavit in arbore qua-	
Si non primus A-			peccasset in arbore qua-	
Non postremus A-	}		moretur in arbore qua-	

Another, which may suffice :

Et canis	{ in sylvis	{ venatur	{ et omnia	{ lustrat.
Et lupus		{ nutritur		{ vastat.

pp. 20—2.

ART. VIII.—*Sermons on various Subjects and Occasions ; including Three Discourses on the Evidences, the Obligations, and the Spirit of the Gospel.* By the Rev. James Walker, D.D. F.R.S.E., of St. John's College, Cambridge, Episcopal Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh. London. Rivington. 1829. pp. 413. 10s. 6d.

The interest which our readers may be expected to take in this volume is materially increased by the recent elevation of its author to the see of Edinburgh. In spite of certain suspicions to the contrary which have been entertained on the Northern side of the Tweed, we are confident that the great bulk of the English clergy have a strong fellow-feeling for their Scottish brethren. The political and financial depression of the episcopal communion in Scotland, forms a striking contrast to its high character as a branch of the Church of Christ. The consideration which it has never ceased to enjoy among the higher classes in its own land, and its powerful hold upon large and increasing congregations in the capital and other principal towns, might alone suffice to prove, that her clergy, under every other discouragement and disadvantage, have continued faithful to their sacred trust. And the respect with which they are now treated by vigilant and jealous Presbyterians, bears ample testimony to the orthodoxy of their faith, and the general consistency of their conduct. Under such circumstances, it would indeed be monstrous if the more fortunate servants of the Church of England were wanting in admiration for the good works, or in sympathy with the unmerited suffering of the Scotch Episcopalian clergy. But the fact, as we have ample means of knowing, is directly the reverse: and the respect which is entertained in this metropolis for the late Bishop Sandford, together with the general satisfaction at the choice of a successor to that lamented prelate—are unquestionable indications of the prevailing sentiments in the ecclesiastical world.

The notoriety of such sentiments, and their extensive adoption, induce us to believe that Dr. Walker's Sermons will be received with far more curiosity and attention than can generally be bestowed upon similar works. The character and sentiments of a person in his present station are of deep importance to the Catholic Church. If the choice of the Edinburgh clergy has fallen upon a man of unsound or even of doubtful principles, great will be the general disappointment and great the mischief which must ensue. If the newly consecrated Bishop of Edinburgh is infected with any of the multifarious novelties of the day—if he is disposed to abandon the old paths and to seek popularity by exciting astonishment, he will not be deemed a meet successor for the pious and amiable Sandford, nor a safe guide to the little

flock which has been preserved from such appalling dangers. If he is deficient in judgment, temper, or professional acquirements and ability, the interest intrusted to him must be placed in great jeopardy: while the reverse of all these suppositions will hold out an encouraging prospect to every friend of the Apostolical Church; and we have no hesitation in saying, that this is the prospect afforded by the Sermons before us. We apprehend that our opinion will be fully supported by the extracts now to be submitted to our readers.

The Third Sermon, on “Ye know not what spirit ye are of,” contains the following passages:—

“The Church of Rome reproaches the Reformation with its numerous sects and endless heresies; while, in fact, a similar discrepancy subsists among themselves, restrained indeed by authority, sometimes at the expense of very gross inconsistency; but by no means suppressed. The very same or very similar systems of enthusiasm, with which they also reproach the Churches of the Reformation, subsist among themselves, which they have hitherto had the art to regulate; generally confining them to monastic seclusion, or contriving some other harmless outlet or concealment, abroad or at home. The Reformation has destroyed that principle of unity, which, in this respect, guides the Church of Rome, and the influence of that artificial policy which is its consequence. Therefore sects multiply as opinions vary. This variety of opinions respecting the same system ought to teach all parties, what Christianity has ever taught, modesty, moderation, and mutual forbearance. Had the early sectaries in Germany and in Britain read and imbibed the spirit of the New Testament, they would have escaped the perversions to which they subjected themselves, by a rash application of the policy and the judgments of the old covenant to the circumstances of the new; in which they unhappily fixed themselves the more, by some things hard to be understood in the Epistles of St. Paul, from the difficulty of his Jewish idioms, and from the peculiarity of his Jewish allusions. Those sectaries disdained that interpretation of Scripture which descends to us from age to age, with the current sense of the Church. This sense, in all the leading essentials of Gospel truth, the standing ministry and the uninterrupted administration of the sacraments, tends to preserve in some degree of authenticity and purity; or it enables us, whenever we are prepared and disposed to recur to first principles, to repair the aberrations of time, and ignorance, and presumption, and accident.

Those early sectaries went moreover to Scripture in search of that which they could not possibly find there. They went with a preconceived conviction that it ‘is in such sort the rule of human actions, that simply whatsoever we do, and are not by it directed thereunto, the same is sin.’ This notion was first applied to matters of Church government, but it includes in effect every thing which pertains to the Christian profession and conduct. This notion was easily supported on Scripture grounds by a reference to the Jewish law and ritual, while the remarkable difference between the two covenants was either unknown or

disregarded. The most heterogeneous mixtures were thus made, and the most absurd notions were thus enforced. Those men not only assumed to their own opinions exclusive truth, but they maintained the right, as in the old law, of temporal sanctions. They held themselves entitled to promote the influence of the supposed truths which they maintained, and bound to oppose the errors which they disclaimed, not by the compulsion of reason, and by the force of fair argument, and by the weight of good example, but by positive penalties, even by death, if they possessed the power, or by threats of Divine vengeance, if they did not.

“Such a misconception as this is of the Gospel spirit is deeply to be lamented; but it is easily accounted for. It arises from the corruption and the selfishness of our nature. The subject is the most important which can engage human attention, or prompt human exertion. Men feel that it is so, and therefore they too readily identify their own personal honour and their own social influence with the truth, real or supposed, which they adopt; and while self is the leading though the latent spring, the honour of God and the interests of true religion are the ostensible motives, which conceal under a fair form the deceitful workings of a carnal heart, and all the odious qualities of that spirit which leads men to usurp, so far as they can usurp, the judgment of God, in reference to their neighbours. In the Church of Rome this spirit has led to the most frightful enormities; while justice will lead us to acknowledge that it continued to actuate more or less all the first reformers; though happily from a better spirit in some, and from the want of power or the want of system in others, not to the same practical extent.

“Every serious and enlightened Christian, in choosing his Church, or in adhering to that in which he was educated, must be actuated by the conviction that it is the true Church, or a sane portion of it; and, therefore, that those who differ essentially are in error. This conviction will necessarily exclude an intercommunity of worship among such dissidents. For ‘he that doubteth is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith: for whatsoever is not of faith is sin.’ Nothing is more dangerous than to be equally attached, or rather to be equally indifferent, to contending systems of religion. They cannot each be true. In passing from one to another, or to many, indifference is generated to each and to all. He that thus wavereth is not guided by reason, nor actuated by religion, but is like a wave of the sea, driven with the wind and tossed; or like children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive.

“The firm adherence which is thus the duty of every good Christian to the system which his conscience approves, is perfectly compatible with Christian charity in its widest extent, and in its holiest acceptation. This firmness, founded in faith unfeigned, is in fact the foundation of that charity which is the chief of all Christian graces. So far as men are deficient in charitable feeling for their fellow-Christians and their fellow-men, so far are they deficient in that which is essential and indispensable in the Christian character. If this want of charity be the prominent feature of their system, whatever may be the pretensions of such

men, and however eagerly they may maintain that their's is the cause of God and of true religion ; their conduct furnishes the most certain proof that their pretensions are false, and that they know not what manner of spirit they are of."—pp. 86—92.

" The parable of the pharisee and the publican, which our Lord spake unto certain which trusted in themselves, that they were righteous and despised others, exposes a common and a very dangerous vice of human character. It is this conceit, carried to its most dangerous excess, which leads men not only to prefer their own religious system, which all good Christians are bound to do in all godly sincerity, but to consider it as so exclusively the cause of God, as to require an active testimony to be borne against all who are beyond its pale. ' They are the real and not merely nominal Christians—the body of *faithful believers*—the eternal Church'—and all who differ from them are ' opponents of the Gospel of the grace of God.' Actuated by this most pernicious conceit, the most incompetent men, ignorant even of the elementary language of true religion, speak and write with the most sovereign contempt of all who differ from them ; and consign to reproach, as almost or altogether unworthy of the Christian name, some of the most illustrious men who have graced the annals of the Church. Nay, if pressed with authorities which they cannot otherwise escape, and directed to matter, which in their utter ignorance, they cannot even pretend to refute, they can still, without compunction, declare, that in such an age ' the doctrines of the Reformation were in a manner lost.' They can coolly maintain, and cause their zealous followers to believe, that Tillotson, and Sharp, and Wake, and Atterbury, and Bull, and Sherlock, and Waterland, were men void of vital religion ; not that they knew any thing of the matter, but because they have determined that those, with many other illustrious men, lived and wrote after the asserted loss, and before the supposed revival of true and vital religion. Amidst all the evils with which the Church of Christ amongst us is in these our days menaced, none is more to be deprecated and guarded against than the spirit which dictated, and which maintains by every means, so odious a calumny against the illustrious dead. The glory of the Church of England will indeed suffer a dark and a dismal eclipse, when such men as Sharp, and Bull, and Sherlock, and Waterland, shall be proscribed and superseded by such men and by such principles as I have referred to.

' Those who in these days cherish this opinion, and who maintain all its consequences, in reference to the living and the dead, are very generally in the commencement of their course, rash and inexperienced young men, who have learned their lesson of zeal, and a little beyond it, and who, proud of their lesson, and blinded and occupied by their zeal, never attempt to learn any thing beyond it. They act, they speak, they preach, and write, on the positive assumption that they are the accredited agents of the Most High, and that all who follow not with them are the enemies of God and goodness. It is not possible in the ordinary exercise of the Christian ministry, in a well regulated Church, to act under a more pernicious prejudice. It is one of the worst exhibitions of the spirit re-proved in my text ; perhaps the worst which the circumstances of our age and country permits."—pp. 98—101.

The ninth discourse, on Luke, xii. 20, furnishes us with the following specimens of Bishop Walker's practical preaching.

"The facts of the parable were fulfilled almost literally in the close of the last century, in the case of a man who stands eminently distinguished as a scholar and an historian, but who unfortunately for himself and for the world, lived and died an infidel. It is remarkable, too, that the facts of the case so strikingly coincident with those of the parable are related by the individual himself in a letter written to a friend, which was published after his death. He describes his perfect recovery as he supposed from a painful disease, he dwells with peculiar satisfaction on the literary, the social, and the elegantly sensual enjoyments in which he had hitherto passed his life. Not a single sentiment occurs beyond the bounds of time and beyond the objects of sense and of society. Even the fame in which he delighted, and which he courted, was confined to the passing breath of perishable man. 'Well, then,' exulting like the rich man in the parable, in his various enjoyments, thus limited to time and to sense and to society, he says, 'I think I can now rely with confidence on at least twenty years of positive and uninterrupted enjoyment of life.' It is an awful, it is an appalling fact, that this poor confident mortal, in little more than twenty hours after this letter was written, was summoned to that eternity on which he never bestowed a serious thought, and was instantly deprived of all those enjoyments on which he relied with so much security, and in which he exulted with so much relish.

"There is no pleasure in such a contemplation, but it may supply a salutary lesson. The folly of such conduct in all circumstances is extreme, since we hold and can hold nothing of all which we may have or hope for in absolute or permanent security; and the folly becomes palpable to every understanding, when the confident expectation of many years uninterrupted enjoyment is thus instantly arrested by the awful summons to death and retribution. If the positive declaration of St. Paul, that such a character hath no inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God, be true,—and what Christian dare doubt its truth?—no greater folly is conceivable; for the enjoyment, after all, is nothing. There is no security, not even of a day; and the utmost period of mere human enjoyment, were there even security for its reaching the utmost permanence of the transient life of man, is, after all, nothing; while in such circumstances it will ever of necessity be mixed up with vanity and vexation of spirit.

"Literature and science are objects of high and of rational enjoyment; but if they are limited to time, whatever eminence and whatever reputation the scholar and the man of science may attain, they become in effect objects of mere vanity, fostering the corruptions of our nature and obscuring the essential object of our being. The minds of such men may rejoice in an imaginary perpetuity of that fame with which the adulation of society surrounds them; but it is the vainest and the idlest of all vain follies to him, who, though rich with the spoils of time and with the acquisitions of science, is not rich towards God, who made and who maintains his being; to him who lives as without God in this world, and who dies utterly careless of, and altogether unprepared for, that im-

mortality which alone is valuable. He who makes riches, and the enjoyments which riches may furnish, the sole object of his care, is guilty in effect, as the Scriptures expressly declare, of idolatry. The pursuit of learning and of science seems less sordid; but, confined to time and to the exclusion of Divine knowledge, it leads in fact directly to similar corruption. Even Divine knowledge, Scripture criticism, historical and doctrinal research into the vast field of revealed truth—if these are pursued to the exclusion of practical religion, and without regard to the life of God, which it is the object of revelation to form and to mature in the soul of man—even Divine knowledge, thus pursued, is mere vanity and delusion. It is limited to time: it is, therefore, corrupt in itself, and it fosters the corruption of our nature by withdrawing our practical attention from him who is the Author and the object of our being.

“It may seem that the subject thus presented to your consideration is little suited to a common audience. There are few subjects, however, if it be properly considered and properly applied, in which we have all a more direct or a deeper interest. The sin reprov'd, and of which the folly is palpably demonstrated, is nothing very gross in appearance. It is easily overlooked; it attracts little notice, and yet its influence on the mind and conduct is very pernicious, and its final consequences are most disastrous. It is, moreover, a folly much more common than we are generally perhaps disposed to imagine. In effect, whether the object be riches, or power, or learning, or science, or fame, matters little. The folly consists (and it is the same or similar whatever be the object) in giving to the pursuits of time an imaginary permanence and a practical importance which do not belong to them, to the absolute or the partial exclusion of that which is the essential purpose of our being.

‘Thus men frequently attach themselves to the mere temporal pursuits of their condition, as if these formed the sole object of their existence. Men, and comparatively good men too, frequently attach themselves with zeal, and it may be added with sincerity even, to religious societies and associations, in whose minds the temporal object of the association, the social respect, the reputation and the bustle and the influence, are allowed partially to obscure the eternal interests, which are the proper and the permanent pursuits of every really religious man. The world, and the world's wealth, and the world's associations, whatever social or sacred name they bear, are ever present, with their outward attributes and social influence; and this their constant contact excites habitually and often involuntarily in the mind a conviction of importance and of permanence in the mere temporal parts of the association, which continues frequently to dominate in the practice, even when the reflection of reason and the warning of conscience furnish palpable proof of the fallacious folly. Religious convictions, even when they are very fervent, and religious zeal, even when it is very sincere, are not always certain signs that we are as much detached from the world as Christians ought to be. The man who gives his time and his zeal and his money and his eloquence to increase the influence of his Church and to promote the progress of religious knowledge, may be at once fervent in his religious convictions, and sincere in his zeal to promote the honour and the influence of the Gospel; and yet there may

be a strong combination of mere human motives mixed up with this fervency and modifying this zeal. It is the great danger of our position, in all circumstances, that the world is ever at hand with its insidious solicitations, and that the corrupt heart of man is ever too ready to yield to those solicitations of sense and of society."—pp. 226—233.

"Now this mixture of good and bad motives, which the circumstances of the case render probable, renders it, at the same time, more useful and more applicable as a moral warning against a dangerous and a common delusion, than if we consider it a case of desperate wickedness and unmitigated guilt, such as we would willingly suppose can rarely occur. The truth is, that the world, the world's work, the world's wealth, and the world's associations stand in constant opposition to our Christian progress; and they are calculated, even when we least suspect their influence, to lessen, to suspend, and sometimes to annihilate, that constant confidence in God, which is an indispensable ingredient in the Christian life. Consider with what eagerness the man of business, the merchant, and the man of the world cling to their temporal pursuits, add to their temporal acquisitions, and follow their temporal enjoyments, long beyond the period which early anticipation fixed for religious reflection and retirement; when life is absolutely verging towards dissolution, and when time must in their case inevitably give place to eternity. Such men are by no means infidels. They even respect religion generally. They often speak religiously—and, on solemn occasions, they think and act religiously, so far as transient observers are entitled and qualified to judge. But they have never made religion their exclusive study and practice. They have never really renounced the world. They have never seriously contemplated death and eternity. They are aware, indeed, as all men are aware, of death, and that eternity succeeds it. By the spectacles of mortality, which daily arrest their attention, they are rendered permanently sensible how frail and uncertain our condition is; but the assent remains limited to the conviction of a general truth, and even when it produces a strong transient emotion, it is not always personally and practically applied. Even to the period of extreme old age, men persist in this most singular inattention. They acknowledge, and they seem to feel, the general effect of man's mortality; but they never fix a period for their own dissolution. On the contrary, they frequently talk with as much confidence of future years, which the course of nature precludes them from seeing, as they were accustomed to do (with an impropriety equally though not apparently as great) in the prime of youth and maturity of manhood.

"The cause of this consists in our allowing the world, its pursuits, its wealth, and its associations, a predominant influence, which is fostered by the habits of life, and the constant influence of society, to the partial exclusion of that Divine influence which was given to form, to conduct, and to complete the Christian life, through the cares of time to the joys of eternity. The world, its pursuits, and its associations, have their just claims upon all men. They infer duty and the obligations of duty; and these obligations faithfully fulfilled, impart and improve both individual and social happiness. The rule with respect to these furnished by one of the Christian fathers, will probably seem satis-

factory even to worldly men. 'Do the duties of life and of your station every day with the same circumspection, with the same zeal, and with the same industry, as if you were to live in this lower world for ever.' But the pious and primitive Christian adds, 'You must combine with those necessary duties the higher obligations, which embrace eternity. You must live each day in the constant habit of religious recollection, and penitence, and prayer, as if each day were to be your last.' Were we thus enabled to combine the honest pursuits, and the innocent enjoyments of time with the hopes of a blessed immortality, our call from time to eternity could never come amiss nor reach us prematurely. Time and all its pursuits; the world, and all its duties, and all its enjoyments, would, on this supposition, hold over us only their just and legitimate influence; important while time continues and the obligation lasts; but leaving the habitual and salutary conviction, that to depart, when the purpose of God's providence is fulfilled; to depart and to be with Christ, is far better than all which the world can give or promise, in any the happiest combination of circumstances."—pp. 238—242.

There is one other short passage contained in the Notes, and referring to Archdeacon Browne's extraordinary *charge* against Bishop Bull, which we cannot refrain from transcribing.

"Now agreeing, as I do most sincerely, and as Bishop Bull agrees, decidedly, in attributing the justification of man to the grace of God in Christ, what occasion is there for controversy and angry separations among men, thus distinctly consenting in the fundamental truth of Christian redemption? The Archdeacon of Ely, and those who agree with him, do not more certainly acknowledge nor more sincerely believe this essential truth than I do, and than all those churchmen do with whom I have been accustomed to associate. If the Archdeacon and his friends acknowledge with Mr. Scholefield, the Greek Professor, who, in the notes to his sermon before the University of Cambridge, moderates between him and the Bishop of Salisbury, if they acknowledge that the faith by which the grace of God is received, &c. must be a *working faith*, if they believe that holiness is the indispensable consequence, absolutely required in all those to whom the justification of the Gospel is freely imparted; if they really believe that without holiness no man shall see the Lord; if, in short, they believe the solemn declaration of the Redeemer himself, what conceivable difference is there between us? That which is an indispensable requisite, a consequence, without which the original gratuity is rendered ineffectual, is, in fact, a condition, in whatever language you may announce or explain it."—pp. 407, 408.

It is hardly necessary to say, in conclusion, that those who have no further acquaintance with Bishop Walker than that which may be found from this volume, will arrive at the very same conclusion which has been drawn by others, who have known and watched his career for many years, namely, that he is a sound and able divine, and that his elevation to the episcopal rank may be a matter of just congratulation among all real well-wishers to the Church in Scotland.

ART. IX.—*Christianity always Progressive; being the Christian Advocate's Publication for the Year 1829.* By Hugh James Rose, B. D. Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. London. Rivingtons. 1829.

EVERY one, we presume, will agree with Mr. Rose in thinking that the objection to Christianity on account of its want of universality, is one of the most usual, as well as the most effectual arguments against it. The reason is satisfactorily explained when he adds, that this objection is capable of being shortly and pointedly stated, while every answer to it, whatever path it may subsequently pursue, must be founded on a comprehensive view of God's moral government of the world, a subject embracing many very extensive and difficult considerations.

The analogy so clearly explained by Butler, is the most conclusive answer to this objection. Natural religion as maintained by the modern Deist is beset with as many difficulties, and with the same sort of difficulties, as Christianity itself. Assuming the existence, and attributes of God, the vices and misery of mankind, and their utter ignorance of their Maker stand in need of as much explanation, as the limited adoption, and limited effects of Revelation. And unless the Atheist is to triumph over Deism, because sin, and suffering are actually in the world—the Deist can gain no triumph over Christianity on account of its having failed to remove them. The believer in God, and the believer in Christianity must alike confess their inability to explain why the gifts of nature, and the gifts of grace are not more general, more complete and more effectual. And the answer therefore, and as it seems to us the only unexceptionable answer to the Sceptic who quarrels with our faith for the reason now alleged, is that to be consistent, he cannot stop here—since his reasoning leads to an utter rejection of the Being and Providence of God.

But while this is the strict and philosophical reply to the infidel argument in question, there are doubtless many other considerations which may be properly brought forward, when the subject comes under discussion, and the manner in which this has been done by Mr. Rose entitles him once more to the thanks of the friends of revealed truth. He states the objection with which he proposes to grapple in the following terms.

“ If Christianity really came forth from God, and if it contain a promise and a prophecy that its light is to shine on all, how comes it that that promise and prophecy are yet unfulfilled? and that a religion which professes to be *divine*, should not at once establish a resistless sway over the consciences of individuals, and over the faith of nations?

If the knowledge of the Lord is ever to cover the earth, can it be Christianity which is to diffuse that knowledge, when, in so long a period, it has done so little, towards effecting the blessed and glorious purpose? But yet further; can it be Christianity which is the desired, the longed-for revelation from a gracious God to his poor and miserable creatures? Can that be the true light, which is to enlighten every man that cometh into the world, when, for many centuries, it obviously declined in purity and in influence, and, in the middle ages, lost so much of its brighter character, and approached so nearly to the character of a degraded and degrading superstition? When, in the words of a valuable and recent writer on prophecy, 'its dominion, wide as it has been in ancient and modern times, and in regions rude or civilized, has yet only shared the world with other powers of a gross heathenism unenlightened, and infidelity unreclaimed?'

"These are assuredly, at first sight, grave and serious questions; and, although, when further examined, their importance is diminished, yet they contain so much likely to produce an impression on weak and wavering minds, that they well deserve consideration and reply. I shall, therefore, endeavour to show, that the apparent importance of these arguments is derived, not from their intrinsic value, but from certain unreasonable expectations and assumptions connected with them, respecting the progress of Christianity. It is always assumed, that that progress ought to be great and rapid: whereas there is nothing, either in Scripture or the nature of things, which can justify us, in expecting any, but a slow and laborious advancement of our religion; and a little reflection will show, that, though the heaven is to leaven the whole three measures of meal, it is doing a work as effectual and as necessary, when completing its salutary operations on one portion, as when commencing them on others.

"The observations which I have to offer, will arrange themselves under two principal heads.

"It will be my first business to show, what it is reasonable to expect from Christianity; and I shall then inquire, whether those reasonable expectations have been fulfilled. The more important, however, of these questions, as regards the objections I have noticed, is undoubtedly the first; and it will be my endeavour now, to set those objections in their true light, by pointing out the obstacles, which, in a world so constituted as ours, will ever be found ready to retard the progress of religious and moral improvement. The result of the statement will be, I think, a conviction, that, in considering the claims of Christianity, it is our business to inquire, rather, whether the tree of life is growing than whether its growth has been rapid, or whether it has as nearly attained its full dimensions, as a hasty judgment may decide that it should have done."—pp. 11—13.

This is the opening of Mr. Rose's argument. We cannot follow him into its details, but his peroration may be submitted to our readers, and will put them in possession of the author's general views, and of the line of reasoning pursued in the work before us.

“ But the adversary will bid the advocate of Christianity cease from his exultation ; he will press upon him all the corruptions, which mark it, as a public establishment ; and on these he will insist, as a proof of weakness or of failure. There is, indeed, enough to mourn for ; enough to be done. In too many quarters of the Christian world, Christianity is still polluted : still degraded, by the profligacy and ignorance of multitudes of its teachers ; still depressed, by the fatal consequences of impurity in doctrine and in worship. But it is vain to deny, that, in many points, the prospect is brightening. Let it be permitted to the Protestant,—not speaking unchristianly, not uncharitably, not harshly, of that ancient form, to which, he must be mindful, that, under God’s blessing, he owes his own,—yet, let it be permitted to the Protestant, to remember and to rejoice, that the prospect is, in this respect, brightening ; and that purer Christianity is tending to gain a wider sway. Here, indeed, we seem, with our limited comprehensions, to trace and recognise the characters of the same scheme of love and goodness, which have marked the dealings of God with man, in all ages of revelation.

“ The Jew, coming forth from the carnal Egypt, was inclined to the grossest idolatry ; but yet, he was just so far raised and elevated in mind, by former traditions and revelations, as to be able to comprehend its evil and its danger ; to approve the better, even while he chose the worse : and, therefore, the better was bestowed upon him, by a gracious God. The leaven of truth was sent to work its way, and to extirpate the cureless evil of idolatry. The struggle was long and arduous : the rebellions great, the punishments awful. But the work was done at last ; and idolatry was, finally, and for ever, expelled from the Hebrew commonwealth.

“ So it was, with the first introduction of Christianity, to the nations of the earth. Christianity, I mean, was introduced, long before it could (humanly speaking, and with reference to the state of public manners and opinions,) be fully accepted. The goodness of our Father and God sent it, so soon as it could effect any good ; so soon, as the spirit of the age could grapple with it at all. Then, the imperishable leaven was left to struggle and work its way, and to leaven the nations as it might.

“ So it was, again, with the barbarous nations of Europe. Corrupted as Christianity was, when introduced to them, it was too pure, for their low nature fully to accept or understand. But still it was able to work on them, though imperfectly and slightly ; to sow its seed in fear, and so prepare the way, for future generations to reap the fruit, in the gentle and sanctifying influence of love.

“ So is it, in these latter ages. From the days of Luther, to this hour, pure Christianity has been making progress. But we must remember, that, as the purity of the doctrine increases, the difficulty of its acceptance increases also : and that, therefore, in the very nature of things, this most important part of the great work of the regeneration and restoration of mankind, must be the most slowly performed ; and more ages, perhaps, than the religion has yet seen, must be conse-

crated, to its gaining, not a wider territory, but, a firmer grasp, and stronger hold. In the better forms of Protestantism, we have the Christian doctrine in its greatest purity: purity, too great, to meet with full acceptance at present, but not too great, for the full apprehension of many; not too great, to shed infinite blessings now, and to produce effects inestimable hereafter. It is struggling with a world of evil; not *ready*, not *glad*, but still often *able*, to accept it. And thus, in the Christian world, we have all the varieties of a system: in one quarter, the pure truth triumphs; in another, it is maintaining an arduous struggle; in a third, it is marred and mutilated, by a carnal and sensual form. But, under all these modifications, the heaven is still working: Christianity is variously preached, the valleys are exalted, the hills are made low, and the way is preparing for that holier and better age of the Gospel dispensation, whose shoe-latchet the present race may be unworthy to loose. We can see, if we will but watch the signs of the times, that some of the regions which still suffer from an irrational form of worship, are opening their portals, for the reception of a purer system. The struggle will be often severe, before that purer system can gain a footing; and long protracted, before it is established and triumphant. Nor must we shut our eyes to the sad warnings, given alike, by revelation, by reason, and by experience. That the love of many shall wax cold, that iniquity shall abound, even in the latter days, all Scripture teaches; and the sealed book of prophecy, with mysterious voice, warns of apostasy and failure, even in the closing scenes of the Gospel. Reason, also, and experience tells us, that man, the agent of God, is still frail and peccable: that he will, sometimes, be deficient in zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, sometimes will sully its purity; but that, in the end, failure, and mismanagement, will alike receive the chastisements of Him, who ruleth over all; who impels the heavenly scheme; and who forwards it to-day, by the powerful lessons which the grief and the woe of yesterday supply.

“Such is the prospect, which a survey of the state of the Christian Church presents; and such reason for joy and thankfulness, does it give. Nor have we less reason to glow with exultation, when we look to the influence of Christianity in the moral world.

“I speak not in forgetfulness of, nor without a deep and bitter mourning for, the yet wide reign, and wasting power, of indifference and sin. I know, and I lament, the snares of wealth, the enthrallments of luxury, the ravages of ambition. I behold, arrayed against us, all the fatal adversaries of our pure and holy religion.

“Yet, over all these melancholy and mournful thoughts, there arises, in triumph, the remembrance of all that Christianity *has* done, and is *now doing*. Of its most difficult conquests, indeed, a large portion is overlooked by the human eye. While the evil done in its name, is seen by all, and dwelt upon in triumph by the adversary,—its pure and holy conquests are often effected in stillness and silence; in the abode of poverty, in the obscurity of humble and retired life. Who is there, that has seen a true Christian, in his life and his death? Who,

that has seen the holy calm that sheds itself over that soul, where grace has triumphed over passion, where envy, and hatred, and pride, are sounds unknown? Who, that has seen the bright and holy glow of devotion diffused over the countenance? Who, that has heard the fervid accents of a Christian prayer? Who, that knows the joy of a Christian's communion with his Maker, the devout aspirations of a soul which is the temple of the Holy Spirit, adorned and sanctified by his best and richest gifts and graces? Who, that has seen the Christian struggling with the storms of life,—though cast down, not destroyed; though perplexed, not in despair; submitting, with humble, resignation, to the correction of his heavenly Father; and gathering the peaceable fruits of righteousness, from the seed which was sown in tribulation and tears? And yet more, who, that hath seen that sight, on which angels look with joy; that hallowed bed, where a Christian renders up his soul, as to a faithful Creator; where, with no vain display, no idle rapture, the dying saint, knowing, of a truth, that he is faithful who promised, relies, in the last awful scenes of life, with humble confidence, on that hand, which has borne him through all the storms and struggles of his earthly pilgrimage, and which will now cheer and comfort him, in his passage through the dark valley of the shadow of death? This is, not what Christianity *can* do, but what it *does*, day by day; not what it does, for the learned and enlightened Christian only, but what it does, to shed light and joy, over the humble abode of the lowly and ignorant.”—pp. 88—93.

“The views and contemplations, again, in which the religion of Christ engages mankind, relate to high, and noble, and heavenly objects; and, with a voice, which, in the better moods of mind, man cannot disobey, call him off from lower occupations, as unworthy alike of his nature and his destiny; and thus tend, beyond all question, to the elevation of every faculty, both of mind and heart. Nor does it seem possible to over-calculate the moral change, and the unspeakable advancement of mankind,—no longer taught to look up with veneration, to the wretched creatures of the heathen mythology, no longer left to live, with nothing to love, and nothing to fear; with nothing to hope, to lean on, to believe. Let us look to the lowliest village church in this happy land; to the humblest pastor, and the simplest flock. Let us remember, as we see them pouring forth from its humble portal, what words have been on all lips, what thoughts in many hearts; what thoughts of majesty and holiness, what love, what reliance, what confidence—and then, if we are not faithless to the dignity of that soul, which, though deteriorated, still retains the stamp of its Maker, let us believe, if we can, that no good has been effected, no passion softened and checked, no desire for the graces of a Christian temper implanted. Let this sight be compared, not with the population that collected, like our barbarous forefathers, or like the savages of modern days, to perform their bloody worship in the sight of the bright sun, or shining stars of heaven; but with the population which poured forth from the lofty portals of some splendid temple of the polished Athens, to join in the iniquities of a Bacchanalian procession; or with that which at this very

time assembles in the distant realms of Hindostan, sometimes for deeds of cruelty and death, sometimes for services so revolting, that the very Brahmin of better mind hides his face for shame, and sheds the burning tear of anguish over the infamy of that religion of which he is the minister;—let but this comparison be simply made, and then let it be asked, what has Christianity done?"—pp. 95—97.

"And if these things be so, it would be almost an insult, alike to Christianity and to man, to inquire into facts; to ask, if a religion, possessing such moral influence, and such powerful motives to forbid and to command,—has produced any effects. It would be to ask, whether man be susceptible of elevated thoughts, of cheering hopes, of ennobling joy, and of salutary fear. The prophet's vision, indeed, the fervid desires of the good man, and the sanguine anticipations of the imaginative one, may, doubtless, shadow forth a picture of beauty and of excellence, which cannot be realized in the Christian world. But can we live in it—with a knowledge of what the boasted reason and strength of ancient wisdom and morals could effect; of the recklessness of the holy claims of man on his brother man; and of the awful pollution, pervading the whole tone of ancient society, and casting her accursed chains even around the poet and the sage,—and then can we look at the blessed effects of that systematic charity, which owes its existence to Christianity; at the purity and sanctity of domestic enjoyments; at the legible characters in which the sublime truths inculcated by the Gospel, are impressed on every institution of public life, and on the intercourse of man with man,—can we look at these things, and not blush to question for a moment the salutary and blessed operations of the Gospel? But I desist and forbear. It were vain to present a picture to those who cannot and will not regard it; to those, who, in this country and at this day, can require the office at our hands."—pp. 98, 99.

The Appendix contains a collection of notes and illustrations, with references to the principal authors who have preceded Mr. Rose in their inquiries upon the subject of his work, and with a selection from some of their principal writings. If the great argument to which they relate were always handled with the skill which is exhibited on the present occasion, the Sceptic would soon be deprived of one of his most effectual weapons. The narrow view of God's dispensations which is presented to the world by a large and active, and somewhat ignorant body of Christians, has a directly opposite tendency; and we rejoice to think that the effects of their blunders must at least be neutralized by the comprehensive reasoning and profound learning of Mr. Rose.

ART. X.—*A Sermon for the Sons of the Clergy in the Diocese of Durham, preached at St. Nicholas Church, Newcastle, September 3, 1829.* By William, Lord Bishop of Durham. Oxford: J. Parker. London: Messrs. Rivington. 1830.

IN noticing single sermons, especially those in which there is much to admire, and nothing to condemn, our chief object is to give the widest possible circulation to the sentiments of the preacher. The discourses of two distinguished prelates which are now before us, have excited general attention, both in the districts to which they immediately apply, and also in the more extended circle of academical and metropolitan society. But still we conceive that by extracting several of the principal passages, and leaving them with little or no commentary to our readers, we may be the humble instruments of conveying valuable information and instruction to quarters where a single sermon can seldom penetrate. We proceed therefore, without further preface, to carry this purpose into execution.

The Bishop of Durham commences his discourse from Matt. v. 13, 14, by remarking upon the lofty tone in which our Lord speaks of the influence which his religion was to have upon the interests of all mankind, and proceeds to show that these intimations have been most amply verified.

“ With this impression upon our minds, it will hardly be deemed unsuitable to the present occasion, if I urge the remarkable representation here given by our Lord of the part to be sustained throughout the world by his faithful disciples, not only as proving their general obligation, at all times and under all circumstances, to uphold his religion ‘ in spirit and in truth:’ but also as indicating the special duties more immediately incumbent upon ourselves, the clergy and laity of our own communion, with reference to existing circumstances, and to the actual state of the Christian Church.

“ Historians of that Church, and commentators on its truths, must have investigated these subjects to little purpose, if they have failed to convince all who are not unwilling to be convinced, that to CHRISTIANITY the world at large is more deeply indebted for its most invaluable blessings, than to any other known cause whatsoever. This position may be broadly and unreservedly stated, notwithstanding the incidental evils acknowledged to have arisen from the corruption of Christianity itself, or from its having been too often perverted to purposes wholly adverse to its character and object. When we speak of the beneficial influence of the Gospel, we speak of it as exhibiting the pure and genuine doctrine of its heavenly Founder and his Apostles; not as the folly or wickedness of man may have occasionally presented it to our view. To cursory observers it may, in particular cases, seem difficult to separate these views. But for the satisfaction of the more discerning and considerate,

we may confidently appeal to the evidence of history. Let such an one examine the records of times *antecedent* to Christianity. Let him read and admire—for who can fail to admire?—the collective wisdom of the great masters of Greece and Rome; of men labouring with a strength of intellect, and an unweariedness of research, never surpassed in after-times, and, in some instances, with an integrity of purpose worthy of imitation even by the most conscientious Christian. Then let him examine the results. Let him see what benefits, in either case, have accrued to the great mass of mankind, what errors and vices have been corrected, what advancement made in social or individual happiness, in consequence of these researches and these labours. To such a comparative investigation of the actual effects of *Pagan* and of *Christian* instruction, we need not hesitate to challenge any dispassionate inquirer.

“I do not mean, however, to enter into the *proofs* of this, on the present occasion. But rather assuming it as a point not likely to be questioned by those who now hear me, I proceed to considerations more immediately affecting ourselves in the present day, as members of ‘that pure and apostolical branch of the Church of Christ, established in this kingdom.’

“If Christianity was designed by its divine Author for the general improvement of mankind in the things most essential to their present and eternal welfare, and to reclaim them from those errors and vices to which they were most fatally prone, what a weight of duty falls upon its professed disciples, and especially upon the ordained dispensers of its inestimable benefits, to carry this design, as far as human means can avail, into full effect! If Christians are ‘the *salt* of the earth,’ to purify the world, what ought to be their own purity of principle and conduct? For ‘if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?’ If they are ‘the *light* of the world,’ how does it behove them to take heed that the light that is in them be not darkness!”—pp. 8—11.

“Another important inference may be also deduced from these injunctions. When our Lord designates his followers as persons *distinct* from the rest of mankind, he seems not obscurely to intimate—what was afterwards more explicitly revealed—the institution of that Church, which from the close of his ministry to the final consummation of all things, was to testify of HIM; upholding, entire and undefiled, the doctrine and discipline, the practical union of Faith, Hope, and Charity, essential to the great purpose of his heavenly mission. When he subsequently predicted of that Church, ‘that the gates of hell should not prevail against it;’—when he spake of gathering together his people as ‘one fold under one Shepherd;’—when he enjoined his Apostles to ‘go and teach all nations,’ promising to be ‘with them always, even unto the end of the world;’—it became still more evident, not only that a visible body of believers was thus to be constituted in his name, and to be perpetuated under his all-powerful guidance and protection; but also that, through *their* agency and instrumentality, would be accomplished what he had at first predicted of them, that they were to be ‘the salt of the earth,’ and ‘the light of the world.’

“Here, then, we may perceive the fallacy of two very opposite notions,

entertained by different parties, hardly more at variance with each other than with Christianity itself. Sometimes it is alleged, that religion is merely a creature of the *State*, an invention of *human* policy, for the better government of mankind. Sometimes it is said to be so exclusively an affair between God and a man's own conscience, that any interference with it, on the part of the *State*, is iniquitous and oppressive. These opinions, both equally untenable, originate in a palpable misconception of the subject. It is demonstrable, that the Christian religion neither was, nor could have been, an *human* invention. The evidences of its truth, both external and internal, completely negative the supposition. Nevertheless, it is so essentially beneficial, so absolutely necessary to the good of man, that no legislators or governors can be justified in disregarding its pretensions, when those pretensions have once been made known. *True* religion bears the stamp of Divine authority. *False* religions are the inventions of imposture or delusion. The latter no legislators can have a right to enforce. The former no earthly powers can set aside, or even neglect, with impunity. The *State*, therefore, not only has a right, but is in duty bound to uphold it. The general good, and the good of individuals, require this; and so far from interference in this respect being oppressive or unjust, every body politic is deeply responsible for its discharge of this, the most sacred of all obligations. The contrary supposition seems to set at naught the belief of a Divine interposition in the affairs of states and kingdoms, and to forget that they are dependent on the will of Him 'whose kingdom ruleth over all.' To whom, indeed, can our Lord's admonitions in the text be more applicable, than to those whom the providence of God hath placed in high stations on the earth, to whom the charge of *Rulers* is assigned, and whose special office it is to be '*the ministers of God for good?*' Fearful is the responsibility which every government incurs in this respect. In whatever hands the power may be placed, on the exercise of that power, with reference to this weightiest of all human concerns, may greatly depend the measure of good or evil with which the Divine Providence shall see fit to visit nations in their collective capacity; as well as the individual interests, temporal and eternal, of the millions of whom those nations are composed.

"Still we are told, that '*Religion, even the Christian Religion, is a concern of man with his Maker alone; a subject fitter for the closet than the senate; a subject, not for legislative enactments; but to be left to every man's private consideration, unbiassed by the favour or disfavour of the public voice.*' Indeed! How, then, shall either the legislative or the executive government of the country fulfil the injunction of that Religion, '*Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven?*' How shall *this* precept be adequately fulfilled, if no public, no authoritative cognizance is to be taken of religious opinions? How can the light '*shine before men,*' how can it '*glorify our Father which is in heaven,*' if no efficient measures be adopted, to diffuse, to preserve, and to perpetuate its influence throughout the social body? The injunction, in its full spirit and signification, seems scarcely more imperative

upon individuals in their personal capacity, than it is upon the supreme powers of the State, collectively considered, so far as they are invested with means and capabilities of forwarding the same blessed purpose.

“ From the time that Christianity became the prevalent religion of the Roman empire, the principle of an *alliance* between it and the temporal powers has been, more or less effectively, acted upon throughout the Christian world. And although grievous mistakes have not unfrequently been made, as to the *mode* of effecting this, yet has the principle itself never, till in comparatively modern times, been made a subject of controversy. Nations and rulers professing the Christian faith have, almost as with one consent, acted on the persuasion, that *religion* is indispensable to the welfare of the State, that the *Christian* religion is that which can alone be recognised as the truth, and that therefore to exhibit and uphold it in its genuine purity and lustre, is a consideration paramount to every other, under a Christian government.

“ With this train of *facts*, as well as of *reasoning*, presented to our contemplation, none who live under a government so happily constituted as our own, can be at a loss to discern the path which true national policy, as well as a conscientious regard to our personal welfare, directs us to pursue. No member of the State, be his condition what it may, is unconcerned in this matter. No true patriot, no faithful legislator or ruler, can exonerate himself from this responsibility, in the sight of God and his country. It is at the peril of every individual among us that he treats with indifference or neglect, much more with contempt or hostility, the means with which Providence hath graciously blessed this nation, of preserving the most precious treasure ever bestowed on man.”—pp. 13—19.

“ My object, in these observations, is to impress upon the minds of the *Clergy*, on the one hand, a due sense of the awful responsibility of their station and office; and upon those of the *Laity*, on the other, the scarcely less sacred obligation that lies upon them, to uphold the religious Establishments of the country, for the public good. It is a narrow, a sordid, and a most inadequate view of the subject, to regard such an Establishment as ours as a concern in which the *Clergy* alone have an interest; as if there were nothing in it to be considered, but the distinctions, emoluments, or privileges, attached to it by virtue of its connection with the State. The *Laity* do great injustice to themselves, as well as to us, whenever they entertain so unworthy a persuasion. The very foundation of our Establishment, even of its temporalities and secular advantages, is the *public good*. It is designed to confer upon the whole community the inestimable benefits of Christianity. It is intended to ensure to every member of the State a full and equal participation in those benefits. The temporal privileges belonging to it are bestowed, only for the purpose of rendering the attainment of that object more certain and effectual. They are *incidental* to the Institution itself, not *essential* to it. The Church might still be a Church, without these; but it would be a Church divested of a large portion of its power to communicate general good. Shorn of these advantages, it might, indeed, present to the world an edifying spectacle of suffering

integrity, and might preserve from total extinction the lustre of religious truth; but it would be incapacitated, in a great degree, from exercising its functions with that benefit to the community at large, which must ever be the main object of its concern.

"Nor is this the whole evil to be apprehended from the depression of the Church. Christianity itself could hardly fail, without some miraculous interposition on its behalf, to droop and diminish. Security would be wanting for 'unity of the spirit,' for 'the bond of peace,' for 'righteousness of life.' Not only would sound doctrine be put to hazard; but pure morals, social confidence, individual integrity, the best sympathies of our nature, the conjugal, parental, and filial affections, the love of peace, the love of order, 'whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report,'—all would, more or less, suffer from depriving the State of this its firmest hold upon the hearts and minds of men. And even admitting the probability that every man for himself would still retain some reverence for Christianity, and some sincerity in the profession of it, yet would so much discordancy, so much doubt and dissatisfaction, almost inevitably prevail, as to frustrate (as far as human means could frustrate) some of the main purposes for which the Gospel itself was imparted to mankind."—pp. 21—24.

"With respect to the particular Institution we are now assembled to support, I am solicitous to present it to you in this point of view, not because I am apprehensive that it is in any danger of failing or diminishing, were it left to the unassisted efforts of our own body in this diocese; (among whom, I am persuaded, that, even under the most untoward circumstances, both means and inclination would still be found to carry on its operations with full effect;)—but because it is, above all, desirable, for the welfare of the whole body politic, that the most perfect *inter-community of interest and of feeling* should prevail between the Laity and the Clergy; between every member of the Church, be his station secular or spiritual. Such an interchange of good offices must ever be, to both parties, of incalculable value. While *Clerical* charity, on the one hand, is freely and unsparingly extended to the Laity, fostering every benevolent institution for the supply of their exigencies, of whatever description; the charity of the *Laity* will not be restricted to Laymen alone, nor bestowed with a niggard or reluctant hand, when the wants of the Parochial Clergy, or of their widows and orphans, solicit their helping hand. In such cases, it were an error both of the head and heart, to suppose that any *separation* of interests exists. Nor is it *philanthropy* alone that urges to this interchange of duty and affection. It is the imperative demand of *religion* itself. 'Let a man,' says the Apostle, 'so account of *us* as ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.' Let him regard the spiritual Pastors of the flock, as having this especial claim upon his consideration; in its consequences no less important to himself, than to them who are its immediate objects. This is the powerful link that binds together the Laity and the Clergy. Nor can any other sentiment fully compensate the want of that feeling which arises simply from a right estimate of this *pastoral* connection. 'See how these Christians love one another,'

was observed of the primitive disciples, even by their relentless enemies. And whence, chiefly, did that love arise, but from *this* powerful bond of union? How earnestly was the same sentiment also inculcated by our Lord himself; with whom no image appears to have been more strongly impressed upon his own mind, than that of *the good Shepherd*, 'who knoweth his sheep, and is known of them; who goeth before them, and they follow him; for they know his voice: but a stranger will they not follow, for they know not the voice of strangers.' Happy were it for us, if we could hope to see such representations as these more generally realized in the present day. But it is among the most discouraging circumstances with which we have now to contend, that they are daily less and less regarded, and almost vanishing from our view. A sort of *anti-pastoral* spirit, singularly characteristic of modern times, continually undermines our best efforts; nor could the enemies of religion more effectually paralyse our labours, than by thus endeavouring to dislodge us from our strongest hold upon the hearts and affections of the people."—pp. 26—29.

At a time when the connection between Church and State is formidably menaced from without, and there are persons even within the sanctuary who appear to desire a dissolution of the bond, we trust that the seasonable warning of the Bishop of Durham will receive that attention to which it is, on many accounts, indisputably entitled.

ART. XI.—*A Sermon preached at the Re-opening of Abergavenny Church, on Sunday, September 20, 1829.* By Edward Lord Bishop of Llandaff. Rivingtons, London. 1830. 8vo. pp. 24.

THE first part of this discourse points out an important difference between two grand divisions of Dissenters from the Church of England. Having adverted to the *divisions* which prevailed among Primitive Christians, the Bishop of Llandaff proceeds as follows:—

"The true inference to be drawn from the wide prevalence of such evils is, that they are a lesson and an awakening call upon us not to be backward in our own duty; not to suffer any of these things to be laid to our charge; and to reflect seriously and honestly, whether much of what we disapprove and lament has not arisen out of our own negligence and supineness.

"If, for example, with an increasing population we have not made increased provision for social worship, and for regular instruction within the pale of the Church; if, while the rich and middling classes have been well accommodated, our poorer brethren have been little regarded; can we wonder at them, can we blame them, for resorting to other places of worship, and to preachers from whom they certainly hear much of the word of God, although mixed with error and enthusiasm, and although

derived from no better authority than the impulse of their own minds, or the appointment of individuals equally self-constituted with themselves?

"The language I now use may sound to some ears, in this age of affected liberality, harsh and intolerant. But it is a perversion of the term liberality to apply it to those whose opinions and principles sit loose upon them, or, as is not unfrequently done, to those who have no religious principles at all. True liberality consists, if I know any thing of the force or meaning of words, in bearing with those who differ from us, in using them kindly, gently, and respectfully; not in sinking the difference that subsists between us upon matters of high importance; not in explaining it away, and pretending to treat it lightly; not in surrendering sacred truths, in order to catch temporary applause or popularity. For if these things are held to be matters of indifference, what merit is there in tolerating them? How can that be called liberality, which concedes nothing? Or if they be not matters of indifference, how can that be called candour or charity, or even honesty, which tends to confirm men in error, to separate them from the true Church, and thus to hazard their future salvation?

"If I were asked for a model of true liberality in religious matters, I would refer to the beautiful apostrophe of one who had been himself reviled, insulted, persecuted even to the death, with the utmost rage and violence by the very people of whom he thus speaks. 'Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved. For I bear them record that they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge.'

"Be it our care to imitate the bright example of St. Paul in endeavouring to bring back the sheep that go astray, to explain to them and to keep constantly before their minds the sacred, the indispensable duty of maintaining a strict communion with that Church which Christ founded, if they would secure to themselves the benefits which he promised to that Church, and which he purchased with his own blood.

"And here not only candour and equity, but a just sense of the constitution of Christ's Church, compels me to draw a marked line of distinction between those whose religious assemblies are supplementary, as it were, to our own establishment, offering spiritual comfort and instruction to hundreds unable to find it elsewhere, and those organized communities which exclude from their society any that communicate in the blessed sacrament of the Lord's Supper with the national Church.

"Of the former I would not only think and speak mildly, but in many cases I would commend the piety and zeal which animates them, full of danger as it is to depart from the apostolic ordinance, even in matters of outward discipline and order. The author and founder of those societies (for he was careful himself to keep them from being formed into a sect) was a regularly ordained minister, a man orthodox in his belief, simple and disinterested in his own views, and adorned with the most amiable and distinguishing virtues of a true Christian. He found thousands of his countrymen, though nominally Christians, yet as ignorant of true Christianity as infidels and heathens; and in too many

instances (it is useless to conceal or disguise the fact) ignorant, either through the inattention of Government in not providing for increased numbers, or through the carelessness and neglect of those whom the national Church had appointed to be their pastors.

“ But the beginning of schism, like that of strife, is as when one letteth out water. The gentle stream of piety and benevolence in which this practice originated, irrigating only and refreshing some parched or barren lands, soon became a swelling and rapid torrent, widening as it flowed on, and opening for itself a breach, which it may yet require the care and prudence of ages to close. And even the pious author himself was not proof against that snare of Satan, which, through the vanity and weakness of human nature, led him in his latter years to assume the authority of an apostle, and to establish a fraternity within the Church, to be called after his own name, and to remain a lasting monument of his activity and zeal. But over errors such as these let us cast a veil; and rather rejoice in reflecting on the many whom he reclaimed from sin and wickedness, and taught to seek for salvation through the merits of their Saviour.

“ Of such I repeat, wherever a like deficiency of religious means is found, we ought to speak not only with tenderness, but with brotherly love and esteem. Far different is *my* judgment at least of those who seek to create and to perpetuate separation from the Church, who even venture (for such I hear there are in this place and neighbourhood) to forbid their followers to hold communion with the national Church, who even threaten them with expulsion from their own society, if ever they receive the blessed sacrament of the Lord's Supper at our hands. What is this, my brethren, but to tear asunder the very body of Christ, to set up an altar of their own, in opposition to that which no one, not even our bitterest enemies of the Protestant faith, ever denied to be duly served by us; and at which many even of the corrupt Church of Rome allow us to be equally authorized to serve with themselves. Of such teachers then I do not hesitate to say, in the language of the Apostle, that ‘ when the Lord Jesus Christ shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom,’ he will require the souls of these his injured and deluded servants at their hands.

“ Of these too, it is often observable that they do not come in to supply the defect of the regular ministry, cultivating only a waste and neglected vineyard, and bringing the tidings of the Gospel to a benighted or forgotten people. Too often is it the very reverse of all this; too often is a conscientious and zealous minister molested in his sacred duty, thwarted in the most holy exercise of his functions, and defrauded of those disciples whom he was willing and anxious to train in the right way. Where the harvest is indeed plenteous, and the labourers are few, we cannot blame the services even of those whom our Lord hath not hired. But to enter upon another man's labours—to draw away the sheep of his fold—to weaken their reverence and attachment to their appointed guide, when he is still at his post, and faithful to his charge, is conduct which stands plainly condemned in almost every page of the apostolic writings, and is one of those acts of obedience which, although

I never wish to see them punished by human laws, will doubtless incur the displeasure of Him that judgeth righteously at the last day."—p. 5—11.

Having presented us with this clear view of the state of religious sects, the learned Preacher contrasts the order and regularity observed by the Church of England at the Reformation, with the discord and confusion to be found among the Dissenters. His remarks upon the Liturgy, and upon the use and abuse of Psalmody, are particularly interesting.

"One of the most illustrious proofs of the Christian moderation and good sense with which the Reformers of our Church executed their great work consists in the Liturgy they compiled, and which serves all the purposes of public worship at the present day. Yet are the main parts of that Liturgy derived from the forms in use during our subjugation to the Romish See. Not a few indeed have descended from the most ancient and the purest times; but much also is preserved from those middle ages, when false doctrines and superstitious ceremonies grew up with, and even choked the good seed of eternal life. Yet did these wise and holy men content themselves with casting the bad away, while they carefully preserved whatever either in sentiment, or language, or dress, or ceremony, was decent and solemn, and agreeable to God's word, and tending to edification.

"Now to the use of this form of public prayer, together with the rites and ordinances prescribed therein, does the apostolic precept of my text principally apply. Let there be no causeless divisions and innovations, no presumptuous conceit in a man's own opinion, opposed to the authorized regulations of the Church. Uniformity itself when proceeding from a right principle, from a love of decency and peace and order, and from a respect for those who have the rule over you in spiritual matters, is a lovely and a praiseworthy thing, and is doubtless pleasing in the sight of God. Still more is it pleasing to him when the heart is moved by what the lips utter, and feels its devotion heightened by sympathy with those around us; when all with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. And truly there is not a more affecting, I had almost said a more sublime spectacle, certainly not one which we have reason to think the angels in heaven contemplate with more joy, than that of a congregation united in heart and voice, and guided by those whom the authority of Christ their Saviour has set over them, offering the tribute of praise and thanksgiving to the Father of mercies, for those blessings which, through the medium of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, have been bestowed upon them.

"It is one of the great improvements of the reformed Liturgy over the practice of the Romish Church, that the WHOLE CONGREGATION are thus invited to take part in the service, instead of gazing merely upon the ministration of the priests, or listening to the prayers and the exhortations uttered by *them*. This participation is of two kinds, one in the act of devotional singing, the other in uttering aloud some appointed portions of the service, either jointly with the minister, or in due con-

nexion with his words. Upon both these subjects I am desirous of using this opportunity briefly to address you, and I trust you will receive what I say as coming from one who is not seeking to magnify his office, but to impress upon your minds the sentiments which have been long familiar to his own, and which he is persuaded will tend, if generally adopted, to the comfort and the well-being of the Church.

“ Few things are more interesting and affecting in public worship than pure Psalmody, or can boast a higher sanction from the practice of the Apostles, and even of our Lord himself; and those of the congregation who cultivate the talent they may possess, for the purpose of leading and encouraging the rest in this interesting duty, are justly entitled to our commendation and our thanks. Yet there are few things which stand more in need of discreet and sober regulation than Church Psalmody. Daily experience proves that it is liable to abuse, to excess, and to improprieties of various kinds. In some instances it has been carried so far as to absorb a great portion of the time required for other duties: in others it has imperceptibly become rather a display of skill, or more frequently an attempt at that display, instead of the sober and devout service of a brotherhood met together in Christ's name for their common edification.

“ The danger of these irregularities points out the reasonableness, or rather I might say the necessity of vesting a discretionary controul in the ministers of the Church; and I cannot but think that every considerate and candid person will cheerfully conform to what is thus directed by proper authority, and in all cases where the humours and inclinations of men disagree, will support by his example and influence that authority which is instituted for the peace and common benefit of the whole. To the ministers themselves, in the exercise of this discretion, I would strongly recommend them, as a general guiding principle, to prefer that mode of Psalmody which, being plain, grave and solemn, is likely to induce the largest portion of the congregation to join in performing it.

“ But it is not by the introduction of Psalmody only, as I before observed, that the framers of our Liturgy provided for the union of the whole congregation in social worship. You perceive, by the structure and order of the prescribed service, that a part is studiously allotted to the people, as well as to the minister; a part which those who have a just regard for spiritual ordinances must admit to be their duty to perform, although the omission may be countenanced by numbers equally silent; or where numbers do join, yet may in the multitude escape observation.

“ And here, my brethren, permit me to speak freely with you upon a point, which is really of greater importance than is commonly imagined. This is one of the grand characteristics which distinguishes our service from the corrupt ritual of the Church of Rome; and I grieve to see it either coldly and carelessly performed, or even, as is too often the case, absolutely and systematically neglected. But is it not doing despite to that Church of which you are incorporated members, thus wilfully to refuse compliance with one of her established ordinances? Is it not inconsistent with the very idea of social worship (one great benefit of

which is to kindle a common feeling, and to animate a torpid spirit) to remain silent yourselves, when it belongs to you to utter with your lips the beautiful language of a Liturgy, the purest perhaps and the most complete that was ever in use with any community of Christians. Surely if the heart is ready, the tongue will not refuse its office. Does not nature itself dictate this office as an evidence of internal approbation and consent to what is then doing? And if we withhold that token of fellowship and good-will, must it not at least impress those around us with an idea of our indifference, and must it not tend to damp and to deaden that feeling of devotion in others, which we ought rather to assist and to encourage by our own example?

“ In the act of *Psalmody*, it is true, many a willing heart may feel an inability to participate, and a fear lest the service should be hindered and impaired rather than aided by their means. But it is not so, it never can be so, with the *responses* appointed for the congregation. In this solemn service all voices may, and you will bear with me, I trust, when I add, all ought to join. It is a holy chorus, which doubtless ascends to the throne of grace not less acceptably or less effectually than the more melodious strains of music, and which cannot but be pleasing before God, when it proceeds from his creatures assembled in the name of their Redeemer, and conforming to the rule of that Church which he founded and purified for himself, and in which he is, and ever will be, invisibly present unto the end of the world.

“ I have dwelt longer, perhaps, upon this point than its importance may, in your estimation, seem to warrant. But a true churchman, or what is nearly the same thing, a sincere, devout, and humble Christian, will never deem any thing slight or unimportant which belongs to the public service of God: and if he knows that it not only is required of him by competent authority, but that his brother may be edified, and comforted, and encouraged in well-doing by his example, he will feel it to be a social as well as a sacred duty not to be found wanting.

“ If we find that many are drawn away from us by the arts of those who love to sow divisions, and to form separate societies, and to keep alive party spirit, let us not indeed imitate those arts, successful as they may be in winning over adherents; but let us at least neglect nothing which our own Church enjoins, and wisely enjoins, both as agreeable to ancient practice, and as tending to interest and to engage the hearts of men. Instead of being a cold, lifeless looker-on upon divine service, the true churchman feels that he has a part to perform in the congregation of his brethren; and if he knows that nothing is more catching than the example of indifference, he will be careful not to let his apparent inattention become a snare to his weaker brethren.

“ Happy indeed is that parish in which all are able and willing to unite in public prayer, in hearing God's word read and explained, and in participation of the Holy Communion, according to the pattern left us by the earliest times, and at the hands of their Lord's appointed ministers. But where this blessing cannot be had to the degree we would earnestly desire, still let nothing be wanting on our part that may conduce towards such an union. Charitable and kind behaviour is due

to all our neighbours, and it will tend, among other things, to disarm prejudice, and to dispose men to a candid consideration, whether they are not really pursuing a wrong course, and acting in disobedience to their Lord's will. But let not charity and liberality ever degenerate into indifference about the duties of religion. Never let it lead you to compromise your faith, or to confirm men in heresy or schism by representing that to be of little moment, which all the first teachers of Christianity inculcated in every church they founded, as most binding upon the consciences of its members."—pp. 14—21.

We are assured on good authority, that the Dissenters have made a more extensive and a deeper lodgment in the Principality of Wales than in any other portion of the United Kingdom. It is beyond our present purpose to investigate the causes of this state of things. Great difference of opinion would be found to exist respecting the source and working of the complicated machinery which has produced such lamentable results. But respecting the best method of treating the disease, as it now exists, with a view, in the first instance, to allaying the symptoms, and ultimately completing a cure, it will be agreed, we apprehend, unanimously, that no better course can be pursued than that which is pointed out by the Bishop of Llandaff.

ART. XII.—*The Gentleness of the Christian Minister an Argument for Perseverance in the Faith.*—A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Samuel Crowther, A. M. Vicar of Christ Church, Newgate Street, and Rector of St. Leonard's, Foster-Lane. Preached at the Parish Church of Christ Church, on Sunday, October 11, 1829. By Daniel Wilson, A. M. Vicar of Islington. London. Saunders and Benning; and Wilson. 1829. pp. 71.

THE testimony borne by Mr. Wilson in this discourse to the character of his departed friend, is alike creditable to its author and to its object. The ministerial faithfulness of the late Mr. Crowther has been publicly avouched by high and unquestionable authority; and the eloquent tribute which Mr. Wilson bestows upon his memory, is re-echoed by all who are capable of forming an opinion respecting the individual to whom it refers.

“Different ministers excel in different Christian graces. Though aiming at all, and possessing all, in some good measure (for the Christian life is the effect of a divine principle implanted by the Holy Ghost), yet they commonly surpass in one or more particulars. Some in boldness and fortitude—some in judgment and discrimination of character—some in powers of mind capable of a public defence of the truth—some

in zeal, and fervour, and energy—some in calm deliberation and the combination and arrangement of thought—your Minister excelled, like St. John, in love.

“ I appeal to all who have heard him from this pulpit during his long and valuable ministry, whether his tenderness of manner, his gentleness of spirit, his winning suavity of address, his very look and mien and voice were not calculated to induce persuasion.

“ Tell me, ye who have seen him by the bed of sickness, who have witnessed his conduct in the abodes of sorrow, poverty and death—tell me how did he soothe your grief, how did he sit down and sympathize with you under your calamities, and impart to you his own soul, as it were, with each gracious invitation and consolation of the Gospel.

“ Tell me, ye who have seen him under circumstances of unkind usage or misrepresentation for the Gospel of Christ, (for, on his own account, he could scarcely have an enemy,) paint to me his manner and demeanour—his gentle replies—his uniform return of good for evil—his patient and silent resignation.

“ Tell me, ye in whom the traces of his real character are most deeply impressed from longer observation or peculiar opportunities of remark, what suavity of disposition, what urbanity of manners, what gentleness of heart, what friendship and good-will appeared in all he did.

“ I know he has on this point a witness in every breast.

“ Nor was this the only characteristic of his spirit among you. For why should I speak of his HUMILITY, when you all know that in *lowliness of mind he esteemed every one better than himself*. Need I remind you, that he made himself *the servant of all for Jesus' sake*? Need I tell you that few Christians had a lower opinion of themselves than your esteemed pastor? Need I say, that he ascribed every thing good in himself, and all that was wrought by his ministry, to the grace of God? Need I recall to you, what you have so often witnessed, that he suffered almost any one that pleased to push before him? Need I add, that he might truly say, in his measure, with the Apostle, *Nor of men sought we glory, neither of you, nor yet of others*?

“ I can unaffectedly declare, that I feel a backwardness, and almost a self-reproach, in thus detailing, even after his decease, and with a view of exhorting you to persevere in the faith, these particulars. I cannot but know how his humble heart would have been grieved at the very idea of such statements. But he, blessed saint, is now safe in heaven—he is out of the reach of danger from pride and self-exaltation now; and therefore we must be permitted, in justice to survivors, for the direction and encouragement of young Ministers, and for the glory of the grace of God—we must be permitted to violate, as it were, the feelings of the tomb, and illustrate the excellent spirit by which he was animated.

“ And then, as to his DISINTERESTEDNESS, (for I am ascending to the primary quality of faithfulness,) why should I detain you by reminding you, what every year of his incumbency more and more proved—that *he sought not yours, but you*? Why should I ask you, whether such a man *used a cloke of covetousness*? You know he was remarkable, throughout every part of his spirit and temper, for the conquest of selfishness, as it

regards both ambition and the hoarding of earthly riches—one of the most unequivocal proofs this of genuine grace, and which forces the world to approve in spite of itself. And in no respect did the conquest over self appear more uniformly in him, than in the disinterested temper in which he discharged his ministry. To his power, and beyond his power, he administered to the wants of the afflicted, perpetually leaving his smaller alms in a place where it would not be seen till after he had quitted the abode of sickness, to avoid any expression of gratitude; and on greater occasions refusing the most delicate offers of aid, or administering, by loan or otherwise, to the necessities of brother ministers, in a manner almost unexampled.”—pp. 22—26.

“In considering that course of behaviour which was the result of our friend's doctrines and spirit:

“1. Why should I dwell on HIS LABORIOUSNESS? You know that every hour of every day was at your service. You know that a care of every part of his duty, an attention to the occasional offices, an exactness, almost amounting to scrupulousness, in all the order and proprieties of the Church, were habitual in him. Nothing was overlooked. He did every thing himself, so long as his health allowed. The passive virtues of his character bore with all their force upon the regular and becoming and grave discharge of his high office. I know not whether even the gentleness of his spirit was more characteristic of him, than the pains-taking, unsparing diligence which seemed never to flag. He was laborious in the Church, laborious in visiting the sick, laborious in schools and benevolent institutions, laborious in his closet, laborious in his family.”—p. 37.

“A sound practical judgment, also, aided in this effect. He had a calm, thoughtful, clear-sighted discernment into cases which came before him, which preserved him from those errors which very mild dispositions are prone to commit. This arose very much from the solid constituent qualities of his mind. The foundation, indeed, was kindness, but the superstructure was firmness and decision. You might always trust his opinion. He had much heavenly wisdom; his mind and thoughts were under constant discipline; and, consequently, his speech was with grace, and his advice well considered. Indeed, most of his statements, in the pulpit and out, were exceedingly measured. Probably few ministers had so little occasion to retract what they have advanced. Probably few said so little evil of others, or spoke so seldom unadvisedly with their lips. Probably few, during so long a course, and living in a day of great excitement, and many novelties and crudities in religious opinions, were so little attracted or drawn aside.—Who would have ventured to address doubtful things to a man so holy, so consistent, so laborious? *Uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech that cannot be condemned*, may describe his ministry.

“But the chief source of his consistency was the depth of his religious principles, and the care with which he applied them to the details of his duties. He was a man taught of God. He not only believed, but believed with the simplicity of a child, in his Redeemer and Saviour. Religion was with him an affair of the heart and conscience;—he walked

with God, as the Patriarchs of old. He was much in prayer. The habitual standard of his principles and feelings was high and scriptural ; he lived under the influence of the Spirit,—he watched and laboured to subdue his constitutional errors. The result was large measures of grace, and habitual consistency in his conduct.

“ In fact, I appeal to those who knew him, if there was not a placid dignity in his deportment, which scarcely ever forsook him, which repelled follies and inconsistencies at once ; and made every one feel that he was a most sincere and holy man.

“ I do not call him a perfect man (*there is no just man upon earth, that doeth good and sinneth not*) but I think I may call him a complete man—there was no material defect—no glaring omission—no considerable error running through his principles or practice. He knew his line ; he knew to what kind of duties he was competent ; he estimated justly and humbly his powers ; he attempted nothing that he could not execute, and execute well ; he was always at his post, always the Minister, always ready for his duties. He excited, indeed, no great attention at the time in each individual act, because he did every thing so calmly and so well—but now he is gone, the bright and soft tenor of his life shines as a light for the guidance of those who may succeed him in his parochial charge.”—pp. 45—48.

“ For this humble, meek-spirited man maintained the course I have described—laborious, holy, consistent under the pressure of the most severe bodily sufferings. It was four or five and twenty years since that he was seized with the first paroxysm of a most excruciating calculous complaint (the formation, I believe, of biliary stones in the gall-bladder, and their forced passage from time to time through the gall-ducts), which never left him till his decease. The attacks recurred at intervals of six or seven weeks, sometimes shorter, and sometimes prolonged to a distance of three months, often without any previous warning. He has told me more than once that the agony he endured under the access of pain, was such that it was impossible for words to describe it. Sometimes particular anxiety about a sick child, at other times an unusual hurry of duties, at a third the disappointment in an arrangement for the Sunday, would bring on the attacks. Often have his friends observed his agonized countenance when sitting in his pew during the prayers (for latterly he had been compelled to have the assistance of a curate) and then have seen him force himself into the pulpit and deliver his discourse. In this state of health—all the effects of which, as well as the grace which sustained him under them, will never be known till the day of judgment ; he preached to you the Gospel—in this state of health he wrote his sermons (the vast accumulation of which mark his laboriousness for your good.) In this state he visited the sick, he taught his children, he attended societies and committees. Perhaps few Ministers in the enjoyment of the best health, ever performed their duties more regularly than he did with the worst. Besides this complaint, he had other infirmities of a distressing nature. In his domestic circle, also, much occasional affliction arose, all aggravated at times with what his tender and disinterested heart would never fully make known, the pressure of narrow circumstances.”—pp. 48—51.

“Of the general character of this excellent Minister the summary may be very brief. As a *husband and father*, few exceeded him in the tender discharge of the duties of those relations. As a *Christian* he was remarkable for humility and love to his Saviour. As a *preacher* his forte was mild and dignified and sober persuasion. As a *pastor* he was peculiarly useful in the chamber of sickness. As a *clergyman* he was a firm and consistent member of the Church of England.

His life and character should be the study of young ministers. In the placid, mild, persevering, useful cast of duties he had but few superiors. If he yielded to others in splendid talents, in the power of reasoning, in the faculty of defending truth against adversaries, in the masculine and heroic fortitude which takes the lead on great public occasions; he was superior to most in the far more useful every-day virtues which form the essence of real worth—in lowliness, in patience, in a diligent employment of the talents committed to him, in a just estimate of what he could accomplish—and above all in the exercise of those graces most opposite to his natural temperament,—firmness, resolute opposition to the world, unyielding fortitude under difficulties, a discreet, well-balanced presiding mind. More splendid characters, if they were multiplied, (considering the great defects which commonly attend them), would be far from proportionably benefiting the Church. Such men as Samuel Crowther, if they could be planted in every parish, would be a blessing of incalculable value. It is by such men God has chiefly wrought his works of grace in every age. A few persons of distinguished powers have been raised up from time to time for especial purposes. But it is by humble and meek and spiritually-minded and laborious ministers, who are scarcely heard of out of their own sphere, that the glory of the Saviour is most effectually advanced and the salvation of souls accomplished.”—pp. 60, 61.

Here we should willingly conclude. In this highly coloured but not unmerited panegyric upon Mr. Crowther, every member of the Church of England may concur—and we are sorry that Mr. Wilson has felt himself required to intermix with it other matter upon which great difference of opinion may be expected. We are told, p. 55, that “Mr. Crowther was raised up and placed in the heart of this great metropolis at the commencement of that revival of primitive zeal and simplicity which God has been granting to his church,” and a strong emphasis is laid upon the *peculiar* doctrines of which he is said to have preached—and upon the peculiar faithfulness of his life. Under the latter head we are told,

“He was by natural temperament a most benevolent, mild, tender-hearted man. If it had not been for the special grace of God, he might have been through life an amiable minister, active in relieving the poor, diligent in the external part of his duty, and in the opinion of the world all a clergyman ought to be—but he would have been temporizing and indecisive. He would have been afraid of reproach; he would have sunk down into the negative, inefficient pastor; he would have confined

himself to temporal activities, and kindnesses ; he would have judged all men, or almost all men, to be sincere Christians ; he would have distinguished little between one class of preaching bearing the semblance of the Gospel and another ; he would have stumbled over the doctrine of regeneration ; he would have yielded his judgment to the current of the times or the influence of great names ; he would have deserted the religious societies when they became less popular in certain quarters. But none of these things did he do. No ; this amiable, child-like creature was so guided and strengthened by the Holy Spirit, that he was as unbending and bold and undeviating in his integrity, as if he had had the firmest constitutional temperament, and the largest infusion of natural courage.*'—pp. 31, 32.

By way of a contrast, we presume, to the faithful minister, who has finished his course, Mr. Wilson draws the following portrait of an unfaithful minister of the Gospel.

“ This is the primary qualification in a matter of such moment, trustworthiness ; a conscientious aim, not at pleasing men—corrupt and wayward in their inclinations, and requiring smooth things to be said to them—but God, which trieth our hearts as the furnace purifies and tries the metal—God, who hath allowed and approved of us for this high trust, and before whose omniscient eye every part of our instructions lies naked and open. This impression we are to feel in every word we utter—*so we speak* is the apostle's phrase—so sincerely, so boldly, so authoritatively. And under this sense of awful responsibility, we are to set ourselves against the dangers to which we are most exposed, *deceit, uncleanness, guile, and the use of flattering words* ; faults which grossly defaced the heathen priesthood—impurity, ignorance, and intentional craft, corrupting the very essence of their worship—and from which the false apostles were not free—faults likewise, which have sapped in every age, in some degree or other, the fidelity of too many professed ministers of Christ. They conceal some part of truth, they soften the declarations of God's anger against sin, they weaken the doctrine of man's corruption, they obscure the offensive parts of the scheme of redemption, they pass over slightly the nature of conversion, regeneration, the spiritual life, the duties of prayer, of separation from the world, of sanctification of the Sabbath, of love to Christ and dependence upon his Spirit. They indirectly countenance the impurity of the world, by palliating some forms of its evils, by giving soft names to fashionable vices, by apologizing for, or not sufficiently condemning all approaches to drunkenness and uncleanness, and excusing the aberrations, as they term them, of

* In 1803 or 1804, the London Missionary Society obtained his parish church for a sermon in behalf of their institution, at the usual time of their anniversary. Our friend was much assailed at Sion College, for having consented to grant his pulpit for such a purpose. First, the Bishop (Dr. Porteus) questioned him on the subject ; but finding that the clergyman about to preach was an incumbent in another diocese, and perfectly regular, he expressed himself fully satisfied. Not so the clergy who bore so hard upon our friend, that the Master of the Temple (Dr. Rennell) interfered. Mr. C. went on his course undeviatingly. Probably, the church had been obtained in the first instance through some parishioners, whom our amiable friend did not choose to disappoint. But I mention it merely to notice his firmness.

youth, and countenancing almost all worldly amusements, however, polluting to the imagination and the heart, under the thin disguise of innocent recreations.

“From this lax and flattering view of things springs, of course, a general unfaithfulness, to the weighty trust of the Gospel; and even if a barren orthodoxy be retained, the spirit of Christianity is gone, and the remedial law, or some other delusive scheme, perhaps merely natural religion, usurps the place of the Gospel of Christ, and lulls into a fatal security the souls of men.”—pp. 15—17.

It is difficult to extract any other meaning from this and similar passages, than a sweeping sentence of condemnation (a sentence which Mr. Crowther would not have ventured to pronounce) upon all who dissent from Mr. Wilson's opinions respecting the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel. And what are Mr. Wilson's qualifications to decide in this matter? He has given conclusive evidence of an unsound and partial judgment in this very discourse. It appears that Mr. Crowther had not “attained to a clear and distinct view of the Scriptural scheme of the Gospel” when he first took holy orders. And the doctrine which he held in those days, is thus described by his surviving friend.

“In some previous years he had confounded the law and the Gospel, instead of distinguishing them, and employing them for their proper ends; he had mixed justification and sanctification together and obscured both; he had gone upon what is called The new or remedial law, which consists of men's doing their utmost in obedience to God's commandments, and then relying on Christ to make up their deficiencies—a system which elevates the powers of fallen man to the disparagement of the grace of God—which in fact unites pharisaical self-righteousness with practical antinomianism: and can only spring from a most imperfect view of the Scriptural doctrine of the corruption of man and the ground of a sinner's acceptance before God.”—pp. 11, 12.

Of course, we are not prepared to deny that these may have been the early opinions of Mr. Crowther. But we defy Mr. Wilson to prove that such opinions are held by any considerable body of his brethren. The repeated mention of this “remedial” scheme compels us to believe that the foregoing extract contains Mr. Wilson's estimate of the doctrine preached by the majority of the Clergy, by the Armenian as opposed to the Calvinist, or by the Orthodox as opposed to the Evangelical. We will not insult the common sense of our readers, by asking them if such a representation be correct. That those who make it, make it in the sincerity of their hearts we are ready and willing to believe. But that they grossly misunderstand the opinions of their brethren, is beyond all doubt; and it is neither unreasonable, nor uncharitable to think that men who cannot or will not obtain accurate informa-

tion, upon so very plain a question as that of the doctrine preached from ten thousand pulpits, may happen to be equally mistaken when they are engaged with the deep and hidden things of God.

In conclusion, we are firmly convinced that Mr. Crowther did much good, but we believe that he would have done much more, if the piety, the zeal, and the remarkable sweetness of disposition which he has distinguished, had been free from the taint with which Wesley and his followers have infected a certain party in the Church.

ART. XIII.—*The Case of Censure, more particularly with reference to the Clerical Profession, considered in a Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of London, at the Visitation held May 27th, 1829.* By the Venerable J. H. Pott, M.A. Archdeacon of London, and Chancellor of the Cathedral, Church of Exeter. London: Rivingtons. 8vo. 1829. pp. 32.

No man is less likely to deserve censure than the Venerable the Archdeacon of London; and few men are so unwilling to pronounce it. When, therefore, he addresses his brethren on the "Case of Censure," he treats of a matter in which he may well be deemed impartial. Throughout a long and active life, it has been his general character neither to blame nor to be blamed. And if it should be said on the one hand, that he must consequently be without experience in the things to which his Charge refers, it may be said on the other hand, with much greater justice, that his freedom from a common fault gives him peculiar fitness for examining and condemning it. The words of so wise and good a man are clothed with more than ordinary importance when they are directed to a point, in which he has little or no personal interest. The vindication of those who have been rashly condemned becomes doubly powerful in the hands of one who is himself above all censure; and Archdeacon Pott's defence of his clerical brethren, against the common-place and vulgar accusation so frequently preferred against them, entitles him to their warmest admiration and gratitude. The following passages are particularly deserving of notice.

"To return then to our own case, where the censure to which I have adverted, of interposing in the things of this world is cast upon us. Our profession then requires, no doubt, a real separation from the common business and employments, garb and offices of other callings. In order to promote the welfare of society, and to satisfy the special duties of his place, the prudent and considerate man, whatever may be his proper station or pursuit, must in due measure confine his habitual

exertions, and adapt the tenor of his life to his own sphere. In that course his steps move with propriety; he encroaches upon no man's line, but keeps his own path, and fulfils the peculiar and appropriate business of his own profession. But with all just deference for order and propriety, no man is bound so strictly to one thing as to become dead to every object of regard. It is the peculiar aim of superstition, in all its forms, to effect this extravagant abstraction. All men, of whatever function, are free to cultivate attainments of the mind and understanding in any way in which the stores of useful knowledge, or the ends of public benefit, may be promoted; and more especially this liberty is left, where the part to which any man is called is in its own nature such as must extend to manifold particulars very various in their characters. When St. Paul discoursed to Felix and Agrippa, or when he conversed with the speculative Greek, he touched on every general topic allied to their several habits of pursuit and information, and in showing thus a sound knowledge of what they most affected, and pointing out the connection between such things and what they wanted, shall we say that he wandered from his province, or proved himself worse qualified to reason and persuade? Yet so it happens with respect to us, that when we may be occupied in things of general utility, we may, through the misconceptions of the heedless, or the envy of the jealous, be censured as intruders, who concern themselves in matters foreign to their state in life, and engage in things which lie beside their path. Are the counsels, then, of the teacher and the guide to begin and end with the service of the congregation, or to extend no further than the parish boundaries? Are the Ministers of God's Holy Word to be reproved as passing the limits of their own appointed sphere, when they preside in seats of education, where all sorts of learning and of general information must be requisite; or where they take their place in the councils of the State, or lend their deliberate voice, and exercise their judgment on the benches of the magistracy? Are they mere intruders in such matters? Are they men who can add nothing to the stock of wisdom by which the public good may be promoted? The page of history will not justify this fancy. Turn the volume of the sacred Scriptures and see if such was the common sentiment of mankind under any dispensation. Both before and after the captivity of Israel, the government of that land was cherished and supported, was alternately defended, rescued, and preserved, by those whom God raised up for the special service of his altar, or called to the arduous task of denouncing public warning. Through that long tract of time, during which the two-fold mischief of rebellious opposition and schismatical disunion took place, the virtues of the spiritual guide, with some rare exceptions, shone brightly, and proved the lights and ornaments of the several periods of their ministration.

“When the members of the Christian household were advised to bring their differences before the wise and prudent of their own body, can we think that this advice related only to the scandal of a suit in heathen courts? Did the Christian princes form that judgment of the matter, when they also were included in the Christian pale? From

that time they neither yielded their own rights, nor spared to require the aid of spiritual persons in the courts and seats of government. Are we told of early canons which imposed restraints in things of this kind? It is true; and no one will impeach the wisdom of such rules: but they who assisted or presided at the framing those canonical decrees were frequently employed in public service and legations. They were summoned to such labours: they neither sought them nor refused them: and one venerable Prelate, who presided at an early council (that of Sardica), expressly vindicated the exception. Is there no difference between merchandize and markets,—ambitious projects or covetous devices,—the garb of warriors or of huntsmen,—and the public service, which may engage men in public scenes, or call them to take part in such concerns, without a dereliction of what is proper or peculiar to a man's own sphere in life or to his rightful occupation? Who indeed can covet even lawful interruptions, or submit to them without a sigh, where his own function respects the noblest objects and most sacred part in life?

“Are we reminded, not improperly, of a warfare which requires a disentangled mind from temporal affairs? Must this exclude a man's care for the temporal welfare of his family? They who think so would do well to restore the former bondage which cancelled all such ties, by one forced sacrifice of Christian freedom. Such restraints are manifestly of one piece, and can only stand together.

“Again, in cases where the sacred volume lends its counsel, or applies its censures, either with a word of commendation for the loyal, or of reprehension for the turbulent and factious, must the teacher and the guide abstain from such topics, and be silent?”—pp. 13—17.

“I shall not scruple then to say, that our notice, without incurring any just degree of censure, may well be extended to any source of public benefit. The state of that country in which we have our nurture,—the state of those of every rank and condition with whom we must be conversant, will supply to generous minds the copious subjects for reflection and regard. The pastor of some small sequestered flock may enlarge his views beyond the straggling cottage which he does not fail to visit. After years of study in the seats of learning, who shall forbid him to employ his talent with a larger scope of vigilant exertion, where it can be done without forsaking that which lies before him? If his voice and his influence should be lost to every public interest in his country, the time might come, as it once did, when he may be cast out from his little flock, and be doomed to wander, though not, perhaps, without companions, from among the noble and the best in blood. It is one thing to ramble after that which lies beside our path with an undue preference, or a manifest neglect of things more properly belonging to us; and for this we make no plea, and offer no excuse,—but it would be another thing, to be thrust out from such concerns by fixed restrictions, whether forced or voluntary. It is the peculiar mischief of extravagant and overcharged restraints, that they cut off what may serve for noble uses; they maim the man in some part; they starve those qualities entirely, which indeed may never, or but rarely, be called

into exertion, but which should exist in every perfect subject.”—pp. 19, 20.

“With respect now to more ordinary matters in the course and management of human life, with reference to those things which affect the manners and the habits of society, things which relate to common intercourse, and to domestic life,—concerning such things which are fairly subject to the rules of prudence and discretion, we find ourselves again exposed to many ready censures from prompt and eager monitors, and have much reason to guard against the influence of misconception, and the bias of exaggerated views. The dictates of opinion in things so various in their nature and their use and application, are not, I think, fit subjects for the hasty censures which are sometimes indulged about them.

“That nothing is more easy than for men of all descriptions to err in opposite extremes in such matters, is plain enough to every man's experience. Many, for instance, may take a faulty latitude to trifle all their lives, and to do nothing in the chief concern for which they have received the loan of life. On the other hand, men may set snares for themselves and others, and may construe things indifferent into sins, or may make them appear to be so by needless aggravations. It is manifest what mischiefs are created daily by such means, and what themes of discord on such points are cast into the private circles of domestic life. It matters little how small a spark it is which falls on garments of so delicate a texture, that they will blaze at once and kindle lasting flames; nor does it signify how dubious or mistaken the peculiar notions may be, which too frequently excite determined habits of division in the largest or the smallest circles of society. I have little heart to say much on this head, lest I should be misconceived, or fail of my real purpose, and become the censor too where I have no desire to be so. But what then is the remedy? What but a prudent moderation or forbearance in the use of censure on such topics? He that knows not that there are opposite extremes in such matters, and that they should be shunned, will be a poor guide for his own course, or that of others. I would as soon endeavour to revive the scruples about meats and drinks, which made snares of each man's household board, and which continue to perplex and harass those who dare not touch or taste without an arbitrary dispensation from the lips of others, leaving no place for discretion, no not in the Christian bosom,—I would as soon give my voice to replace this yoke, from which we have so happily escaped, as encourage scruples about things which are no less free to the rules of sober judgment. What is either unbecoming, or becoming in diverse stations, and at different times of life, deserves indeed to be always well considered, and more especially by those who are to be salt of the earth, and the patterns of the Christian world; but remember, too, that from such men some consideration is always due to others; to their choice and inclinations, where they are kept free from blame; to their just needs, nay to their rights and privileges, according to the Christian charter. We speak with a just dread and disdain of arbitrary power; but of all tyrannical control, the worst perhaps is that which is imposed by misconceived opinion, because in this case all parties yield

themselves the willing victims, and the stern dominion is more absolute and fixed. It is true that the road to safety or to honour is not that of wanton ease, or drowsy indolence; but does it follow that we should adopt fantastic tests, or court unbidden trials? It is not easy to decide which is the more irksome, or the harder task, to walk in fetters and submit to fixed privations, or to move in public scenes of much embarrassment with as sure privations of what might be most acceptable to ourselves. There will be difficulty and disadvantage both ways; and here, again, what is the remedy? Why, the simple rule of duty, which varies not; which answers to the standard of divine perfection, attested by the light of conscience, and the voice of sober reason, but above all, by the word of revelation. Sad and incurable will be their error who shall set these things against each other, or make them yield in any manner to assumed opinions.

"But excellent as the rule itself is, and universal, the question rests still concerning the best method of conforming to it in the present state of man; and here St. Paul will give the answer,—It is by moderation, temperance, and prudence, with a sound discretion which yields much to others, but will follow no man beyond the warrant he produces or the reasons which he gives: it is by a just regard to what may be expedient, but never with a total sacrifice of what is lawful, which would destroy, at once, the ground of reasonable and becoming self-denial." —pp. 22—25.

Let the reader compare these statements and reasonings with Mr. Daniel Wilson's recent censure of his brethren, and he will be at no loss to understand one material distinction between old-fashioned and new-fashioned Divines.

ART. XV.—*Twenty-one Prayers, composed from the Psalms, for the sick and afflicted, to which are added various other Forms of Prayer, for the same purpose, with a few Hints and Directions for the Visitation of the Sick, chiefly intended for the Use of the Younger Clergy.* By the Rev. James Slade, M.A., Vicar of Bolton, and Prebendary of Chester. London. Rivingtons. 1828. pp. 239. 4s. 6d.

Mr. Slade informs us, in a sensible preface to his work, that

"These prayers from the Psalms are published in consequence of the earnest recommendation of a most respectable young Clergyman on his death-bed: several of them indeed were composed entirely on his account."

"In the execution of this plan, the Psalms alone have been employed; as being, in general, most suitable for the offices of devotion; and especially applicable to the sick and afflicted; but many other portions of Scripture are convertible to the same purpose, and may be modelled, in a similar way, by each individual for his own use."

The following specimens of the Prayers, composed from particular Psalms, will enable our readers to form a just estimate of the manner in which the work is executed. The First Psalm :

“ THE PRAYER.

“ [*For repentance, holiness, divine favour, and protection.*]

“ Almighty and merciful Father, look down, we beseech thee, upon thy [sick] servant, and give [him] the grace, under this thy visitation, to consider his ways and to turn the more heartily and devotedly to thee the Lord his God. Convince him, O Lord, how dangerous and deadly is the counsel of the ungodly, how certain the destruction of the way of sinners ; and in as far as he has ever walked in that counsel, or stood in that way, bring him now to repent that he may do so no more. Make him thoroughly sensible of the blessedness of forsaking all ungodliness and sin ; and let him, for the remainder of his life, be far removed from the seat of the scorner, and delight only in the law of the Lord ; let him exercise himself therein by day, and meditate upon it with comfort when he lieth awake in the night : That so, he may not be cast away from thee as an unprofitable branch ; but may be like a tree planted by the water side, whose leaf doth not wither, and whose fruit doth never fail. Water his soul, O God, with the influence of thy Holy Spirit. Pour down upon him the continual dew of thy blessing ; that whatsoever he doeth, it may prosper.

“ O thou just and holy God, most terrible are thy judgments upon the ungodly and impenitent soul ; indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish ; we fervently implore thee to give us all a lively sense of these things, and to bring us, in the true spirit of prayer and penitence and faith, to the saving knowledge of the Lord, that we may lay hold on eternal life ; that, whilst the wicked are driven away from thy presence, as chaff before the wind, we may be able to stand in the judgment, and may be numbered with the congregation of the righteous.

“ Thou, O Lord, knowest the way of thy servants ; thine eye is always upon them, thy mercy and favour with them ; O let us rejoice evermore in thy presence ; under every trouble and trial, let us have the consolation of knowing that thou art our God : that at last, when the ungodly shall perish, we may be found an acceptable people in thy sight : not for our own deservings, but through the infinite mercy and merit of Jesus Christ, to whom with thee, O Father, and thee, O holy blessed Spirit, be honour and glory for ever. Amen.”—pp. 2—4.

The Nineteenth Psalm :

“ THE PRAYER.

“ [*The law of God, our guide, our happiness, and the means of conviction and holiness.*]

“ O Lord, thou hast visited thy servant with sickness, and withdrawn him for a season from the business of life, grant that he may improve his leisure to the purpose for which thou sendest it, to the

health and edification of his soul. In the school of affliction let him learn the knowledge of thy law; open his eyes to see the wonders thereof, and his heart to receive it altogether. Teach him that it is an undefiled law; holy, just, and good; and O that it may, by the assistance of thy grace, thoroughly convert his soul from all evil; from darkness to light, from sin to holiness, and from the power of Satan unto God.

"Thy testimony is sure, and will show him the perfect way of truth; let him learn wisdom from it with godly simplicity; speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth, and is desirous of knowing and fulfilling thy word. He looketh not to the world for happiness or for guidance; but to thy right statutes and ordinances, for the rejoicing of his heart; and to thy pure commandment, to give light unto his eyes. O let thy fear make him clean, and that for ever; and let him go on from thy holy fear, to delight in thy service evermore. Thy judgments are true and righteous altogether; and, though thou wilt not the death of a sinner, thou dost not clear the guilty. But, O Lord, let him so repent, and so believe thy word, as to know the exceeding richness of its promises, and to value them more than gold, more than all the pleasures and possessions of this world; so as to find them sweeter to his soul, than honey to the taste; yea sweeter than the honeycomb.

"Let thy servant moreover be taught thereby the way of life, and in keeping of the whole law, let him look for the recompence of great reward in Jesus Christ our Saviour; the reward of thy continual favour here, and of glory hereafter.

"But who can tell how oft he offendeth? Lord, help him to examine and judge himself; and though his sins are too many to be remembered, or too great to be understood, cleanse him, O merciful God, from them all, even from his secret faults and unknown transgressions: show him more and more unto himself; show him where he is wanting, and where he comes short of thy glory.

"And O keep thy servant from every wilful and presumptuous sin; let no such have the dominion over him. Being made free from sin, by the atoning blood of Christ, let him be no more entangled therein, but be evermore a true servant of righteousness; undefiled in thy sight, and innocent from the great offence of wilfully rebelling against thee; so let him resolve, and so let him promise unto the Lord, and keep it; yet not by his own strength, but by thine: so let the words of his mouth, and the meditations and purposes of his heart be always acceptable in thy sight, O Lord our strength and our Redeemer. Amen."—pp. 12—15.

ART. XV.—*A Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge, on Commencement Sunday, July 5, 1829; and published at the request of the Vice-Chancellor.* By T. G. Ackland, D.D. of St. John's College; Rector of St. Mildred's, Bread Street; and Lecturer of St. Andrew's, Holborn, London. Cambridge: Deighton and Stevenson. London: Rivington and Jennings. 1829. pp. 30.

THE spirit and eloquence with which Dr. Ackland protests against modern indifference and liberalism, entitle him to be ranked among those who are doing good service to the Christian cause. He adverts particularly to the progress of the London University, and of other institutions of a similar character, and his principal observations on these points will be found in the following extracts.

“Admitting that the refined Athenians, amidst all the pride and display of human learning, were lamentably deficient in that true wisdom *which is from above*,—can it be affirmed of *this* which is so commonly styled an intellectual and enlightened age, that its vaunted illumination and intelligence are not in too many instances confined to objects of secondary, because only of worldly, interest and importance? If the philosophers of heathen ages, inflated with the opinionative pride of *science falsely so called*, were so ill prepared to profit by the sacred teaching of St. Paul, that they could give him no better reception than that contemptuous question, *What will this babbler say?*—do present times afford no ground for the belief that he who should assert that amidst all our strivings after learning, philosophy, and science, *one thing* still and above all *is needful*,—would in like manner be accounted a babbler, and a bigot; pointed at as one desirous of impeding the progress of intellect; of obtruding matter not at all adapted to the ‘improved’ taste and character of the times; and of binding down the free and inquisitive spirit of man with the fetters of prejudice and superstition? If the great Apostle was regarded by the self-accounted wise and profound of old time as *a setter-forth of strange gods*; and the religion of Christ crucified, with all its holy and miraculous sanctions, was rejected and resisted as *foolishness*;—are there no symptoms in our own days, even among those who nominally profess the faith and hope of Christians, of an indifference (to use the mildest term) as to the distinguishing tenets of Christianity? Is that which was *foolishness* in the Apostle's days, never termed, or thought, *weakness* now? Do we never find divine ordinances represented as the mere traditions of men; and even sacraments described as unmeaning ceremonies? Do we never hear it insinuated, I might say broadly inculcated, that if the morals of a man in a worldly interpretation be right, his Creed, whatever it may be, cannot be wrong? Do we never hear it held out, even as regards those among whom Christ is preached, and who have been made acquainted with his Gospel, that it is still a matter of indifference whether they embrace its doctrines, or not; that, where adopted

in honesty of belief, God regards all religions alike; that, without reference to the one Saviour of sinners, if men do but live up to the rules of right reason and morality, whether believers or unbelievers or only half-believers in the mystery of redemption, they will equally be acceptable to God and entitled to salvation; that there are many ways to heaven; that God regards only the sincerity of a man's religious opinions, not what those opinions may be?—assertions, all of them, which make Revelation useless, and the grace of God of none effect.”—pp. 9—11.

“ Into the particulars of that divine Revelation it can scarcely here be necessary to enter: to the greater part of this congregation it must be alike needless to set forth its nature, or to dwell upon the successive promulgations which, from the time of the Fall to the age of the Apostles, have been made of this great salvation; these *good tidings of great joy to all people*; tidings of sight to the blind, health to the sick, strength to the feeble-minded, joy to the mourner, hope to the desponding, comfort to the broken-hearted, liberty to the captive, life to the spiritually dead, salvation to the guilty and lost. Suffice it then to say, that in all and every one of its progressive stages the Gospel begins and proceeds on *this* supposition, that Man is naturally in a fallen and lost condition, and exposed to the Divine wrath. Otherwise, it would be neither more nor less than an absurdity and a mockery to offer us pardon, if we be not guilty; health, if we be not diseased; support, if we be not weak; salvation, if we be not ready to perish; holiness, if we be not impure; liberty, if we be not in reality tied and bound with the chain of our sins. But all this, and whatever else is most indicative of the *humbling* tenour of the Gospel of Christ, many of the philosophers and reasoners of our day coldly *pass over*, if they do not in terms deny.—It will not be supposed that any observation made by the humble individual now addressing this congregation can be intended to decry altogether a more diffused cultivation either of Classical Literature, of Natural Philosophy, or of Mathematical Science: pursuits, doubtless, highly worthy of intellectual and rational beings; alike useful and honourable; calculated to enlarge their conceptions, to elevate their thoughts, to strengthen their reasoning faculties, to refine the taste, to mature the judgment, and in various ways to exalt and improve individuals, and to benefit mankind:—pursuits, too, for the successful prosecution of which, as regards both the system on which they are conducted, and the extent to which its researches are advanced, our university is so eminently distinguished.—But, without at present entering at all into the question whether such subjects be suited to *all* classes of society, it may be allowed me to say (and there is the highest of all authority for saying it) that mere *knowledge puffeth up*; and that if it be an object that our population should not merely gather instruction for their minds, but be taught at the same time how and where to find *rest for their souls*, then something more is required than the *lecture-room*, or the *laboratory*. It may be permitted me to intimate, that if we would rightly guide the powers of the mind, and guard against the mischievous effects which a mistaken or a partial

cultivation of them has a tendency to produce, we must apply the corrective afforded by those *religious* impressions which take away *pride* from man, and teach him to submit his human reason and intellect to the word and the will of God. It may be granted me to suggest, that the eager and ceaseless devotion of time and thought and labour and cost to the acquiring of worldly accomplishments, and the making religion a thing by the by, very well to be attended to when we have nothing else to do, is a course of proceeding alike unworthy of a reasonable mind, and destructive of an immortal soul. It may be allowed me, from this sacred place at least, to assert, that not the highest attainments in learning and literature, not the most thorough acquaintance with arts and sciences, nor even the observance of the relative and social duties of life, can supersede the necessity or compensate the absence of a *religious belief in God and in Christ*, any more than, on the other hand, the devoutest exercise of prayer and praise can absolve a man from his moral obligations to do good, to follow justice, and to love mercy:—and that if it be the part of enthusiasm and fanaticism alone to consider faith as *everything*,—those persons are something worse than either enthusiasts or fanatics, who would degrade it into *nothing*.

“And yet—in the temper and spirit and circumstances of the times, may we not mark but too surely the traces of a spurious though specious philosophy, subversive of the benefits, hostile to the principles, and derogatory to the honour, of the Gospel of Christ? May we not behold that which, if not actually designed, (and no such imputation is here intended) has a tendency however to crush the religion of the SAVIOUR, and to rear in its stead a system of vague and heartless morality, calculated to generate and to foster much that is untenable in doctrine, and absolutely pernicious in practice? Do we not too often witness a disposition, on the alleged ground of deference to what is called the genius of the age, or with the view of unworthily conciliating irreligious opponents, to suppress, or to acquiesce in the suppression by others of those great truths which are the basis of sound Evangelical Faith? Do we not see principle sacrificed to popularity, conviction to convenience, the fear of God to the fashion of the time, and that which is inwardly felt and acknowledged to be just and right to that which is supposed to be expedient? And so, in particular, with respect to the great and important object of general instruction,—do we not in too many instances find skill in languages, information in literature and the arts, lectures and treatises on the mechanic powers, and laws of motion, on geometry, astronomy, chemistry, and the various branches of physical and mathematical knowledge, assumed as constituting and completing *education*? whereas in fact, giving them all due weight and value, these are still but a part, and, as has been well said, ‘comparatively an unimportant part, of the education of a being who is an heir of immortality, and who therefore should be disciplined for an eternal existence, and instructed in something beyond the wisdom of the world.’—But when objections of this sort are intimated, we find men of a superior station in life, of aspiring minds, and of undenied abilities

and acquirements, (not indeed without a mixture of such as can advance no such pretensions) employing by turns eloquence and wit, ridicule and sarcasm, keen satire, bitter invective, ingenious sophistry, fervid declamation, in support of the system; and to any one who presumes to hint a doubt as to the completeness of its design, or dares to express a wish that the mere earthly mass might be touched with fire from heaven,—these its most distinguished advocates reply, in a tone of measureless superiority, that such opinions are now out of place and out of season; exploded by the intellect of the age, as the result of prejudice and a confined understanding, and as fit only to cramp and impose upon superstitious and inferior minds. Thus do we behold men who from their talents, their attainments, and their influence, might be wholesome guides and instructors of the people, confining their exertions in their behalf to objects which, from the exclusive pursuit of them, have the effect rather of misleading and detaching the thoughts from that which is all-important; and of substituting, for the clear light of Divine Revelation, the dubious and glimmering taper of human philosophy.—Eager to impart or to acquire wisdom, but forgetting or neglecting what is *the beginning of wisdom*; desirous of producing or of becoming a scientific, a learned population, learned *after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ*; stimulating and stimulated by all the incentives of worldly profit and aggrandizement, and unmindful apparently that what a man is in relation to his Creator and Redeemer is the only thing which will signify at the last;—as well the patrons as the pupils of this system appear to be of opinion that the purposes which it embraces are all in all; the ultimate objects of human enterprise; and that the individual who secures these, attains at the same time the chief ends of his present existence:—how far qualified he may be for a *future* one, seems to be left out of the calculation: only let the *man* be prosperous, and what the *Christian* may be, is a matter of vastly inferior importance.—Is all this, or is it not, to be *ashamed of the Gospel of Christ*?"—pp. 12—19.

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- ART. XVI.—*The Hospital Manual, or Soldier's Guide in the Hour of Sickness; containing a variety of Prayers adapted to different Conditions of Mind and Body at that Period; with Ejaculations, appropriate Texts of Scripture, and further Directions for proper Reading, attached to each Case. To which is prefixed a short Service for the use of Military Hospitals.* By the Rev. Edward P. Hannam, M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to Regent's Park Barracks. London. Rivingtons. 1830. 12mo. pp. 81.

MR. HANNAM'S object is clearly explained in his introduction, which we subjoin, and we have only to add that he appears to have executed his purpose in a very satisfactory manner.

In submitting the following pages for the use of Military Hospitals, the intention of the author is twofold ; first, to offer a *general* Service for the Sick ; next, to present a Manual of Prayers, for the benefit of soldiers *individually*. Of the utility, not to say necessity, of the former, the writer is convinced, from the experience which he himself has had, for some years, among his Majesty's household troops. The latter also, from what he has seen in his attendance upon soldiers, at all periods of sickness, and from his knowledge of their habits, he trusts will have its advantages.

“ In order to explain the first part, it may be proper to remark ; that prayers are directed to be read ‘ at least once a week,’ to the inmates of every hospital ; which that the whole may be benefited by them, is usually done in the largest ward, or that containing the worst cases. But from the fatigue naturally attendant on invalids, the Morning Service is frequently found too long ; moreover, military regulations will not always admit of an unlimited portion of time being given up to this purpose : consequently an abridgment, on many occasions, becomes absolutely necessary ; hence the Form of the Visitation of the Sick is often used, with some additional prayers, at the discretion of the reader.

“ Now although there are many excellent and appropriate prayers and collects scattered throughout the Liturgy, to which a clergyman on these occasions may easily turn ; yet to those who are not so conversant with its pages, (which a soldier cannot be supposed to be,) it becomes a work of difficulty ; and the book is generally laid down, after an ineffectual attempt to follow the reader.

“ To remedy these inconveniences, this short compilation (entirely selected from the Book of Common Prayer) has been drawn up as an appropriate form, intended to embrace all cases, and so arranged, that all are easily induced to join, and may readily participate in those petitions which are offered up in their behalf.

“ Another advantage would also attend a service of this kind ; often a party is so detached or otherwise circumstanced, as to be unable to procure the attendance of a minister ; in which case, prayers are usually read by a non-commissioned officer ; it would then become a guide both to himself and comrades.

“ In regard to the second part, this contains several *private* prayers and thanksgivings adapted to various infirmities, spiritual and bodily, together with applicable ejaculations from the Book of Psalms, and texts of Scripture ; exhorting and encouraging the soldier to work out his salvation ; with further directions for the selection of certain passages and portions suitable to his case ; that should he be so circumstanced as not to have the assistance of a minister, he may endeavour to make his peace with his God by devout prayer and meditation ; and may at all times be enabled to address his Maker in a language adapted to his capacity, and in a form suited to his calling and condition.

“ This Manual was composed under a strong conviction of its necessity, even where there is an attendant clergyman, and that a *soldier*, of

all classes of society, stands most in need of a guide of this sort. From the peculiar situation in which a soldier is placed, and from the perpetual changes of a military congregation, a chaplain has not the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the moral character of individuals, or of gaining that spiritual advantage over them, which he might have had in the more private walks of life, unless brought immediately within his knowledge in the hospital; and even then, with so many around him, he is not always able to select those who most need his assistance, or to give each the attention he could wish.

“ Thus it generally happens that those who are apparently most sick in body attract his notice; while often many who are still more sick in mind are passed over, who, if directions were put into their hands, would gladly turn ‘*the hour of sickness*’ to their eternal advantage.”

ART. XVII.—1. *A Review of the Correspondence between the Earl of Mountcashell and the Bishop of Ferns; together with the Letters, and a Report of Lord Mountcashell's Speech at the Meeting held in Cork on September 5th, 1829.* Milliken, Dublin. Rivington, London. 1830. 8vo. pp. 203.

2. *An Apology for the Established Church in Ireland; being an Attempt to prove that its present State is more pure than in any Period since the Reformation; in a Series of Letters addressed to the Earl of Mountcashell.* By the Rev. Henry Newland, Vicar of Bannow. Curry and Co. Dublin. Hurst and Co. London. 1829. 12mo. pp. 264. 5s.

It was expected that Roman Catholic emancipation would be the signal for a desperate assault upon the Irish branch of the Established Church. The reformers and radicals on both sides of the Channel had given fair warning of their intentions. Mr. O'Connell had threatened us with agitation, Bishop Doyle with anathemas, and Mr. Hume with economy. But an ultra-Protestant, an extra-evangelical or politico-puritanical insurrection had not been apprehended. From a most unsuspected quarter, therefore, is the first hostile demonstration made. While the Roman Catholic demagogues are resting upon their oars, enjoying their triumph and recruiting their strength, an Irish nobleman, distinguished by his uncompromising opposition to emancipation, assembles a snug lay synod in the city of Cork, and fulminates a philippic against bishops, priests and deacons, such as has not been heard from a professing member of the Church, since the Restoration of Charles the Second! “ Protect me from my friends”—is an exclamation of ancient date, and if Lord Mountcashell's strength had been equal to his spirit, there would have

been urgent cause for putting up the prayer upon the present occasion. Fortunately for all the parties concerned, his Lordship's arrow has not reached the mark. In Ireland, we presume, he was already known; and the controversy, which he provoked, has extended far enough to make the English public acquainted with his polemical character. In boldness of assertion and weakness of proof, in disingenuousness, in ignorance, real or pretended, and in gross personalities where argument is not forthcoming, all these mixed up and garnished with pretensions to superior purity of doctrine and piety in heart and life, the Earl of Mountcashell is almost without a rival. He has been fairly met and overthrown both by the Bishop of Ferns and Mr. Newland. And we should deem it unnecessary to say a single word upon the subject, if we did not regard the Cork synod as a mere pilot-balloon, let off to ascertain the direction of the currents, while an engine of far different dimensions is preparing. When the strong men of Rome rouse themselves from sleep, and set about fulfilling their deliberate vows, the speeches and letters of Lord Mountcashell will not have been published in vain. What his Lordship has invented or dreamed, will be quoted with unblushing confidence. His exaggerations, his insinuations, his blunders, his gross and scandalous false statements, will be taken and represented as so many unquestioned facts. The hearers of Mr. O'Connell, and the believers in Dr. Doyle, will be told that these things are notorious, and admitted by the Protestants themselves. We deem it our duty, therefore, to put the contradiction upon record. The *demolition* of Lord Mountcashell, exhibited as briefly as possible in our pages, will be of service on some future day. His disjointed limbs may hereafter be enshrined in the sanctuaries of superstition, and exhibited, upon fit occasions, to enliven the faith of political and religious zealots. But the carcase must be gibbeted while it is still entire, and held up to public scorn. It may perhaps serve to scare the timorous wrong-doer; at all events it may be made a sort of expiatory sacrifice at the shrine of violated truth and justice.

We shall pass over a large proportion of the matter introduced into this controversy. Our sole object is to lay before the reader the more important charges brought forward by Lord Mountcashell, and the refutation of them, and we shall do this, as far as possible, in the words of the authors themselves. The commencement of the business is clearly explained by the Bishop of Ferns.

“ On the seventeenth of last September a meeting was held in Cork, in consequence of an anonymous notice, very privately circulated, stating that circumstances connected with the best interests of the Establishment would on that day be taken into consideration, for the

purpose of preparing petitions to the legislature. The gentlemen thus selected having assembled, the Earl of Mountcashell was called upon to take the chair, and opened the business for the consideration of which they had been summoned, in a speech of considerable length.

"The subject he proposed for discussion, if in a meeting so convened as to consist of persons entirely of one sentiment, any thing that merited the title of discussion could be expected, was the present state of the Established Church in England and Ireland, which he described as deplorable, attributing the evils under which it laboured to the misconduct of government in the management of Church patronage, and to the neglect of duty in the generality of the clergy. Under such circumstances he said that it was not to be wondered at if thousands upon thousands joined the Dissenters and the Roman Catholics; and he predicted that 'with the Jesuits and Papists on one side, and Dissenters of all grades on the other, the Church of England, whose doctrines had defiance to, and whose precepts challenged the world, would in a few years have faded away, and left but a name behind.'—pp. 2, 3.

"Among the resolutions there passed was one, *to bear a public testimony against the abuses existing in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs*, and to petition the King and both houses of Parliament for remedial measures. A committee was appointed, and their first act was to send out a circular letter requesting the co-operation of influential individuals throughout the kingdom, *and promising to keep secret any private communications which might be made!* They describe themselves as a committee appointed to prepare petitions to Parliament. The petition to the King had already been forgotten, though to him, as supreme governor in all matters ecclesiastical, the correction of abuses such as they alleged to exist especially belonged. Without his summons no convocation could assemble, without his sanction no act of Parliament could become law. The committee appears also to have forgotten with what merited infamy the government of *Venice* had been reprobated for encouraging private malice by providing in the *lion's mouth* the means of secretly indulging it."—pp. 4, 5.

The first instance of Lord Mountcashell's accuracy, noticed by the Bishop of Ferns, is as follows:

"With respect to England his Lordship hazarded two specific charges. He stated that in the town of Sunderland there was not a single resident clergyman of the Church of England; and that in Manchester, containing a population of more than eighty thousand, there were, a short time since, but two or three resident clergymen, and these he gave as an average of the present paucity of the clergy in many parts of England.

"By a letter from the Rev. Robert Gray, rector of Sunderland, it appears that he and his three curates, to each of whom he allows a salary of £100 per annum, reserving of the profits of the benefice only £50 per annum for himself, live as near the church as fit residences can be procured, none so far distant as half a mile.

"The refutation of Lord Mountcashell's statement as to Manchester, is contained in a letter from the Rev. C. D. Wray, vicar of the church

of Manchester. This letter states that for the last twenty years, there has never been less than eighteen or twenty clergymen resident, and that there are now in Manchester eighteen churches and thirty clergymen.

“While these letters refute the particular charges with respect to Sunderland and Manchester, they serve a still more important purpose, in showing that though Lord Mountcashell was ready to believe any statements unfavourable to the Established Church, and to give them publicity under the sanction of his name, he was not ready to take the most trifling trouble to inquire into their truth. A letter to Sunderland and another to Manchester would have saved him from pronouncing two unfounded accusations.”—pp. 14, 15.

The second remarkable fact announced at the Cork meeting relates to Ireland.

“In enumerating the abuses with which he alleges the Irish branch of the united Church to be overrun, Lord Mountcashell’s language was certainly not well calculated to impress the idea that he was much, if at all, attached to the Establishment. He began with episcopal unions: I shall give his words. ‘It was now not uncommon to see four, six, aye, seven parishes in the hands of one rector; and why was it so? because some bishop who has a son, unmindful of the meritorious efforts of many of his ill-paid clergy, considered that two or three parishes would not do the young gentleman, but he must get half a dozen of them; and so, taking them all in the lump, he throws them to one individual. He was not making any particular allusion; the practice was general.’ We must look back to the notorious libel of *Martin Marprelate*, to find language parallel to this in contemptuous vituperation.

“The indecency of the manner in which the charge is made, is not greater than its falsehood. The assertion is utterly unfounded. I called upon Lord Mountcashell to adduce a single instance in which the son of any bishop now alive, or of any bishop as far back as the beginning of the present century, was possessed of a union which had not been made before he was born.

“I observed at the same time, that had the charge been true, I saw not the use of making it, inasmuch as bishops have not now the power of making any union without the consent of the privy council.

“His Lordship adduced, as an answer to both parts of this statement, the union of *Moriddy* in the diocese of Cork. To show that his letters preserve a style of hostility similar to his speech, I shall give his words: ‘To your Lordship’s assertion, that bishops have no longer the power of uniting parishes, I can only say, I know of one in this very county, *the parish of Moriddy*, united so late as the year 1818, (I shall leave your Lordship to find out who got it.)’

“In plain language, he adduced it as an instance of a union made by a bishop for his son, in contradiction to my assertion, that none such had been made.

“Now the reply to this is easy. The union of *Moriddy* had existed for a century and a half before the Bishop of Cork gave it to his son.

Nay, so far was he from *taking those parishes in the lump, and throwing them* to his son, that he separated the prebend of *Iniskenny*, worth nearly £400 per annum, which till then had formed a part of that union, before he collated him.

“ This is the only attempt which Lord Mountcashell has made in support of his attack upon the Irish bishops for forming unions of parishes to enrich their sons.

“ I should observe, that his Lordship possessed means in abundance for discovering such unions, did they exist. He had the Report upon the state of the Irish branch of the united Church, printed in 1806, and also that printed in 1820. And he had *Erck's Ecclesiastical Register*, two editions, one giving the state of the Establishment in 1820, the other in 1827.

“ Such were the means of information which he possessed previous to the meeting in last September. Since that time he has had the additional assistance of all the communications which have been made to his committee, information unrestrained by fear, for *strict secrecy* was promised; and he has not been able to prove a single instance in which a union, such as he described, has been formed.

“ But why should I talk of proofs subsequent to his speech. He came forward with an accusation against the whole body of the Irish bishops. He charged them with a corrupt use of their power. He denounced them as sacrificing the souls of those intrusted to their care for the base purpose of enriching their families. He asserted, that the criminal practice of which he complained WAS GENERAL! And now it has been proved, that he did not know even of a single instance of that practice which he affirmed, officially, as chairman of a public meeting, to be general!!!

“ Nay, more; it has been proved that he could not have known of any instance of such a practice, for none such was in existence!!!—*Review of the Correspondence*, p. 17—21.

The statement contained in our next extract is most extraordinary.

“ I shall conclude this abridgment of the controversy with a repetition of that charge which most deeply affected the character of the clergy, which was made in the most vehement language, and for the truth of which his Lordship pledged himself most strongly. How he redeemed that pledge I shall presently show.

“ ‘ Another point,’ he said, ‘ deplorable as the fact was, and painful as the task of making the charge was to him, it so happened that in many instances the clergy of the Established Church led improper, immoral, dissolute lives; HE WAS AWARE of various petitions having been sent to both houses of Parliament, representing facts of this nature, revolting to morality, and disgraceful to the parties accused.’

“ Let us recollect that this was not a sudden effusion uttered in the heat of a debate, but a deliberate charge, pronounced by a nobleman of high rank, himself a peer of Parliament, addressed to a meeting summoned to petition the legislature upon a subject of the highest importance; prefaced with a declaration, that the speaker was most reluctant to make it.

“ Was there a man in that assembly, who could for an instant entertain the slightest doubt, that the noble Earl had been driven to the dire necessity of thus proclaiming the extent of profligacy among the clergy of the Church to which he belonged, and to whose interest he professed to be most zealously attached, by the notoriety of the fact, forced upon his knowledge by the VARIOUS PETITIONS which he WAS AWARE had been presented to both houses of Parliament, by those who had been so aggrieved by the dissoluteness of the clergy, as to be compelled to have recourse to this extraordinary proceeding to obtain relief.

“ And now, in order to estimate the facility with which his Lordship not only suffered himself to be imposed upon by others, but actually imposed upon himself, let us examine how far the assertion by which he supported this heinous accusation was founded in fact.

“ There was but ONE petition, such as he describes, presented in England.

“ There never was even ONE presented from Ireland !

“ This requires no comment.”—p. 33—35.

But these are in some degree the declarations of Lord Mountcashell’s opponents. It is but fair that he should speak for himself.

“ I regret I must also differ from your Lordship on another point, and insist on too many of the clergy having in and out of Parliament, directly or indirectly, contributed towards the passing of the Relief Bill. Well do I remember that the last division on this portentous measure, whilst sitting on the cross benches, I counted the number of lawn sleeves as they slowly moved behind the bar. As I viewed this act, and glanced at the probable motives, I plainly perceived the danger of depending too much on Right Reverend Prelates, as the sole guardians of our Church. I am willing to admit, very many of our bishops made a noble resistance, but this cannot acquit the bench in the eyes of the nation. Who can foresee the conduct of the bishops when a fresh attempt may be made against the religion we profess? Alas! had our clergy taken *timely* pains to teach in the schools, and in the colleges, in the pulpit, and in the private houses, the important, and yet, nearly forgotten differences between the religion of the Bible and that of the Pope, many members of both houses would have voted very differently. That many clergymen were most active in getting up petitions to Parliament against Emancipation, is, I believe, very true, and I hope their motives proceeded rather from a love of true Christianity, than of temporal and political power. As your Lordship disapproves of my saying that the bishops have contributed towards ‘ pulling down the wall of partition,’ I beg to refer you to the words used in the Act of Parliament, ‘ Be it therefore enacted *by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, &c.*’ Surely, my Lord, you are not going to drive your coach and four through this Act? The deed, we are told, was done *by and with the advice of the Lords spiritual*”—*Review of the Correspondence*, pp. 86, 87.

So much for the reasoning of the noble peer! His facts have been already disposed of. His Lordship’s acquaintance with

history, as might be expected, is extensive and accurate, enabling him to inform us (p. 113) that King Charles I. "was believed by the whole nation to be a Papist," and causing him to sigh for the return of those truly Protestant times in which the clergy paid the full amount of the first fruits—to his Holiness the Pope. As Lord Mountcashell's absurdities on this subject have been countenanced by other reformers, we subjoin the remarks of the Bishop of Ferns upon the subject.

"The mention of the first fruits leads your Lordship to propose that they should be levied to the full value of every ecclesiastical preferment, as originally intended. Intended by whom? It appears that your Lordship is utterly unacquainted with the origin of that imposition called the First Fruit. You are not aware that it was a tax levied by the Pope of his own authority. Thus founded on robbery and usurpation, it became the prey of Henry VIII. when he dethroned the Pope from his dominion in England and Ireland, and it continued in the crown till Queen Anne bestowed it upon the Church. That a man should pay the first year's income of an ecclesiastical preferment as the price of his obtaining it, seems any thing but reasonable, and would produce consequences extremely injurious, were not the sums so levied small."—*Review of the Correspondence*, p. 107.

Other scandalous calumnies will be found in the following passages:—

"Your Lordship next lends yourself to the propagation of a slander, which, though you can hardly credit it, receives a formidable support from its being thought deserving of being mentioned. 'It has been reported,' you say, 'that large sums remain with the Board of First Fruits, which have never been accounted for.' It surely is not possible that your Lordship can be so ignorant of the manner in which the public accounts are conducted, as not to know that the accounts of that Board are annually audited by the commissioners of accounts. Did your Lordship ever mention to any member of that Board that such an accusation had been made against it? If not, where will your Lordship find an excuse for setting afloat such a rumour, at the time when you knew that your authority will be quoted by every *radical* in this country and in England? My Lord, the report is false,—utterly false."—*Review of the Correspondence*, pp. 106, 107.

A serious charge against the late Bishop Bennett affords an admirable specimen of Lord Mountcashell's fairness. First, he says—

"In the diocese of Cloyne (where I reside) I find at that period one hundred and twenty-three parishes united into seventy-seven benefices; and though the bishop who then filled this see, represented forty-six incumbents as being resident, it is well known how *untrue some of his Lordship's statements were*."—*Review of the Correspondence*, p. 88.

Upon this the Bishop of Ferns observes—

"Upon another bishop of our Church, now no more, your Lord-

ship has made a still more severe attack. You say, 'that it is well known how untrue some of his Lordship's statements were.' The prelate thus held up to infamy by your Lordship was, to use the words of Dr. Parr, *that most amiable man, and most accomplished scholar, Doctor Bennett*. The name of Bishop Bennett is so interwoven with the literary history of the last century, that I should think it an insult to his memory, were I to attempt a vindication of him from the charge of falsehood."—*Review of the Correspondence*, p. 103.

And the Earl's reply is—

"As your Lordship has not called expressly on me to prove the incorrect statements of a *Bishop of Cloyne, now no more*, I readily follow the adage, '*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*,' especially when we have cause to expect happy results from the disposition of our present good bishop, and the zealous and talented members of his amiable family."—p. 120.

The bishop's concluding observations are unanswerable.

"With respect to Bishop Bennet, I certainly did not call upon your Lordship to prove the incorrectness of his official returns: I only expressed my amazement that you should have stigmatized a man of his character by saying, 'that it was well known how untrue some of his statements were.' I again express my amazement that you should, in effect, persevere in that assertion, and that in a way obviously most offensive, quoting the maxim, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. It would have been well had your Lordship recollected that maxim a little sooner."—*Review of the Correspondence*, p. 139.

As the reforming synod held their session at Cork, the present state of that diocese is of peculiar importance to such as would understand the fairness of their proceedings.

"Come we now to your Lordship's third proof, that the bishops have not done every thing in their power; which is, that abuses often and long complained of are in many instances tolerated, and not unfrequently practised. Let me on this point call your attention to the diocese in which your meeting was held. Do you not know, that in the diocese of Cork, since the appointment of the present bishop, eleven unions have been so divided, that they form now twenty-five benefices, of which eighteen are single parishes? If your Lordship does not know this, you have neglected to make the inquiries which ought to have preceded your late proceedings. If you do know it, you have not only failed to profit by your knowledge, but you have concealed what you ought to have been active in publishing for the credit of the Establishment to which you profess such a zealous attachment."—*Review of the Correspondence*, p. 134.

Among the gross personal attacks upon the Bishop of Ferns, we notice the following. The answer to it might make a Jesuit blush.

"Putting 'speculation' out of the question, I come to a very important subject, one on which the future welfare of Ireland greatly depends. Your Lordship would prevent the clergy of the Church of England from every active exertion to point out the truths of the

Gospel to their poor, ignorant Roman Catholic parishioners. I have long observed a spirit of opposition to our anxious labours by the worldly-minded clergy of our Church; but it remained for a Bishop of Ferns openly to declare it. And can you, my Lord, believe, that by 'quenching the spirit' you are not opposing the will of Him, who said, 'Go teach all nations?' Are you following the example set down by our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostle? Are you unmindful of these words in the last chapter of the epistle of St. James; 'He which converteth a sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins?' Have you, my Lord, forgotten the words which were addressed to you by the archbishop at your consecration, 'Be thou to the flock of Christ a shepherd, not a wolf; feed them, devour them not; hold up the weak, heal the sick, bind up the broken, bring again the outcasts, seek the lost.' Must I remind you, that on that occasion you solemnly promised to be 'ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines, contrary to God's word, and both privately and openly, to call upon and encourage others to do so.' And must I point out those words of St. Paul to Timothy: 'Preach the word, be instant in season, and out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long suffering and doctrine.' (2d Tim. iv. 2.) My Lord, it behoves me to appeal to your conscience, because the instruction you would give is not only opposed to the progress of vital Christianity, but is a cloak to laziness and negligence."—*Review of the Correspondence*, pp. 163, 164.

The answer is—

"Your Lordship is so good as to lecture me upon the duty of converting the Roman Catholics, classing me among the worldly-minded clergy who oppose it. My Lord, you know, and you knew when you so wrote, that I had been active in that controversy. That my charge to my clergy in 1827 was employed in exhorting them to engage in that controversy. That I had been attacked for that charge by Bishop Doyle, and had published answers to his two pamphlets against it. That controversial sermons had been preached under my direction in Carlow, in Enniscorthy, in Wexford, in Ferns, and in several other churches in my diocese. *The Wexford Evening Post*, now an active auxiliary to your Lordship's plans, ceased not for more than a year to pour upon me and upon my clergy the grossest abuse for those sermons."—p. 179.

Lord Mountcashell lays much stress upon the inadequacy of curates' salaries. Here, as usual, he is followed by his indefatigable examiner, and not a little exposed.

"Connected with the charge of avarice made against the Rectors, is the complaint of inadequate payment to the curates. These whom Lord Mountcashell describes with merited eulogium as exemplary, educated, unpresuming, he states *to be, in hundreds of instances, worse off than the Rector's common servant; nor were the instances few where they would be glad to accept an old coat with which to replace their thread-worn garment, which the pampered menial would dash from him in his upstart pride.*

“ I have successively held two of the most extensive dioceses in Ireland. In Limerick I knew personally every curate, as I now do every one in my present dioceses ; and among them all there could not one be found of whom this could in truth be asserted ; not one who would not consider his Lordship’s statement as an insult. I do not merely deny that there were many instances in which it was true, but that there could be found even one.

“ I am as anxious to increase the comforts of the curates as Lord Mountcashell, or as any man ; but I know that imprudent efforts would eventually injure that body instead of serving it, and diminish, instead of increasing, their usefulness to the Establishment. The advantage arising from the augmentation which has been made in the salaries of the curates of the residents I never questioned. I referred to that Act, passed in 1824, in proof of what had been done to make those salaries adequate. Under it, extending (prospectively, as every act relating to property confessedly ought) to cases in which the rector had been appointed subsequently to its being passed, the curates of non-residents are entitled to salaries amounting to the whole value of the living, if not more than eighty pounds per annum, and extending according to circumstances to one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, together with the glebe-house, if there be one, and sixteen acres of the glebe.

“ This it was expedient to do ; and few, I believe, will be found to think that the Act should have extended farther.

“ Lord Mountcashell asserted, that this Act was not complied with ; but being called upon for his proof, he could only adduce the cases of some curates in the diocese of Cork ; and upon inquiry it appeared that only one of them came within the provisions of the Act ; and that one was a man of independent fortune, who would not claim the increase of salary, as he became entitled to it only in consequence of the ill health of his rector, which had obliged him to be non-resident.”—pp. 29—31.

These are sufficient specimens of the accuracy and candour of Lord Mountcashell upon the main points in dispute. We cannot follow him through the tissue of misrepresentation in which his personal controversy with the Bishop of Ferns is enveloped. Our remaining space must be devoted to that part of the subject which has been ably elucidated by Mr. Newland.

The speeches and resolutions at the Cork Meeting, insinuated, if they did not assert, that the abuses which it was proposed to reform, had been recently introduced into the Church. They were spoken of as practices which “ had crept in.” The Bishop of Ferns comments, with his usual force, upon the unfairness of this assertion—but Mr. Newland makes it the principal subject of his work—and proves to demonstration, that every thing which is to be lamented or condemned in the Church of Ireland, has existed for a long period of time—that recent changes have been

universally for the better—and that the actual progress of improvement, since the Union, has been rapid indeed. We cannot dwell upon his interesting enquiries into the wretched state of the Church in former times—but must content ourselves with recommending them to the reader's attention. The immense improvement which has taken place during the present century, is detailed in the following passages.

“ When your Lordship laments the want of churches in the present day, and at the same moment expresses ‘ your determination to labour ‘ for the permanent establishment of the Church as it was left by your ‘ forefathers at the Reformation,’ I am compelled to apply to the decisions of history. And thus I discover, that there does not remain one single vestige of the Protestant Church, when first the reformed religion was historically introduced into Ireland. In the reign of Elizabeth I can trace but twenty-two churches in the diocese which was best governed, in a part of the country most civilized, and where the Reformation had been most successful. With unfeigned sorrow I hear the venerable Bishop Bedell lament, that there were but eight churches in each of his dioceses. And surely he was no lazy churchman, nor yet griping, nor covetous, nor slothful, nor proud; for such are the expressions in which your Lordship reprobates the clergy of present times, for not effecting what he, whose name is almost sainted in history, could not accomplish. Yes, in these halcyon days of primitive purity, I can discover but twenty-two churches in one diocese, eight in a second, and the same number in a third.

“ This was in the year 1630. Perhaps I have inquired in a period too remote. I shall advance one century farther, and shall endeavour to ascertain the number of churches in all the dioceses in Ireland. Primate Boulter states the number of incumbents and curates in the whole island to have been, in 1730, but eight hundred. He does not appear to mean that they were all resident. If we allow, therefore, that there were half as many churches as there were Protestant ministers in Ireland, we shall have four hundred. If this number be divided by the twenty-two dioceses, there will be but eighteen churches to each diocese. Or, to be more exact, if four hundred, which I assume to have been the number of churches, be divided by thirty-three, the number of the dioceses under their distinct and appropriate denominations, we shall apportion but twelve churches to each diocese, which will exhibit no great improvement from the time of Charles I. to the reign of George I.

“ This calculation may be supposed to labour under some disadvantage from the want of accurate information. But we shall see, when we come to examine unimpeachable evidence on the subject of churches, in a more advanced period, that the allowance of four hundred churches in the reign of George I. is, perhaps, rather above the number, than under it.

“ In the year 1762, the number of churches in Ireland was five

hundred and forty-three, which, divided by the number of the dioceses, is a distribution to each diocese, of twenty-four churches.

“In 1792, the number of churches in Ireland was six hundred and forty-three, which, divided by the number of the dioceses, leaves twenty-nine churches to each diocese.

“In the year 1800, there were in Ireland but six hundred and eighty-nine churches, which, by the application of the division hitherto employed, will afford to each diocese thirty-one churches.”—pp. 132—135.

“I must solicit your Lordship’s most undivided attention to a recapitulation of the following circumstances:—

“ From May, 1801, to January, 1829, there have been churches built	
in Ireland	258
Rebuilt during that period	242
Now building	54
Enlarged	99
Ordered to be built at the meeting of the Board of First Fruits, in	
last October	64
	<hr/>
	717

“But to be as correct as possible, we shall deduct the ninety-nine churches which have been enlarged in this period. This will make the number of churches, which, at the end of 1830, shall have been erected since the Union, six hundred and eighteen. Thus, in the space of less than thirty years, the maligned Bishops of the Church in Ireland, will have accomplished nearly as much as had been effected in the space of three centuries. This gratifying intelligence will surely be highly satisfactory to your Lordship.”—pp. 136—137.

The next subject adverted to is the number of the clergy.

“In reverting so frequently to the earlier annals of the Reformation, I feel I am gratifying your Lordship. In them, according to your exposition, we are to read the narrative of the Church’s purity. To the model of ecclesiastical perfection, therein delineated, your Lordship has promised to restore the permanent establishment of the Church. Therefore to you, my Lord, these recapitulations cannot be so irksome as to ordinary readers. Yet in this apostolical epoch, I can discover in the dioceses superintended by eminent Christians, but eight resident clergymen in one, and twenty-two in another. In a century afterwards, even in the reign of George the First, although we admitted that all the Protestant clergy in Ireland were resident in their respective parishes, and that not one was absent, the number in each diocese will amount to but twenty-four. Your Lordship knows, that the residence of the beneficed clergy generally has borne an accurate proportion to the number of glebe houses. Now, in the year 1726, there were in all Ireland but 141 glebe houses. It is most probable that the residences of the beneficed clergy did not exceed this number; even supposing every one of them to have lived in his glebe house. Even in the year 1800 the number of glebe houses was only 295, and if we acknowledge the proportion between residence and houses, the number

still continued very small. But in 1820 there were 768 glebe houses, that is, an increase, in the space of twenty years, of 473. So that, even by this mode of calculation, the number of resident clergymen has been wonderfully augmented. Here I have made no allowance for the number of the curates, except in reference to the reign of George I. It is true also, that many of the clergy who had not glebe-houses, resided in the large towns, and discharged the duties of curacies, while others, who were resident on their glebes, attended to the neighbouring parishes. It even was, to the Union, a very general practice for one clergyman to officiate in two or three separate parishes; a custom, I believe, in no one instance now permitted.

“But, my Lord, we must be more exact in this inquiry. If we examine the report of the ecclesiastical establishment in 1806, we shall find, that the number of resident beneficed clergy amounted to six hundred and ninety-three, and the curates to five hundred and sixty, making the total of twelve hundred and fifty-three. Though uncertainty may attend the calculations previous to this period, we must acknowledge, that the information now provided, is the most precise we can obtain. We may, therefore, consider this to have been the state of the Church at the Union.

“Let me now attract your Lordship’s attention to the number of resident clergy since the Report of 1806. The latest return made to the House of Commons of the state of the Church in Ireland, was in 1819. The number of resident beneficed clergy, mentioned in this report, is eight hundred and eighty-two. The number of resident beneficed clergy, in 1806, was six hundred and ninety-three. Therefore, in the short space of twelve years, one hundred and eighty-nine additional resident beneficed clergymen have been added to the Church.

“From the year 1819 to 1829, two hundred churches have been built. In the same period, two hundred and fifty glebe-houses have been erected. Thus, in the absence of parliamentary documents, which have not been published since 1819, it is a justifiable addition, to calculate the increase of resident beneficed clergymen, in the proportion of the glebe-houses that have been built since that return was made. Therefore, we may reasonably suppose two hundred and fifty to be the increase, which, with the number in the House of Commons’ return of 1819, makes a total of eleven hundred and thirty-two. The difference between this number and twelve hundred, which is the most correct calculation it has been possible to make, in the absence of Parliamentary returns, will really be an insufficient allowance for those clergymen that have been compelled to reside, of late years, though they have not glebe-houses. Thus, then, the increase in the number of the beneficed resident clergy from 1807 to 1828, has been five hundred and seven, which is nearly as many as were in Ireland some years subsequent to the Union.”—pp. 154—159.

“Now, my Lord, let us endeavour to ascertain the number of curates. By comparing the returns of 1806, 1819, and ‘The Account of the number of Unbeneficed Curates, published by order of the

'House of Commons in 1828,' we shall be enabled to ascertain the number of curates in Ireland in these respective years. But we cannot, even here, be as exact as I could wish. For in the return of 1828, I observe that the registrars in some of the dioceses do not report the number of curates actually officiating, because, in many instances, they had not obtained their licenses, from which alone the knowledge desired by Parliament could be provided. The object of the legislature was to know the dates of the curates' appointments, and their respective salaries. As many of these clergymen were but lately appointed, it was not possible to afford this information, and therefore their names are not returned. Thus, the number of curates now officiating in Ireland, is not exactly given. But even with this disadvantage, I shall prove to your Lordship, that the increase is perfectly satisfactory.

"I have compared all these returns with the greatest accuracy, and, in some cases, from my own knowledge, and other information, have supplied the deficiencies of the return of 1828 from that of 1819. But these instances are very few. In 1828, the number of curates was seven hundred and fifty, which, in addition to twelve hundred resident clergy, makes the number of the ministers of the Established Church in Ireland to amount to nineteen hundred and fifty.

"Your Lordship will be pleased to remember, that an increase in the residence of the beneficed clergy, has a natural tendency in diminishing the number of curates. For, if a glebe-house be built in a small parish, where a curate has officiated, it is more than probable his assistance will be dispensed with. Yet with this influence working against the increase of the number of curates, their augmentation appears to me to evidence distinctly the active vigilance of the hierarchy. For the numbers returned in 1806, were five hundred and sixty; and in 1828, seven hundred and fifty; so that, in little more than twenty years, one hundred and ninety curates have been attached to the Church.

"Thus, my Lord, in twenty-one years, six hundred and ninety-seven working, and actually resident clergymen, have been added to the Church.

"Thus, in twenty-one years, the increase in the number of the ministers of religion, is nearly equal to the whole amount of the resident clergy in the reign of George I.

"Thus, in twenty-one years, the increase in the resident beneficed clergy exceeds the whole clergy in Ireland, incumbents and curates, resident and non-resident in the year 1792, by one hundred and fifty-three.

"Thus, in the space of thirty-six years, from 1792 to 1828, the number of resident clergymen in Ireland has been doubled; or, to speak with perfect exactness, has been increased from one thousand to one thousand nine hundred and fifty. And even the acknowledgment, that so large a number existed in 1792, is on the authority of Dr. Beaufort, who, in some instances, over-rates matters.

"Thus, even in 1819, the number of actually resident beneficed

clergymen in the province of Armagh alone, was equal to the whole resident beneficed clergy of Ireland in 1792, which is only a period of twenty-seven years. And the number of glebe-houses in that province in 1819, exceeded the number in the whole island in the year 1800, by two hundred.

"My Lord, if these facts are not the strongest testimony, that the present system, as conducted by the Bishops in Ireland, works propitiously for the Church, I profess that I cannot divine what is the use of demonstration."—pp. 160—163.

Well may Mr. Newland ask

"Who can deny that many abuses have been extirpated? If reformation be really your Lordship's object, can you assert that it is not rapidly proceeding? What is the plea your Lordship urges in defence of a change of discipline? Can your Lordship say, that if the residence of the clergy, the erection of churches, the building of glebe-houses, and the increase in the number of curates, shall be proportionate in the coming twenty years, to what they have been in those which have past, that any thing will remain which the most sanguine reformers could desire to have amended. And suppose there is only the most distant chance of ruining what your Lordship declares you only wish to amend, is it not wiser to be satisfied with prospective but certain advantages, than to endeavour to bound into perfection, with the chance of precipitating the whole establishment into destruction?"—pp. 167—168.

The inadequate salaries of the curates formed another topic in Lord Mountcashell's oration. Our author's reply is here again triumphant.

"It may not be unworthy of remark, that the curate is as well, or better paid than any gentleman on his entrance into any other profession. Before I conclude, I shall prove that his promotion is as rapid, and I hope to afford satisfactory evidence, that he obtains it more speedily, than persons of the same rank in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, in the Genevan, or German Churches, or even in England. Is not the curate as well paid as the ensign or lieutenant in the army? What lawyer or physician enters at once upon the receipt of the same income? Almost in all cases he obtains promotion as soon as the ensign becomes a captain, or a barrister, or medical practitioner secure a reasonable competence. And this I positively aver, and challenge a contradiction of the statement, that no instance can be produced of a curate who has distinguished himself either as a parochial minister, as a preacher of the Gospel, or as a learned divine, who has not, after a few years, become a beneficed clergyman. Nay more, in some cases, to my own knowledge, preferment has been offered, by more than one Bishop, to individuals such as I have described. So anxious are the heads of our Church to introduce into their dioceses men of piety and talents, that at the annual examinations held in the Dublin University, for persons preparing for holy orders, by Dr. Elrington,

the very learned and truly exemplary Professor of Divinity, whom I am proud to call my friend, it is not unusual for the dignitaries of the Church to attend. On these occasions they tender curacies to those who most distinguish themselves. This certainly implies a promise of promotion in due time. I have known instances where three distinct offers of this nature have been made, by different bishops, to one individual, without interest, or any introduction, or solicitation having been employed.

“Of the curates, your Lordship thus speaks : ‘the good man of the parish was left to drudge through his duties at a pitiful stipend, not sufficient to procure the decencies of life for his family.’ If gentlemen, on entering the sacred office, are aware of the rate of income which the law has provided for them, what is the meaning of your Lordship’s words? The law has fixed the salary of a curate at £75 late currency, or at £69 4s. 7½d. present currency. I shall prove that this law is almost universally adhered to with rigorous exactness; nay more, that the cases are very numerous, when a vastly greater income than any authority can compel the beneficed clergy to give, is generously bestowed by them on their curates.

“But the law has done much more than appointing the salary, in ordinary instances, at £75 Irish; for it has provided, that ‘if the benefice in which a curate is engaged, be of the value of £80, or £100, or £120, he shall enjoy, in case of the non-residence of the incumbent, the whole receipt of the parish, with the glebe-house and garden.’

“Again, if the value of the benefice be £400 or upwards, and under similar circumstances as just mentioned, the ordinary may allot to the curate £150 per annum. This law is acted on with punctuality and decision by the Bishops, as will appear by a reference to the table of the curates’ salaries, to which I shall presently call your Lordship’s attention.

“Thus your Lordship is again placed in the awkward position of proposing as subjects for legislative interference, matters which have been long ago decided. While your Lordship dreams about reform, the amendment has taken place. It is evident that when this subject was first mentioned at the lay synod, the law which remedied every abuse of which you complained, was totally unknown to all the members of this convocation. But this is only a repetition of the ignorance which was displayed on the subject of unions, and of the laws which totally annihilated the power of creating them, though the corruption of the hierarchy was as foul as your Lordship’s animated description of their abandonment of all moral principle.

“But your Lordship appears to delight in legal speculations, which have been deprived of all doubtful tendencies, by being reduced to fixed enactments. It certainly is strange, that you should propose so many things as necessary to be done, which have been already effected. If I ever indulged in a satirical tone, I might truly say, that really your Lordship appears to have very frequently fallen asleep in the House of Lords, for you seem to have been perfectly unconscious of many evils having been removed. With all the zeal of a reformer, and all the re-

condite erudition of a legislator, you mourn over irregularities and suggest their removal. You speak of abuses as existing in frightful turpitude, and as if no legal restraint were procured for their correction, although the law had grappled with the evil and nearly extinguished it."—pp. 168—173.

But it may be said, have all these additions to the churches, the glebe houses, the incumbents and the curates, produced a corresponding effect upon the people? Listen to Mr. Newland's statement of facts upon this subject.

"The report of 1800 remarks, 'the description of the persons to whom the education of the poor is committed, accounts in a great measure for the strange prejudice which has existed against the utility of instruction among the lower orders; and it will no longer excite surprise, that such a class of men were found to be fit instruments to disseminate among the lower classes the pernicious doctrines of scepticism, treason, and rebellion.'

"The books in universal circulation were described as having the most immoral tendency, serving only 'to inflame the passions, to inspire a love of wild and lawless adventure, and inculcate principles subversive of religion and virtue.' And, my Lord, be pleased to remember these words, 'at present there is scarce a bible to be bought in the country.'

"Such is the description of the state of Ireland as to education in 1800 and 1803. These reports were furnished to the 'Association for Discountenancing Vice,' which, though originally established by a few pious laymen, was at this time directed by the Bishops and clergy of the Established Church. At this period, and for many years subsequently, there was not *one* religious society of any kind in this country. Therefore, to this association is to be attributed the undivided praise of originating and commencing a system of national instruction. The great capital object they proposed to themselves, was, in their own language, 'to make effectual provision that no cabin, no house in the whole kingdom, in which there is a single person that can read, shall be destitute of the Holy Scriptures.'

"Now, my Lord, let us learn what this association proposed as suitable and efficient means, to remove the moral darkness in which they found their country buried. As I proceed, your Lordship will not fail to observe, that all the credit bestowed 'on those pious persons,' whom you love to contra-distinguish from the Bishops and the generality of the clergy, as if the former had been the founders of many of the modern societies, is entirely due to those, from whom your Lordship subtracts all commendation. This Association undertook, and carried into execution, all the following plans. Having given a tone to public feeling, and aroused the energy of the nation to the attainment of its own prosperity, they left divided among numerous societies which have since arisen, a partition of their labours and their plans.

"1. The distribution of the Bible at reduced prices.

- " 2. The establishment of schools in the most uninstructed parts of Ireland.
- " 3. The donations of premiums to country school-masters.
- " 4. The establishment of a seminary for school-masters and parish clerks.
- " 5. The enforcing the strict observance of the Sabbath.
- " 6. The translation of the scriptures into the Irish language.
- " 7. A house of reform for the criminal poor.
- " 8. The institution of Sunday schools.
- " 9. The distribution of tracts which have no controversial tendency.
- " 10. The establishment of spinning-schools.
- " 11. Catechetical examinations of the children all over Ireland in the Scriptures.

" Were all these mere speculative theories unproductive of practical effects? No, my Lord, they carried every one of them into operation. And though, after years of toil passed in this noble undertaking, they were forced to resign several departments of their plan to other societies, they were still the first to begin the work. Every society of every kind in Ireland, at this moment, that proposes the religious prosperity and moral happiness of the people as their object, found in the Association for Discountenancing Vice the model on which they might have formed and the example by which they might have guided themselves, in their new design."—pp. 200—204.

" Now, my Lord, let us observe the admirable mode this Association adopted for national education, and the success which attended it. As it was impossible to remove the ignorance of the people, while the teachers were unable to instruct them, they began at the source of the evil, and established a seminary for the education of school-masters. If any candid observer travels through Ireland, and inspects the character, conduct, and manners of this very respectable class of persons, he must acknowledge, that there is scarcely an instance of one individual superintending the school of a parish minister, who is not almost blameless in his reputation. Who, my Lord, has contributed to this change? The Bishops and Clergy of the Established Church, must be the reply. Remember the description of the teachers given in the reports from two hundred and two parishes, and compare it with what your own observation must have pointed out, the high moral character of those who have succeeded them in the present day. I ask you, my Lord, ought the result of this comparison to be the subject of censure on the Bishops?

" Having provided suitable teachers, this Association directed their attention, not to cities and large towns, nor to neighbourhoods blest with a resident gentry, but they erected their first school-houses in the most uninstructed parts of the land.

" The school-houses which they here erected, with the competent masters educated in their seminary for teachers, first gave a direction to the public mind on the subject, and laid the foundation for that system of scriptural education, which, in every instance in which it has been adopted, has led to the most important and beneficial results. Inde-

pendent of the other numerous schools in Ireland, many of which are under the direct patronage of parish ministers, there are now three hundred and thirty in connexion with this Association, containing twenty thousand scholars.

“ Besides the establishment of those schools, which have assumed and are possessed of the properties of model schools throughout the country, and by their influence have completely changed the character both of teachers and children, they adopted another plan before unknown, and which no society with whose affairs I am acquainted, has ever yet pursued. Each clergyman, besides the scriptural examination of the young people of his parish on the Sabbath, is enjoined to hold a week day lecture, when all the children are taught portions of the Scriptures, and of the liturgy and services of the Church. Annual examinations are held to ascertain the state of improvement of those who have attended for six previous months. In many instances, three, four, five hundred children are examined in one church. Frequently there are classes of twenty persons whose examination embraces the entire Scriptures. On many occasions having been employed as an examiner to decide their merits, and to appropriate the premiums, I have no hesitation in declaring that their knowledge of the Bible has been often not only an object of my sincere satisfaction, but even of my astonishment. What trace, my Lord, in all the history of the Church in Ireland, can you discover of any plan proposing and securing the beneficial results that must, under the blessing of Providence, arise, not alone to the children, but their parents, from these examinations. But your Lordship will inquire whether the Association has relaxed their exertions in a measure calculated to effect so much good? No, my Lord. From 1793 to 1806, the average number that attended these examinations, amounted only to seven hundred and seven. In last year, the number was thirty thousand, among whom were distributed three thousand and ninety-one premiums. I shall close these observations by stating, that this Association has circulated at reduced prices, 128,115 Bibles, 263,464 Testaments, 229,545 Prayer-books, and 1,298,985 religious books.

Such are the results of one religious society in Ireland. At the Union, my Lord, the school-masters were itinerant rebels, carrying to every cottage they visited, the evil passions that inflamed their own hearts. The books they distributed had only one effect, namely, to inspire a love of wild and lawless adventure, and principles subversive of religion and virtue. There was not a Bible even to be purchased in the country parts of Ireland. At this time there was not one religious society in Ireland. The plan of the Association was projected a few years previous to 1800, and at the Union was completely under the government of the Bishops and Clergy of the Established Church. Will your Lordship now say that they have neglected the education of the people, or rather will you not acknowledge that all the societies of late years founded for the circulation of the Bible—for the establishment of Sunday-schools—for the dissemination of the Scriptures in the Irish language—for the institution of spinning-schools, and for the improvement of prison discipline, were unknown in this country till the

Bishops and Clergy of the Established Church led the way, and set the bright example in the formation of all these numerous institutions, and showed by their example what could be effected even in this benighted land.

“ I had proposed to have entered more particularly, had time permitted, on the subject of education ; but I cannot part from it without these few observations. Your Lordship knows that almost all the Sunday schools in Ireland are under the superintendence of the Protestant clergy. The number in attendance at these schools on the first of January, 1829, was 185,450. The schools connected with the Kildare-place Society are generally under the direction of Protestants. The number in these schools, at the same date, was 106,869.

“ The numbers in attendance at the Association schools, which are all under the ministers of the Established Church, are 20,000. These numbers, added together, make 312,259. If your Lordship will compare these facts with the returns of the number of children in a state of education in England, under the patronage of Societies connected with the Established Church, and keep in your recollection the difference in the population of the two countries, the difficulties under which we labour, and the opposition made to all plans of education proposed by Protestants, I do not despair of having the pleasure of hearing your Lordship vaunting the praises of the Clergy of the Church in Ireland, for the unexampled industry which characterizes their attention to this all-important subject.”—pp. 206—211.

If the Reformers can answer this case, they ought to do so without delay. The Cork Synod, and its most Protestant chairman, have made but a bad beginning ; and unless a blow be quickly and skilfully struck, the Church of Ireland will be beyond the reach of her enemies. Already Mr. Hume is laughed at when he talks of sweeping away twenty bishopricks at once, and the radical Church Reformers are rebuked even by Mr. Brougham. The rapid progress of improvement can no longer be concealed ; if it goes on at its present rate for half a dozen years, the Romanist will have missed his opportunity, the Reformer will find nothing to reform, and the Puritan will be compelled to breathe a hopeless sigh over the goodly prospects which once filled his delighted eyes, but will then have vanished from his longing sight.

Before we take our leave of the authors before us, it behoves us to point out a few particulars in which we are compelled to differ from them. Mr. Newland has fallen into a strange mistake respecting the number of Churches in some of our English Dioceses, stating those in the Diocese of London, for instance, to be one hundred and eighty-six. We believe they are at least three times that amount. He speaks also in terms which cannot be justified respecting the alleged insincerity of the un-

happy King Charles; and throws out an unmerited insinuation against the English Clergy of the present day, as being less attached than they ought to be to their Irish brethren.

The Bishop of Ferns surprises us when he states, p. 53, that probably nine tenths of the profit of the Church lands throughout Ireland are in the hands of the tenants, "but that, be the proportion what it may, it would be direct robbery to deprive them, the tenants, of possessions which have been in their families throughout successive generations, nay, made the subject of family settlements." Now supposing the deprivation to take place at the expiration of the respective leases, there is neither robbery nor fraud in the business. The expediency of such a proceeding may fairly be called in question; but if its honesty be impeached, the first result would be to place the owners of Church lands at the mercy of their tenants, who, as they cannot be honestly dispossessed, may make their own terms for renewals. And the second result would be, to destroy the means by which a material enlargement of the Established Church may hereafter be effected. The population of the large towns and manufacturing districts in England are now going astray as sheep without a shepherd, because there is no maintenance provided for the clergyman by whom they might be instructed; and unless this great evil is to increase from year to year, such maintenance must be defrayed either by general or local taxation, or by that part of the property of the Church which is now virtually directed to other purposes. In Ireland, too, the days are coming in which the present number of benefices and churches will be far too small for the Protestant population of the country, and whence are the religious wants of that population to be supplied, if it be direct robbery to let Church leases expire, and apply the real proceeds of the estates according to their original destination? We are aware that the subject is full of difficulty, and we are no advocates for hasty innovation; but the declaration of the Bishop of Ferns puts a stop at once and for ever to all deliberation upon the point in question, and we therefore protest against its being received as any thing more than the private opinion of the author.

Lord Mountcashell pronounces judgment, in his usual manner, against the disposal of the Church patronage now vested in the Crown. The Bishop makes the following remarks upon this portion of the Noble Lord's oration:—

"The next topic upon which Lord Mountcashell enlarged was the appointment of Bishops. 'That,' he asserted, 'was, in Ireland, generally the result of political motives. The minister of the day selects the man possessed of the greatest portion of parliamentary interest, to whom he says, do you support me in the House of Commons with your

parliamentary interest, and I shall give you the investment of the next vacant bishoprick. The bargain is struck ; and a man possessed of as little talents as piety, and less of morals, is selected as the Bishop.'

"That such a practice was general I do not believe. Nor do I believe that when political interest did interfere, it was exercised with that general recklessness of character which Lord Mountcashell describes. But that it does not now exist, I am confident. I appealed against the assertion of his Lordship to the notoriety of the fact, that political influence has ceased to be a directing motive in the choice of Bishops, and I supported that appeal, by calling upon him to name, among the Bishops appointed for many years back, an individual who could command a single vote in the House of Commons, one only excepted, and his connexions were in opposition to the ministry, and had been so for very many years.

"But it is alleged, that political motives have interfered in the appointment of Bishops, and that, therefore, they may interfere again. Undoubtedly they may. But how is this to be prevented? Are we, for the purpose of providing against that *possible* evil, to have recourse to the desperate remedy of tearing from the crown the power of appointing Bishops? And to whom are we to commit that power? To a committee of clergymen? or of laymen? or to a mixed assembly of both? How are these to be chosen?

"Is there any man at all acquainted with human nature that sees not in such elections the fruitful source of intrigue and discord and corruption? Corruption in its worst form, the deep guilt of simony.

"No man can view such a measure as less than revolutionary. It would necessarily be accompanied with the removal of the Bishops from the House of Lords, and who is there that knows not that to have been the first object with the rebels in the time of Charles? Who that knows not with what rapidity their plans succeeded when that object was attained.

"It is fortunate that indications such as these have been given of the length to which these reformers of our Church Establishment would go, were power granted them to put all their plans in execution. Not the Church only, but the State, would be new modelled, and the Crown would be called upon to surrender an important part of its prerogative in relinquishing the nomination of Bishops."—pp. 24—26.

This statement is substantially accurate. The improvement which has taken place in the exercise of government Church patronage, both in England and Ireland, during the last twenty years, is a subject of gratitude and rejoicing to every friend of the Establishment. But we do not understand the Bishop of Ferns to admit, what seems to us as certain as any thing can be, namely, that the abuses which previously existed in the disposal of crown preferment were the one great cause of the decayed condition of the Church of Ireland before the Union, and also of the comparative weakness and inefficiency of the Church of England up to the same period. This fact should never be lost sight of, nor should

we forget that the reform which has been begun is still incomplete. A very large proportion of preferment is still bestowed, especially in England, upon persons who have no professional claim to it. And if Lord Mountcashell and his friends at Cork will put a stop to this practice, they will be real benefactors to the country. While the world continues in its present state, it is idle to require that merit alone should always be attended to in appointments of any description. But the nation, and more particularly the Church, have a right to require, first, that merit should never be neglected; and, secondly, that a moderate portion of it, at least, should be discernible in every person distinguished by the patronage of government. An army or a navy, in which generals and admirals, or colonels and captains were appointed merely through interest, would prove but a rotten staff in the day of battle. A Church, badly officered, is in a similar predicament, and if but one bad appointment be made by the servants of the king, the king and his people have just reason to complain.

ART. XVIII.—*University of London.*—*An Introductory Lecture upon the Study of Theology and of the Greek Testament, delivered at the opening of the Theological Institution, Saturday, Nov. 21st, 1829.* By the Rev. Thomas Dale, M. A. Lecturer on Divinity at the above Institution, and Professor of the English Language and English Literature in the University of London. London. Taylor. 1829. pp. 38.

WE leave the task of criticising Mr. Dale's mode of teaching theology to those who are interested in its merits or demerits—the members, namely, and friends of the London University. But there are several other subjects adverted to in this publication, with which the general reader ought to be acquainted. In the first place, there is Mr. Dale's apology for himself and the other clergymen who have joined the Institution, and it is as follows:

“The University of London was established for a school of general instruction. The management of it is committed to individuals, differing widely in religious and political views, and united only by their common zeal in the great cause of education. It is accordingly the distinctive feature of the Institution, that no Student who is willing to conform to the internal regulations, shall be excluded from participating in its literary and scientific advantages. Against this principle, notwithstanding the frequent and acrimonious discussions to which it has given rise, no solid objection has yet been adduced. Science and literature are of no religion; nor could the most zealous member of any religious community reasonably hope to advance its interests by

confining them to his own persuasion, and consequently excluding all beside. For those who are excluded will be reduced to the necessity of dispensing altogether with mental cultivation, or seeking it in another quarter. Now, the most enlightened and devoted members of the Church of England, a church which grounds her pretensions to an universal acceptance on her strict adherence to Scriptural truth, and consequently invites examination, will hardly contend that persons already without her pale, will be removed farther from it, or rendered less likely to return to it, by the acquisition of knowledge. That there should be a great school of instruction, composed exclusively of those who dissent from her communion, is an alternative which none, I think, would advocate. Such a separation would obviously tend only to generate and to cherish a spirit of disunion and dissension between those who may, or who must, encounter on equal terms, in the common intercourse of life; and who should, therefore, cultivate, to the utmost practicable extent, all that can promote reciprocal forbearance and common harmony. If this reasoning be correct, an exclusive principle is obviously far from desirable in a new Institution,—an Institution, especially, which professes to adapt itself to the state of popular opinion, and to consult primarily the acknowledged and immediate necessities of the public.

“It may, however, still be objected, that there is no absolute necessity for an exclusive principle. It is one thing to exclude, it is another to tolerate; and it may, therefore, be demanded,—why cannot the religious system of the country be that of the University—why cannot the principles of the Church of England be adopted in religious instruction, still leaving the door open to the admission of all denominations? Why cannot there be accredited Teachers of Religion after one form, without encroaching upon the tolerating principle, which should be extended equally to all? To enter fully into the consideration of these questions, would lead us into a wide field of discussion; and thus engross the time which can, I trust, be more profitably employed. I shall, therefore, simply state a few objections to this scheme, which to me appear very important, though I would not be understood to affirm that they are altogether insurmountable.

It would, in the first place, be indispensable that the acting authorities should concur in their theological opinions; for how could a Teacher of Religion, attached to one particular system, hold himself amenable to the judgment of those who were disciples of another? Now, such a limitation would furnish just ground for complaint to those who have an equal interest in the University, and may therefore equitably claim a proportionate share in its management. Secondly, if one portion of the Students were accustomed to consider themselves a privileged class, and the others as intrusive or subordinate, a distinction so invidious might, not improbably, tend to disturb that perfect harmony, which has contributed in so great a degree to the present prosperity of the University. And lastly, (which is, perhaps, the most formidable objection,) the formal admission of religious instruction might be supposed to invest the Authorities with a responsibility for

the moral conduct of the Students, over which, unless placed in the relation of the Parent, they cannot possibly exercise any effectual control. It is the last consideration, which, as I infer from the published statement, for I have no other authority, has decided the Council in the exclusion of Theology from the circle of academical instruction. Several of its members, I know, who are distinguished for their zeal in the cause of religion, have contemplated that the deficiency would be supplied, as it is now intended to be, by the zeal and benevolence of communities or individuals.

“To these considerations, while the plan of the University retains its present form, much weight will unquestionably be attached; sufficient at least to place beyond suspicion or impeachment the purity of the motives, which have led the individuals, to whom I have alluded, to concur in the exclusion of Theology. Should our system ever be so modified as to provide accommodation for Students within the walls, on the plan of the Colleges in our chartered Universities, my individual views, both as a Christian and as a Churchman, would be, I scruple not to avow, essentially changed. This, however, is a remote, and, from the principle of our Institution, scarcely a possible contingency. Suffer me, therefore, to observe, that at present all which is essential can be provided with at least equal, if not superior, efficiency, by other means. The Theological Institution, being kept altogether distinct from, and independent of the University, will unquestionably possess an advantage which it could not enjoy, were its Directors divided in their sentiments;—were it in any measure dependent upon those whose opposing views might lead them to find a secret pleasure in thwarting or impeding its operations. *Now* one spirit animates all its friends. By members of the Church of England it was originated, by them is it principally supported, and they alone exercise any control over its management. It is true, they do not confine its benefits to those of their own communion, but are willing to extend them to all who admit that vital principle of our common Christianity,—the essential Divinity of the Son of God: but, while they thus adopt the principle of liberality to the utmost limit of prudence, let it be remembered, that to Students of their own Church the Institution is primarily adapted—for such it was principally designed.”—pp. 8—11.

The meaning of all this seems to be,

I. Science and Literature are of *no religion*. And as certain members of the London University are of *no religion* likewise, they may, for ought that appears to the contrary, be admirable instructors in both departments. But what is Mr. Dale's authority for excluding Theology from the Sciences? Or when did he discover that sacred Literature was not Literature? Doubtless, his *dictum* made a goodly sound when it was delivered to the Divinity class—but nevertheless, we take the liberty to assure him, that it borders very closely upon nonsense.

II. A “*great Dissenting School of instruction*” would be a great evil. Perhaps it would. But the School of the London

University, if it had been made a Dissenting School, would not have been a great school. It would have been a very small school, and that its friends and promoters knew right well, although Mr. Dale has not been let into the secret.

III. A Church Institution admitting Dissenters, &c. would not answer, for the following reasons :

1st. Dissenters, or Deists, or Atheists in the council, might interfere with the teachers of religion. And cannot they, and do not they, interfere at present? If the University had consented to teach the religion of the country, there must have been a *bonâ fide* abstinence from all irreligious manœuvres upon the part of such members of the Council as might happen to be in the same predicament with "Science and Literature." But there is nothing in the present constitution to prohibit the Socinian, or even the Atheist, from propagating his opinions wherever and however he may deem it expedient.

2dly. The Church pupils would be a privileged class. Not more than Church-men are a privileged class, in a country which has repealed the Test and Corporation Act, and admitted Roman Catholics into all the offices of the State. Does Mr. Dale wish that his remaining privileges should cease?

Lastly. If the authorities taught religion, they would be responsible for moral conduct!!! Is Mr. Dale then responsible for the moral conduct of his theological students?

These are all the reasons we have been able to discover for the intended exclusion of religion from the course of academical education, and a lamer apology we never remember to have read.

But *ecce iterum*—

"There is yet one subject which remains to be mentioned before I proceed to that which is the peculiar, and should generally form the exclusive topic of an Introductory Lecture:—an exposition of the plan of instruction proposed to be pursued. I allude to the circumstances which originated this Institution. Concerning these, in certain quarters, an erroneous impression has prevailed, which I will state in the words of one of our most popular Reviews. It is there affirmed, 'That the irreligious principle of the Gower-street scheme was abandoned, in consequence of the announcement of a similar institution.' Happily I possess documentary evidence sufficient to refute this charge:—happily, I say Gentlemen, because you would naturally feel far less interest in this Institution, and deservedly repose less confidence in its founders and supporters, could you imagine that they were actuated by a motive so utterly unworthy, so totally unbecoming the sacred cause in which they are engaged. For such an imputation there is no foundation whatever. Without entering into detail, I shall simply state, that the question of religious instruction was agitated by myself and several of my colleagues so far back as February, 1828, nearly six

months before the event to which the Reviewer refers; that a resolution was then formed of providing as soon as practicable for this important object; that the preliminary arrangements were sufficiently matured for the appearance of an advertisement in the public papers of May 27th, which, of course, remains upon record as a standing evidence of the fact; that a warm and zealous interest was immediately excited in many individuals of high rank and character, whose co-operation led to the formation of the Theological Institution in July, 1828. As a brief statement of these facts will shortly be submitted to the public, I will no longer detain you from my immediate subject—the objects and the plan of this Institution. I only considered it essential to show that it had originated in a genuine and most disinterested zeal for the moral and religious improvement of the students; that it was neither the mean resource of a timorous policy, nor the puny offspring of ungenerous rivalry and competition. This I have done, and it is for you to judge whether this plain statement does not put to silence the ignorance of mistaken—I will not say *foolish* men,—and vindicate us from the heavy charge of having done right, merely because we found that it was contrary to our interest to do wrong.”—pp. 11, 12.

This sounds well—Mr. Dale puts his foolish censurers to silence, and appeals to dates, very awkward and untractable witnesses, in support of his plea of *not guilty* to the charge preferred against the London University in the Quarterly Review. His appendix is as follows.

“The pledge given in page 12 will be most satisfactorily redeemed by a simple and comprehensive statement of facts.

“On the 21st of January, 1828, I was elected Professor of the English Language and English Literature in the University of London. On the 20th of the ensuing February I met, for the first time, several of my colleagues at the house of Leonard Horner, Esq. the Warden. At that meeting was discussed the necessity and importance of making some provision for the religious instruction of the students, compatibly with the general principle of the Institution, as avowed in the first statement; and a scheme for immediate operations was prepared and acted upon by Dr. Lardner, Dr. Thomson, and myself.

“After an interval of some weeks, we heard that an Episcopal Chapel in the vicinity of the University might be purchased. Inquiries were immediately made, a negotiation was commenced, and after some delay, the bargain was concluded. Accordingly, on Monday, May 27, 1828, appeared the following advertisement in the *Times* and other papers:—

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

We, the undersigned Professors in the University of London, who are Clergymen of the Established Church, having from the period of our appointment entertained the intention of providing *Religious Instruction* for those students who are members of our own Church, do

hereby give notice that final arrangements have been made, with the full approbation of the Council, for that purpose. An Episcopal Chapel has been purchased contiguous to the University, to be called "The University Chapel," where accommodation will be afforded to the students for a due attendance on divine service, and where a course of *Divinity Lectures* will be regularly delivered during the Academical Session. Parents and others interested in this arrangement, may learn farther particulars, by applying to Mr. John Taylor, Bookseller and Publisher to the University, 30, Upper Gower-Street.

THOMAS DALE, M.A. Cambridge,
Professor of English Language and Literature.

DIONYSIUS LARDNER, LL.D. Dublin.
Professor of Natural History.

"King's College was founded on the 21st of June, nearly a month after the date of the foregoing advertisement, and exactly four after the first agitation of the subject. How, therefore, the announcement of a scheme, which did not appear for so long a period after the commencement of our operations, could have led 'to the abandonment of the religious principle of the Gower-street Scheme,' is a problem I confess myself unable to solve.

"But I am far from charging the Reviewer with wilful and deliberate misrepresentation. It is scarcely possible that he should have heard of our operations, which were carried on with great privacy, and very probable that he may have known nothing of the above advertisement, particularly as, in consequence of circumstances which I need not mention, the Chapel eventually was not purchased, and consequently could not be made available for the intended purpose. That disappointment, however, by the wise dispensation of Providence, ultimately tended to produce a desirable result. Our individual exertions became known to several noble persons, who immediately formed themselves into an association for the promotion of the general object, and by whose concurrent endeavours the Theological Institution was founded on July 4th, 1828."—pp. 28, 29.

Now it should be observed that the Quarterly Reviewer said nothing against Mr. Dale as an individual Professor, nor against the other clerical Professors. But it spoke of the Gower Street scheme, and the great feature of that scheme was to be "of no religion." In January, 1828, Mr. Dale, happily for the University, was elected a Professor, and in the February following began "agitating the question of religious instruction," and determined "to provide for this important object *as soon as possible*." On the 20th of February he met several of his colleagues for the first time at Mr. Horner's; and they "discussed the necessity and importance of religion," and a scheme for immediate operations was prepared. After an interval of some weeks, a chapel was heard of, and on the 27th May Mr. Dale and Mr. Lardner published an advertisement in the newspaper.

Now with respect to this statement, it occurs to us to ask Mr. Dale whether he ever had the curiosity to inquire respecting the date of a certain publication, entitled, *A Letter to the Right Hon. Robert Peel, on the Subject of the London University*, by Christianus. London. Murray. 1828. We mean the pamphlet of Dr. D'Oyly, in which he suggested the establishment of King's College. Was this letter known to the London Council and their Professor on the 20th February, 1828? We *believe* it was in general circulation a week or two before that time. We are sure that it was well known through the metropolis, in the month of March, and we ourselves assisted in giving circulation to its contents, by some brief observations in the Tenth Number of this Journal, which was published on the 1st April. In the months of April and May the proposed establishment of King's College was a matter of notoriety. It was mentioned again and again in the newspapers, and was just as well known to Mr. Brougham and Mr. Horner as it was to Dr. D'Oyly himself. We are amazed therefore at the temerity of Mr. Dale in appealing to his advertisement of the 27th May, and contrasting it with the date of the foundation of King's College, namely, the 21st June. The charge against his University was, that it abandoned its irreligious scheme on the *announcement* of a similar institution. No, says Mr. Dale, it did not—for the similar institution was not *founded* till nearly a month after the appearance of my advertisement. This is too bad. Dr. D'Oyly's pamphlet was the real announcement—and unless Mr. Dale can show, not that *he* “agitated the question of religious instruction,” not that he and Dr. Thompson “prepared a scheme of operations,” not that he and Dr. Lardner “advertised in the newspaper,” but that the Theological Institution, now existing, saw the light as an illegitimate child of the London University, before the publication of the Letter to Mr. Peel, all the subtlety of all the Professors of all the Universities in the world, even of those where boys are taught that “science and literature are of no religion,” will be unable to answer the charge preferred in the Quarterly Review. And the Theological Institution, as now existing, was founded, by Mr. Dale's own showing, on the 4th July, 1828. We know nothing of this gentleman's competence to fill his theological chair, but we beseech him to abstain from lecturing upon chronology.

STATE OF THE DIOCESES

IN

ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM JANUARY TO MARCH INCLUSIVE.

PREFERRED.

The Right Reverend WILLIAM CAREY, D.D., Lord Bishop of Exeter, to the Bishoprick of St. Asaph, in the room of the late Right Reverend Dr. LUXMOORE, deceased.

The Right Reverend CHRISTOPHER BETHELL, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester, has been nominated to the Bishoprick of Exeter, vacated by the translation of Dr. CAREY to the See of Exeter.

The Very Reverend JAMES HENRY MONK, D.D., Dean of Peterborough, has been nominated to the Bishoprick of Gloucester, vacant by the translation of Dr. BETHELL to the Bishoprick of Exeter.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Canterbury.			
Bocking, Dean, <i>and</i> } Hadleigh, R. . . }	Essex . . . } Suffolk . . . }	Hugh J. Rose . } Charles Nairne . }	The Archbishop. Lord Chancellor.
Shadoxhurst, R. . .	Kent . . .		
York.			
Bawtrey, C.	York . . .	W. Cuthbert .	Vic. of Blythe.
Fentonkirk, <i>V. and</i> } Sherburn, <i>V.</i> . . }	York . . .	James Matthews }	Preb. of Fenton in Cath. Church.
Preb. in Coll. Church } of Southwell . . }	Notts . . .	J. Shepherd . }	The Archbishop.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	York . . .	G. P. Marriott }	
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	York . . .	Henry J. Todd }	
Ripponden, C. . . .	W. York .	F. Custance . .	Vic. of Halifax.
London.			
Great Baddow, <i>V.</i> . .	Essex . . .	John Bramston .	Rev. J. Bramston.
St. Sepulchre, Snow } Hill, <i>V.</i> }	Middlesex .	John Natt . . .	St. John's Coll. Oxford
Minor Can. in Cath. } Ch. of St. Paul's . }	Middlesex .	J. T. Bennett .	D. & C. of St. Paul's.
Sturmer, R.	Essex . . .	William Hicks .	Duke of Rutland.
Durham.			
Corbridge, <i>V. with</i> } Halton, C. . . . }	Northumb.	Henry Gipps .	Dn. & Ch. of Carlisle.
Embleton, <i>V.</i>	Northumb.	George Rooke .	Merton Coll. Oxford.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Winchester.			
Andover, <i>V.</i>	Hants . .	G. C. Rashleigh	Winchester College.
Ashe, <i>R.</i>	Hants . .	Charles Murray	W. Bramston, Esq.
Chilbolton, <i>R.</i>	Hants . .	Crosbie Morgil	The Lord Bishop.
Fifield, <i>R.</i>	Hants . .	R. Poore . . .	Lord Chancellor.
Headley, <i>R.</i>	Surrey . .	F. Faithfull, M.A. }	Hon. Col. F. G. Howard, M.P.
Kings Somborne, <i>V.</i> .	Hants . .	Anthony Crowdy	Sir C. Mill, Bart.
Preb. in Cath. Church	Hants . .	W. Dealtry, D.D.	The Lord Bishop.
Bangor.			
Aber, <i>R.</i>	Carmarthen	Rob. Williams }	Trustees under the will of the late Lord Visc. Bulkeley.
Clocaenog, <i>R.</i>	Denbigh .	Rich. Newcome	The Lord Bishop.
Llanfaes, <i>C. and Penmon, C.</i> . . }	Anglesea .	John Williams .	W. Bulkeley, Esq.
Bath and Wells.			
Bradon, <i>S. Sin. R.</i> .	Somerset .	Cha. Tripp, D.D.	Earl of Egremont.
Chester.			
Minor Can. in Cath. } Church of } New Hulton, <i>P. C.</i> .	Chester . . Westmoreland	Thomas Boydell R. W. Bisher .	Dean and Chapter. V. of Kendall.
Chichester.			
Deanery of Chichester	Sussex . .	G. Chandler, D.C.L.	The King.
Twineham, <i>R.</i>	Sussex . .	Charles Goring .	Sir C. F. Goring, Bt.
Ely.			
Tyd, St. Giles, <i>R.</i> . .	Cambridge.	J. Hew. Watson	The Lord Bishop.
Exeter.			
Archd. of Barnstable .	Devon . .	Geo. Barnes, D.D.	The Lord Bishop.
Berry Narbor, <i>R.</i> . .	Devon . .	S. T. Gully . }	Trustees of the late W. S. Gully, Esq.
Lezant, <i>R.</i>	Cornwall .	W. S. Carey . .	The Lord Bishop.
St. Martin, <i>R.</i>	Cornwall .	Wm. Farwell . }	Countess of Sandwich & Earl of Darlington.
Stokenham, <i>V. with Sherford, C. and Chivelston, C.</i> . }	Devon . .	Henry Taylor .	The King.
Veryan, <i>V.</i>	Cornwall .	Sam. P. J. Trist	Dean and Chapter.
West Oggwell, <i>R.</i> . .	Devon . .	John Templer .	P. J. Taylor, Esq.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Hereford.			
Almeley, <i>V.</i>	Hereford . .	C. Taylor, D.D.	The Lord Bishop.
Eyton, <i>C.</i>	Hereford . .	Josiah James . .	<i>w.</i> Eye, Vic.
Pencombe, <i>R.</i>	Hereford . .	H. B. Domville . .	Sir C. Domville, Bt. M.P.
Peterchurch, <i>V.</i>	Hereford . .	B. J. Ward . . .	Guy's Hospital.
Pontesbury, third por- } tion, <i>R.</i> }	Salop	W. Vaughan . . .	W. E. Owen, Esq.
Upton Cressett, <i>R.</i> . .	Salop	H. Burton, jun. . .	J. C. Pelham, Esq.
Wigmore, <i>V.</i>	Hereford . .	Jos. Heath . . .	The Lord Bishop.
Lich. & Coventry.			
Brewood, <i>V. with</i> } Featherstone, <i>C.</i> . . }	Stafford . .	A. B. Haden . . .	Dean of Lichfield.
Measham, <i>P. C.</i> . . .	Derby	J. C. Moore . . .	W. Wollaston, Esq.
Lincoln.			
Broughton, <i>R.</i>	Lincoln . . .	H. S. De Brett {	Mrs. De Brett, by her Trustee.
Eastmanstead Che- } neys, <i>R.</i> }	Bucks	{ Rt. Hon. Lord Wm. Russell }	Duke of Bedford.
Friskney, <i>V.</i>	Lincoln . . .	T. W. Booth . . .	W. H. Booth, Esq.
Hoggeston, <i>R.</i>	Bucks	Richard Grape . .	Worcester Coll. Oxon.
Knippton, <i>R.</i>	Leicester . .	L. E. Towne . . .	Duke of Rutland.
Northchurch, <i>R.</i> . . .	Herts	J. H. Seymour . .	The King.
Steppingley, <i>R.</i>	Beds	W. H. Greene . . .	Duke of Bedford.
Woodstone, <i>R.</i>	Hunts	M. C. Tompson . .	Mrs. Tompson.
Woolsthorpe, <i>R.</i> . . .	Lincoln . . .	Wm. Church . . .	Duke of Rutland.
Norwich.			
Beechamwell, St. } John, <i>R.</i> }	Norwich . .	Thomas Walpole .	J. Motteux, Esq.
St. Mary, <i>R.</i>			
Betton, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . . .	J. B. Schomberg .	Lord Bishop.
Beyton, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . . .	Townley Clarkson .	Lord Chancellor.
Eyke, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . . .	W. A. Norton . . .	Earl Stradbroke.
Lynn, West, <i>R.</i>	Norfolk . . .	Jer. Bowen	H. H. Townsend, Esq.
Meton, Little, <i>V.</i> . . .	Norfolk . . .	Aug. Adol. Turnour .	The Lord Bp. by lapse.
Norwich, St. Simon } and St. Jude, <i>R.</i> . . }	Norfolk . . .	C. Holloway . . .	The Lord Bishop.
Oulton, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . . .	Charles Fisher . . .	Rev. G. Anguish.
Twyford, <i>R.</i>	Norfolk . . .	John Spurgeon . . .	Mrs. R. Savory.
Twineham, <i>R.</i>	Sussex . . .	C. Goring	Sir C. F. Goring, Bt.
Wenham, Magna, <i>R.</i> . .	Suffolk . . .	J. Ashby	Rev. G. H. Deane.
Oxford.			
Archdeaconry of	Oxford . . .	Cha. Carr Clerke . .	The Lord Bishop.
Canony of Christ Ch. } in the University of }	Oxford . . .	R. W. Jelf . . . }	The King.
Canony of Christ Ch. } in the University of }	Oxford . . .	J. Bull, D.D. . . }	
Newington, <i>R.</i>	Oxford . . .	James Edwards . .	Archbp. of Canterbury

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Peterborough.			
Brington	Northampton	Henry Rose . .	Rt. Hon. Earl Spencer.
Fletton, R.	Northampton	E. R. Theed . .	Earl Fitzwilliam.
Little Bowden, R. . .	Northampton	John Barlow . .	Rev. J. Barlow.
Staverton, V.	Northampton	J. Bull, D.D. . .	Christ Ch. Oxford.
Rochester.			
Offham	Kent . .	Cecil Hall . .	Lord Chancellor.
Salisbury.			
Box, V.	Wilts . .	Horatio Moule .	Rev. H. Moule.
Chardstock, V. . . .	Dorset . .	E. Woodcock . }	Preb. of Chardstock, in the Cath. Ch.
Huish, R.	Wilts . .	Wm. Bleack . }	Trustees of Froxfield Hospital.
Latton, V. with Eisey, V. }	Wilts . .	H. J. Barton . .	Earl of St. Germans.
Letcomb Bassett, R. .	Berks . .	William Firth . .	Corp. Ch. Coll. Oxford
St. David's.			
Llandefally, V. with Crickadarn, C. . . }	Brecon . .	Thomas James . .	G. P. Watkins.
Preb. in Coll. Ch. of .	Brecon . .	Jeremiah Jackson	The Lord Bishop.
Worcester.			
Preb. Stall in Cath. Ch.	Worcester .	James S. Cocks .	The King.
Eckington, V.	Worcester .	G. H. Deane . .	D. & C. of Westminst.
Evenload, R.	Worcester .	Charles James . .	Mrs. A. James.
Great Wolford, V. . .	Warwick . .	E. H. Estcourt .	Merton Coll. Oxford.
Wellesbourne, V. with Walton Deville, R. }	Warwick . .	Lord C. Paulet .	Lord Chancellor.

CHAPELRIES, &c.

Black, Robert, to be Morning Preacher at the National Society's Chapel, Ely Place, London.

Bonnor, G. to new Chapel, Cheltenham.
Courtney, F. to the Readership of the Rolls.

SCHOOLS.

Cape, William, to the Head Mastership of the Grammar School at Peterborough.
Churton, Edw. to the Head Mastership of Hackney Church-of-England School.
Clarke, W. H. to the Second Mastership of Norwich Grammar School.
Hutchinson, James, to the Head Mas-

tership of King Edward the Sixth's Free Grammar School in Chelmsford.
Irvine, Thomas, to the Mastership of Thornton Grammar School.
Perkins, R. B. to the Head Mastership of Grammar School at Aylesbury, Bucks.

CHAPLAINCIES.

Baines, Edward, Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Buchan.
Bleack, William, Chaplain to Froxfield Hospital, Wilts.
Child, Vicesimus Knox, Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Buchan.
Irvine, Andrew, Chaplain to the Tower.
Jukes, G. M. British Resident Chaplain at Havre.
King, B. Domestic Chaplain to Lord Crewe.

Miliken, Richard, Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Errol.
Peile, T. W. to be Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Westmoreland.
Straton, George W. Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon. Harriett, Dowager Countess of Massereene.
Sumner, Charles Vernon Holme, Chaplain in Ordinary to the King.
Williams, Erasmus H. G. Domestic Chaplain to the Dowager Lady Cawdor.

SCOTLAND.

James Walker, DD. of St. John's College, Cambridge, to the Bishoprick vacated by the decease of Dr. Sandford.

R. Meiklejohn, to the Church and Parish of Strathdon, in the Presbytery of Alford and County of Aberdeen.

ORDAINED.

BANGOR.

Dec. 20.

By the Lord Bishop in the Cathedral.

DEACONS.

Henry Reynolds, M.A. Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford.

John Griffith, B.A. Jesus Col. Oxford.

John Jones, B.A. Trinity Coll. Dublin.

PRIESTS.

John Vaughan Lloyd, B.A. Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford.

Isaac Heathcote Pring, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

John Rowlands, B.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.

BATH AND WELLS.

By the Lord Bishop.

Dec. 13.

DEACONS.

Wm. John Chesshyre, B.A. Balliol College, Oxford.

Rayner Cosens, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Wm. Leslie, M.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

Geo. Meaker Valentine, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Wm. Watts, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

Charles Waymouth, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

Henry Simon Charles Crook, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

W. Routledge, B.A. Trin. Col. Dublin.

BRISTOL.

By the Lord Bishop in the Cathedral.

Jan. 17.

DEACONS.

J. Emra, B.A. Balliol College, Oxford.

J. Aldridge, B.A. Exeter Col. Oxford.

J. C. Young, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

NO. XIV.—APRIL, 1830.

PRIESTS.

H. Moule, B.A. Queen's Col. Oxford.

H. S. Sace, Pembroke College, Oxford.

E. H. Fryer, B.A. Pemb. Col. Oxford.

CHESTER.

By the Lord Bishop in the Cathedral.

Jan. 7.

PRIESTS.

Edward Girdleton, M.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

Wm. James Bordman, M.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

Thomas Tolming, B.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

George Wylie, M.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

Richard Jervis Statham, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

James Sutcliffe, B.A. St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford.

James North, M.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

Francis Drake, M.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

John Robert Readhead, B.A. St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford.

DEACONS.

Wm. Hutton, B.A. Queen's Col. Oxford.

Richard Greenhall, B.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

Cecil Wray, B.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

Henry Holdsworth, B.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

James Lawson, B.A. St. Alban's Hall, Oxford.

E. Hartley Orme, St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.

GLOUCESTER.

By the Lord Bishop in the Cathedral.

Dec. 20.

Frederick Joseph Foxton, B.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

Samuel Henry Whitlock, B.A. St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.

K K

Thomas Rolph, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Robey Eldridge, B.A. Wadham College, Oxford.

Isaac Williams, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

Henry Wybrou, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

Wm. Charles Holder, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Arthur Hill, B.A. Trinity Col. Dublin.

Henry John Hutton, M.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

John Hockin Cartwright, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

Sir George Prevost, Bart. M.A. Oriel College, Oxford.

George Cox, Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

Charles James, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

William Phillips, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Osb. D. Toosey, B.A. Linc. Col. Oxf. }
By Let. Dim. from the Ld. Bish. of Exeter. }

LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY.

By the Lord Bishop, at a General Ordination at Eccleshall.

Dec. 27.

DEACONS.

Tho. Burrows Adams, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

James Bostock, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Horatio Samuel Fletcher, Queen's College, Oxford.

Alfred Hadfield, B.A. St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.

John Hill, B.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

John Smith, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Henry Sneyd, B.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

Joseph Twigger, B.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

William Phillips Vyner, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

William Webb, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Arthur Willis, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

Thomas Furneaux Boddington, B.A. Balliol College, Oxford.

Anthony Thomas Carr, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

John Chell, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Thomas Robert Docker, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

William Fisher, B.A. St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford.

Henry Hervey Franklin, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Wm. Brooke Kempson, M.A. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

James Drummond Money, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Joseph Christian Moore, B.A. St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford.

Edw. Salkeld, B.A. Trin. Col. Camb.

Edward Herbert Smith, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

John Tetley Smith, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

LINCOLN.

By the Lord Bishop, in Christ College Chapel, Cambridge, Dec. 20.

DEACONS.

James Armistead, B.A. Wadham College, Oxford.

Lawrence Armistead, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

Edward Thomas Champnes, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

James Septimus Cox, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

John Kay, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxf.

Thomas Dodds, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Joseph Empson Middleton, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Frederick R. Neeve, B.A. Oriel College, Oxford.

Geo. Jonathan Quarmby, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

Arthur Tozer Russell, S.C.L. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Thomas Storer, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Henry Thomas Stretton, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

Edmund Thomas,
John Watson, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Peregrine Curtois, S.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

Josiah Francis Flavell, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Philip William Ray, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.

William Proctor, S.C.L. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

William Hall Graham, B.A. Exeter College, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

George James Atkinson, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.
 Thomas Ayres, S.C.L. St. John's College, Cambridge.
 Robert Edmund Blackwell, B.A. Catherine Hall, Cambridge.
 Septimus Dawes, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.
 Richard Dennis Hoblyn, M.A. Balliol College, Oxford.
 William Hutchinson King, Catherine Hall, Cambridge.
 Thomas Mills, B.A. Clare Hall, Camb.
 Charles Murray, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.
 Philip Palmer, B.A. Trin. Col. Camb.
 Lord Wriothesly Russell, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.
 Thomas Sutton, B.A. St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford.
 Joseph Taylor, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.
 Thomas Dykes Thorpe, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.
 Matthew Carrier Thompson, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.
 Richard Thomas Welby, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.
 Thomas White, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.
 Charles John Myers, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.
 W. Heard Shelford, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.
 Thomas Walpole, M.A. Balliol College, Oxford.

By the Lord Bishop, in Christ College Chapel, Cambridge, on Sunday, March 7.

DEACONS.

Frederick Arnold, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.
Hon. Lowther John Barrington, M.A. Oriel College, Oxford.
 Daniel Capper, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.
 William Carter, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.
 William Nigel Gresley, B.A. St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.
 James R. Holden, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.
 William Godden Lyall, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.
 Henry Worsley Maudesley, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
 Henry Bentley Metcalfe, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

Claudius Sandys, Queen's College, Cam.
 Charles Frederick Bagshawe, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
 From the Bish. of Lichf. & Coventry.
 Edward Bird, B.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.
 From the Bishop of Chester.
 Frederick Elwes, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.
 From the Bishop of Ely.
 Henry Griffin, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.
 From the Bishop of Winchester.
 David Herbert Thackeray Griffies Williams, B.A. St. John's Coll. Cam.
 From the Bishop of St. David's.

PRIESTS.

Thomas Willingham Booth, B.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.
 Geo. Colman, B.A. Christ's Col. Camb.
 Edward Greaves, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
 David Fulford Harridge, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.
 William Hopwood, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.
 Hen. Hutton, B.A. Queen's Col. Camb.
 John Edmund Johnson, S.C.L. St. John's College, Cambridge.
 Thomas Burne Lancaster, B.A. Merton College, Oxford.
 William Parker Perry, B.A. Wadham College, Oxford.
 William Christopher Purton, B.A. Sidney College, Cambridge.
 Christopher Whichcote, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.
 Henry John Wollaston, B.A. Sidney College, Cambridge.
 Benjamin Hall Kennedy, B.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.
 From the Bishop of Ely.

WORCESTER.

By the Lord Bishop, in the Chapel of the Palace, on Tuesday, Feb. 2, the following gentlemen were ordained Priests.
 John Foley, B.A. Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.
 Patrick Murray Smythe, M.A. Christ Church, Oxford.
 Hugh Matthie, B.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.
 John Vernon, M.A. Worcester College, Oxford.
Hon. Lord Charles Paulet, M.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.
 Richard Foley, M.A. Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

DECEASED.

On Thursday, January 21, at the Palace of St. Asaph, after a few days illness, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, the Right Reverend JOHN LUXMOORE, D. D. F. S. A. LORD BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH; consecrated Bishop of Bristol, 1807, translated to Hereford, 1808, and to St. Asaph, 1815.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Canterbury.			
Hadleigh, R. . . .	Suffolk . .	E.A.H.Drummond	} The Archbishop.
Langdon, East, R.	Kent . . .	Thos. Dellanoy	
Newington, R. . . .	Oxford . .	Phineas Pett, D.D.	
York.			
Clifton, R.	Notts . .	Wm. Clifton . .	Sir R. Clifton, Bt.
Farlington, P. C. and } Marton, P. C. . . . }	N. York . .	Major Dawson .	The Archbishop.
Fenton Kirk, V. and } Sherburn, V. . . . }	W. York . .	Wm. Molineux }	Preb. of Fenton in Cath. Ch. of York.
Preb. in Cath. Church } of Southwell . . . }	Notts . . }	Henry Watkins	The Archbishop. Southwell Coll. Ch. The Archbishop.
Preb. in Cath. Church of } Baruldborough, V. and }	York . . }		
Conisborough, V. . }	W. York . }		
Preb. in Cath. Church of } and Preb. in Coll. }	York . . }	E.A.H.Drummond	The Archbishop.
Ch. of Southwell . }	Notts . . }		
(And Chap. in Ord. to his Majesty.)			
Ripponden, C. . . .	W. York . .	Robert Webster	Vic. of Halifax.
London.			
Colchester, Holy Trin. R.	Essex . .	Thomas Tanner .	Balliol Coll. Oxford.
Great Baddow, V. and } Woodham Mortimer, R. . . . }	Essex . .	A. Colin Bullen }	Rev. H. C. Bullen. A. Bullen, Esq.
Little Parndon, R. . .	Essex . .	Nash Kemble .	W. Smith, Esq.
Stanway, R.	Essex . .	Walter Birch .	Magd. Coll. Oxford.
St. Albans, St. Stephen, } V. and }	Herts . .	F. H. Barker . }	Alfred Fisher, Esq. King as Pr. of Wales.
Northchurch, R. . . }			

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Winchester.			
Chilbolton, R. . . .	Hants . .	Phineas Pett, D.D.	The Lord Bishop.
Dogmersfield, R. . .	Hants . .	T. Cockayne, D.D.	Lady Mildmay.
Fifield, R.	Hants . .	John Hughes .	Lord Chancellor.
Somborne, Kings, V. }	Hants . .	Richard Taylor .	Sir C. Mill, Bt.
—— Little, C. }			
with Stockbridge, C. }	Hants . .	L. Iremonger . }	The Lord Bishop. J. Iremonger, Esq.
Preb. in Cath. Church, }			
Goodworth Clatford, }			
V. and Wherwell, }			
Preb. Sin. }			
Bangor.			
Aber, R. and }	Carnarvon }	Owen Reynolds }	R.B.W. Bulkeley, Esq. The Lord Bishop.
Clocaenog, R. . . }	Denbigh . }		
Bath and Wells.			
Sampford Brett, V. .	Somerset .	T. Tanner . . .	Mr. Tanner.
Chester.			
Malpas, R. and }	Chester . .	Sir P. G. Egerton, Bt. . . }	Mrs. Egerton. Rev. Sir P. G. Egerton, Bt.
Tarporley, R. . . }			
Minor Can. in Cath. }	Chester . .	Wm. Molineux .	
Ch. of }			
Chichester.			
Dean. of Cath. Church }	Sussex . .	Samuel Slade . }	The King. Dn. & Ch. of Chichester. Earl of Thanet.
Felpham, Sin. R. and }			
Hardfield, R. . . }			
Ely.			
Conington, R. . . .	Cambridge .	Thomas Brown .	The Lord Bishop.
Orwell, R.	Cambridge .	J. H. Renouard .	Trinity Coll. Camb
Exeter.			
Butterleigh, R. . . .	Devon . .	J. Thomas Grant	Lord Chancellor.
Cullumpton, V. . . .	Devon . .	John Templer .	Rev. W. Gray.
Gloucester.			
Avening, R. and }	Gloucester .	T. Brooks, LLD. }	Rev. Dr. Brooks. Thomas Brooks, Esq. W. Rawlins, Esq. Rev. Wm. Rumney.
Horton, R. }			
Dorsington, R. . . .			
Swindon, R.	Gloucester .	Wm. Rumney .	

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Hereford.			
Almeley, <i>V.</i>	Hereford .	William Owen .	The Lord Bishop.
Humber, <i>R.</i>	Hereford .	Francis Coleman	Lord Chancellor.
Lyddham, <i>R.</i>	Salop . .	Herbert Oakeley	Rev. H. Oakeley.
Pontesbury, third portion, <i>R.</i>	Salop . .	John Wilde . .	W. E. Owen, Esq.
Wigmore, <i>V.</i> with Leinthal Starks, <i>C.</i> }	Hereford .	David Williams .	The Lord Bishop.
Lich. & Coventry.			
Kemberton, <i>R.</i> with Sutton Maddock, <i>V.</i> }	Salop . . }	Richard Slaney }	Pet. Broughton, &c.
Penkridge, <i>P. C.</i> with Coppenhall Hay, <i>C.</i> }	Stafford . }		Lord Lyttelton.
Dunston, <i>C.</i> and Woodbaston, <i>C.</i> }			
Lichfield, St. Chad, <i>C.</i> }			
—— St. Mary, <i>V.</i> }			
—— St. Michael, <i>C.</i> }	Stafford . .	J. B. Proby . }	Dn. & Ch. of Lichfield.
with Statfold, <i>C.</i> }			
and Brewood, <i>V.</i> }			Dean of Litchfield.
with Featherstone, <i>C.</i> }			
Measham, <i>P. C.</i> . . .	Derby . .	Thomas Buckley	W. Wollaston, Esq.
Lincoln.			
Chalfont, St. Peter's, <i>V.</i>	Bucks . .	J. Stuart Freeman	St. John's Coll. Oxf.
Leicester, St. Leon, <i>V.</i> }	Lincoln . .	T. Burnaby . }	Preb. of St. Marg.
and St. Marg. <i>V.</i> . }			Leicest. in Linc. Cath.
Northchurch, <i>R.</i> . . .	Herts . .	F. H. Barker . }	King as Pr. of Wales.
Padbury, <i>V.</i> and Hillesden, <i>P. C.</i> }	Bucks . .	William Eyre . }	Lord Chancellor.
Rand, <i>R.</i> with Fulnetby, <i>C.</i> . . }	Lincoln . .	Major Dawson	Christ Ch. Oxford.
Steppingley, <i>R.</i> . . .	Beds . .	F. H. Barker .	H. Hudson, Esq.
Tilbrook, <i>R.</i>	Beds . .	N. Kerr . . .	Duke of Bedford.
			Lord St. John.
Norwich.			
Belton, <i>R.</i> and North Repps, <i>R.</i> }	Suffolk . }	T. Hay, D. D. . }	The Lord Bishop.
Bredfield Combust, <i>R.</i>	Norfolk . }	R. Kedington .	Chan. of Duchy of Lan.
Dalham, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . .	E. A. H. Drummond	Rev. H. Hasted.
Norwich, St. Simon & St. Jude, <i>R.</i> . . . }	Norwich .	E. J. W. Valpy .	Sir J. Affleck, Bt.
Trimley, St. Martin, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . .	Jos. Julian . .	The Lord Bishop.
West Lyn, <i>R.</i>	Norfolk . .	John Parson . .	Rev. J. Julian.
			H. H. Townsend, Esq.
Oxford.			
Archdeaconry and Canonry in Christ Ch. }	Oxford . .	Phineas Pett, D.D.	The Lord Bishop.
Clifton, <i>P. C.</i>	Oxford . .	George Powell .	Miss Noyes.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Peterborough.			
Fletton, R.	Northampton	J. J. Lowe . .	Earl Fitzwilliam.
Little Bowden, R. . .	Northampton	T. Reynolds . .	Mr. & Mrs. Brockett.
Staverton, V.	Northampton	Samuel Slade .	Christ Ch. Oxford.
Rochester.			
Leigh, near Lyghe, V. .	Kent . .	Nathaniel May .	Rev. N. May.
Salisbury.			
Kevil, V. and Wanborough, V. }	Wilts . .	Lasc. Iremonger	Dn. & Ch. of Winton.
Ryme, R.	Dorset . .	William Owen }	The King as Prince of Wales.
Preb. in Cath. Church	Salisbury .	Phineas Pett, D.D.	The Lord Bishop.
Stangford Dingley, R.	Berks . .	E. J. W. Valpy .	Rev. E. Valpy, D.D.
Stanton St. Barnard, V.	Wilts . .	Walter Birch .	Earl of Pembroke.
Welford, R. with Wick- ham, St. Swithin, C. }	Berks . .	Henry Sawbridge	Rev. H. Sawbridge.
Wilsford, V. with Woodford All Saints, V. }	Wilts . .	William Roots }	Preb. of Wilsford and Woodford in Cath. Church.
St. David's.			
Preb. in Cath. Ch. and Kerry, V. }	Montgomery	John Jenkins .	The Lord Bishop.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of St. David's, and Lampeter, R. and Llandery Welfrey, } V. with Crinow, C. }	Cardigan }	William Morgan	The Lord Bishop.
	Pembroke }		
			Lord Chancellor.

Name.	Residence or Appointment.
Belcher, A. F.	Chinsurah, Bengal.
Bradford, R.	Newton Abbot, Devon.
Dwarris, C. A.	Everton, Bedfordshire.
Glover, Bright	Jersey.
Mildmay, Charles St. John .	Boulogne.
Myddleton, W. P.	Chaplain to Worcester County Goal.
Prince, Thomas, D. D. . . .	Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.
Purton, W. C.	Curate of Nailstone, Warwickshire.
Row, W.	Chaplain of the Shannon Frigate.
Scott, Albriet	Leiston, Suffolk.
Shuttleworth, R.	Bath, Somerset.
Stoddard, Charles	Ashford.
Street, T.	Curate of Lyncombe and Widcombe, Somerset.
Veel, P.	Curate of Boxwell and Leighterton, Gloucester.
Weston, Stephen	London.
Wingfield, Edward John . . .	Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE UNIVERSITIES.

OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JANUARY TO MARCH INCLUSIVE.

DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

Jan. 21.

The venerable Samuel Butler, Archdeacon of Derby, and D.D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, was admitted to an *ad eundem* degree in this University.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

Jan. 14.

W. Burge, Wadham Col. Grand Comp.
Rev. R. D. Cartwright, Queen's Coll.
Rev. Charles Parker, Queen's College.
Rev. George Wood, Lincoln College.
Thomas Gladstone, Christ Church.
Rev. John Wordsworth, New College.
Rev. Wm. Hen. Parson, Magdalen Hall.
Rev. Thos. Sanderson, Magdalen Hall.

Jan. 21.

Rev. Peter Hall, Brasenose College.
Rev. H. Thorpe, Fellow of St. John's College.

Jan. 28.

Rev. Henry Wm. Maddock, Fellow of Brasenose College.
Rev. George Landon, Worcester Coll.
Rev. Thomas L. Wheeler, Scholar of Worcester College.
Rev. Henry Spencer Markham, Christ Church.
Rev. Philip Henry Nind, Christ Ch.

Feb. 4.

Rev. Thomas Dawson Hudson, Exeter College.

Feb. 11.

Rev. Robert Isham, Brasenose Coll.
Rev. Charles Wools, Pembroke College.
Lawrence Eberall Judge, New College.
Rev. John Atkins, Worcester College.
Rev. John Poulett M'Ghie, Queen's College.

Feb. 18.

Edmund Dawson Legh, Balliol College, Grand Compounder.
Robert Evans, Fellow of Jesus Coll.
Rev. Charles Williams, Fellow of Jesus College.
Rev. Isaac Smith Litchfield, Trinity College.

March 4.

John Barneby, Christ Church, Grand Compounder.
Rev. Wm. Tomkins, Jesus College.
Rev. John Henry Turbitt, Scholar of Worcester College.
Rev. Joseph Berry King, Exeter Coll.
John Burton, Magdalen Hall, incorporated from Trinity College, Dublin.

March 11.

Rev. Thomas Boddington, Balliol Coll.

March 18.

Rev. Robert T. Pilgrim, Trinity Coll.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

Jan. 21.

C. R. Littledale, Student of Christ Ch.
W. E. Page, Student of Christ Church.
Frederick Biscoe, Student of Christ Ch.
John Robert Hall, Student of Christ Church.
Henry Partington, Student of Christ Church.
John Dryden Pigott, Christ Church.
Matthewman Manduell, Queen's Coll.
Thomas Tyssen Bazely, Queen's Coll.

Jan. 28.

John Thomas Ord, Exeter Coll. Grand Compounder.
Charles Robert Carter Petley, St. John's College.
Henry Edward Knatchbull, Scholar of Wadham College.

At the same time Thomas Paddon, Esq. sometime Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, was admitted *ad eundem*.

Feb. 4.

Robert Morris, Christ Church, Grand Compounder.

William Cooper, Lincoln College.

Christopher Richardson, Exeter Coll.

Thomas F. H. Bridge, Christ Church.

Charles P. Eden, Oriel College.

Daniel Vawdrey, Brasenose College.

Feb. 11.

Thomas Need, University College.

George Neale Barrow, University Coll.

Sidney Godolphin Osborne, Brasenose College.

James Arthur Dunnage, Brasenose College.

George Robertson Edwards, Brasenose College.

Thomas Freeman, Brasenose College.

Henry Sims, Exhibitioner of Pembroke College.

Edmund May, Worcester College.

William John Phillpotts, Oriel College.

Edward Parker, Oriel College.

Edward Ashe, Balliol College.

John Smith, Queen's College.

George Philips, Queen's College.

Feb. 18.

Edward Hussey, Christ Church, Grand Compounder.

Salisbury Humphreys, Brasenose Coll.

Arthur George Palk, Christ Church.

Horatio Samuel Fletcher, Queen's Coll.

John Bugden, Trinity College.

John Reed Munn, Worcester College.

March 4.

John Williamson, New College.

George Madan, Student of Christ Ch.

March 11.

Montagu Edmond Parker, Oriel Coll.

BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW, (*by commutation.*)

Jan. 28.

Charles Barker, Trinity College.

March 18.

Samuel Bush Toller, Trinity College.

BACHELOR IN MEDICINE, (*with Licence to practise.*)

March 11.

John Burton, Magdalen Hall.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

December 20.

Mr. George Edwards Heathcote has been admitted Actual Fellow of New College.

December 22.

Rev. John Menzies, M.A. and Scholar of Corpus Christi College, has been admitted Probationary Fellow of that Society.

Jan. 22.

Messrs. George Cox and Thomas Broadley Fooks, Scholars of New College, were admitted Fellows of that Society.

Jan. 27.

In a Convocation, Wm. Rosser Williams, Esq. M.A. and Michel Fellow of Queen's, was unanimously elected to the Vinerian Fellowship, vacant by the marriage of the Hon. Philip Henry Abbot.

Jan. 28.

James Adey Ogle, M.D. F.R.S. of Trinity College, has been unanimously elected, in Convocation, to the Clinical Professorship, on the Foundation of the late Lord Litchfield, vacant by the death of Dr. Bourne.

Feb. 11.

A Convocation was holden, for the purpose of electing a Scholar on Mr. Viner's Foundation, in the room of Mr. Williams, lately elected a Fellow on the same Foundation. At the close of the poll the numbers were,

For Mr. Giles, Scholar of Corpus . . . 94

Mr. Whatley, Michel Exhibitioner of Queen's 76

Mr. Ormerod, Hulme's Exhibitioner of Brasenose 36

Feb. 15.

On Saturday last Mr. George Clark and Mr. Henry Barry Domville, Commoners of University College, were elected Scholars on Sir Simon Bennet's Foundation in that Society.

March 3.

The election of Proctors for the ensuing year took place at the respective Colleges determined by the Procuratorial Cycle, and the names of the gentlemen appointed were formally announced to the Vice-Chancellor. The Proctors elect are, the Rev. Joseph Dornford, M.A. Fellow of Oriel College, and the Rev. Thos. Townson Churton, M.A. Fellow of Brasenose College.

March 4.

In Congregation, the Rev. William Hayward Cox, M.A. Michel Fellow of Queen's College, and the Rev. John Williams, M.A. Student of Christ Church, were nominated Public Examiners in *Literis Humanioribus*; and on March 11 were respectively submitted to the House, and approved.

March 18.

In Convocation this day it was agreed to accept a Benefaction contained in the will of the late Mrs. Kennicott, for the foundation of two Scholarships, to promote the study of Hebrew Literature.

The Examiners appointed to elect a Scholar on the Foundation of Dean Ireland, have announced to the Vice-Chancellor the election of Peter Samuel Henry Payne, Scholar of Balliol College.

Sir Charles Wetherell, M.A. of Magdalen College, is appointed Counsel to the University, in the room of John Bernard Bosanquet, M.A. of Christ Church, promoted to the Bench of Judges.

The following gentlemen have been elected Students of Christ Church; the first four from Westminster:—Mr. Ralph Barnes, Mr. Alexander John Sutherland, Mr. Stephen Fox Strangways, Mr. Wm. Archibald Biscoe, Mr. William Ewart Gladstone, Hon. Charles John Canning, Mr. Mayow Wynall Mayow, Mr. Richard Steele, Mr. William Edward Jelf.

Mr. Robert Jackson has been admitted a Scholar of New College.

A Summary of the Members of the University, January, 1830:—

	Members of Convocation.	Members on the Books.
1. University.....	110	218
2. Balliol.....	100	248
3. Merton.....	64	127
4. Exeter.....	123	288
5. Oriel.....	159	298
6. Queen's.....	164	351
7. New.....	66	153
8. Lincoln.....	67	142
9. All Souls.....	68	100
10. Magdalen.....	131	167
11. Brasennose.....	225	403
12. Corpus.....	81	132
13. Christ Church.....	442	922
14. Trinity.....	105	260
15. St. John's.....	129	219
16. Jesus.....	57	181
17. Wadham.....	83	214
18. Pembroke.....	84	195
19. Worcester.....	91	222
20. St. Mary Hall.....	41	86
21. Magdalen Hall.....	59	184
22. New Inn Hall.....	1	1
23. St. Alban Hall.....	8	43
24. St. Edmund Hall....	52	105
	<hr/> 2510	<hr/> 5259
Matriculations.....		426
Regents.....		220
Determining Bachelors in Lent....		282

CAMBRIDGE.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JANUARY TO MARCH INCLUSIVE.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

Feb. 18.

Rev. E. Swanton Bunting, Fell. of Clare Hall.

Feb. 26.

Rev. Frederick Parry, St. John's Coll.

DOCTOR IN PHYSIC.

Feb. 10.

Wm. Joseph Bayne, Trin. Coll.

HON. MASTERS OF ARTS.

Feb. 10.

The Marq. of Douro, Trin. Coll.
Hon. Gerard Wellesley, Trin. Coll.
John Thomas Wharton, Trin. Coll.

Feb. 26.

Lord Arthur Charles Hervey, Trin. Coll.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

Feb. 10.

Rev. Samuel T. Townsend, Trin. Coll.
Henniker P. Roberts, Magdalen Coll.
Rev. W. Tremeneere, Pemb. Coll.

Feb. 26.

Edw. Carlton Cumberbatch, Trin. Coll.
Rev. John Crabb Warren, Sidney Coll.
(Comp.)

Mar. 10.

Joseph Place, St. John's Coll.

BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.

Feb. 10.

Rev. Harry A. Small, Downing Coll.
Rev. John Beck, Queen's Coll.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

Feb. 10.

Inigo Wm. Jones, Trin. Coll.
Edmund Carrington, St. John's Coll.
Frederick Cha. Crick, St. John's Coll.
John Medows Rodwell, Caius Coll.
Robert Jackson, Emmanuel Coll.

Feb. 24.

Thomas Sunderland, Trin. Coll.
John Mitchell Kemble, Trin. Coll.
Thomas Greenwood, Trin. Coll.
Edward Vaux, Trin. Coll.
Samuel Shields, John's Coll.
William Bryan Killock, St. Peter's Coll.
John Wylde, Corpus Christi Coll.
Francis B. Briggs, Queen's Coll.
George Harrison, Catherine Hall.
Henry John Whitfield, Magdalen Coll.

Mar. 10.

Henry H. Luscombe, Clare Hall.
William Cook Charriere, Christ Coll.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY
INTELLIGENCE.*Jan. 15.*

Thomas Scott, Esq. B. A. of Queen's College, has been elected a Foundation Fellow of that Society; and Frederick Dusautoy, Esq. B. A. of Queen's College, a Fellow on Mr. Edward's Foundation.

Feb. 10.

The following Graces passed the Senate:—

To affix the University seal to a letter of thanks to the Hon. East India Company, for a valuable collection of dried plants, presented by them to the Botanical Museum.

To appoint Professor Henslow Pro-Proctor, in the room of Mr. Dawes, who has resigned from ill health.

To affix the seal to petitions to both houses of Parliament, against the following clause in an Act of the session of Parliament, of the seventh and eighth of his present Majesty, entitled, "An Act to amend the Acts for building and promoting the building of additional Churches in populous parishes:"—

"And be it further enacted, that when any person or persons shall, to the satisfaction of the said Commissioners, endow

any Chapel built, or hereafter to be built, by such person or persons, with some permanent provision in land or monies in the funds exclusively, or in addition to the pew-rents or other profits arising from the said Chapel, such endowment to be settled and assured as the said Commissioners shall authorise and direct, it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners to declare that the right of nominating a Minister to the

said Chapel, shall for ever thereafter be in the person or persons building and endowing the said Chapel, his, her, or their heirs and assigns, or in such person or persons as he, she, or they shall appoint, and notwithstanding no compensation or endowment may be made to or for the benefit of the Minister of the Church of the parish within which such Chapel may be built."

BACHELOR'S COMMENCEMENT PAPER.—January 23, 1830.

Those gentlemen whose names are preceded by an asterisk have one or more terms to keep previous to being ADMITTED to their degrees, although they passed their examination in the following order of arrangement.

WRANGLERS.

1 Whitley, Joh.	15 Whall, Emm.	29 Tayler, Trin.
2 Heavyside, Sid.	16 Urquhart, Magd.	30 Tucker, Pet.
3 Steventon, C. C.	17 Ponsonby, Trin.	31 Bailey, Clare
4 Pritchard, Joh.	18 Walker, Joh.	32 Barton, Joh.
5 Rangeley, Qu.	19 Pearson, Trin.	33 Banks, Joh.
6 Pullen, C. C.	20 Steel, Trin.	34 Dunnington, Joh.
7 Herbert, Joh.	21 Raimbach, Sid.	35 Hebert, Trin.
8 Walker, Trin.	22 Buston, Emm.	36 Gibson, } Trin.
9 Birkbeck, Trin.	23 Tate, Trin.	37 Powell, } Chr.
10 Dalton, Qu.	24 Chapman, C. C.	38 Foster, Tr. H.
11 Kuhff, Cath.	25 Mann, Trin.	39 Wall, Cai.
12 Robins, Magd.	26 Jackson, Cai.	40 Yardley, Magd.
13 Molineux, Clare.	27 Heath, } Trin.	
14 Walsh, C. C.	28 Maynard, } Cai.	

SENIOR OPTIMES.

1 Myers, Trin.	13 England, Pemb.	25 Edkins, Trin.
2 Gibson, Chr.	14 Wordsworth, Trin.	26 Wood, Trin.
3 Snow, Joh.	15 Jay, Cai.	27 Watkins, Emm.
4 Dowell, Pet.	16 Lawes, Joh.	28 Wilkinson, Trin.
5 Jadis, C. C.	17 Simpson, Cath.	29 Merivale, Joh.
6 Fletcher, Pet.	18 Fawcett, Pet.	30 U. Smith, Trin.
7 Hodgkinson, Joh.	19 Dalton, Pemb.	31 Hilton, Trin.
8 Bird, } Joh.	20 Mosley, Trin.	32 Lister, Cath.
9 Desborough, } Emm.	21 Hoare, Trin.	33 Todd, Trin.
10 Cook, Trin.	22 Parrington, Chr.	34 Cosway, Qu.
11*Sanders, Trin.	23 Clarke, Joh.	35 Humfrey, Down
12 Hobson, Joh.	24 J. Smith, Trin.	

JUNIOR OPTIMES.

1 Frere, Trin.	8 Roberts, Trin.	15 Hore, Qu.
2 Hill, Joh.	9 Drake, Clare	16 Coates, Jes.
3 Burcham, Trin.	10 Pickering, Trin.	17 Carter, Qu.
4 Thomas, Joh.	11 Armytage, Joh.	18 Prior, Qu.
5 Cory, Pet.	12 Foster, Magd.	19 Dwyer, C. C.
6*Dolling, Trin.	13 Sunderland, Cai.	20 Reade, Joh.
7 Ingram, Jes.	14 Marsh, Joh.	

* Hill, Clare	* King, Cath.	* Rodwell, Cai.
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ÆGROT.

Brown, Joh.	*Crick, Joh.	*Jackson, Emm.	Travis, Trin.
-------------	--------------	----------------	---------------

1 Ewbank,	Chr.	57 Newall,	Qu.	113*Perry,	Trin.
2 Orde,	Qu.	58*Sanders,	Qu.	114 Thorpe,	Cath.
3 Elliott,	C. C.	59 Johns,	Joh.	115 C. Smith,	Trin.
4*Brown,	Qu.	60 Wells,	C. C.	116 Carter,	Chr.
5 Illingworth,	Trin.	61*Hon. A.Phipps,	Trin.	117 Ravenhill,	Trin.
6 Arkwright,	Trin.	62 Terry,	Joh.	118 Day,	C. C.
7 Thomas,	Trin.	63 Stainforth,	Qu.	119*West,	Jes.
8 Brogden,	Trin.	64 Leighton,	Trin.	120*Biscoe,	Qu.
9 Moody,	Joh.	65 Fosbrooke,	Cl.	121 Pinney,	Trin.
10 Ramshay,	Trin.	66 Green,	C. C.	122*Wilmer,	Chr.
11 Carey,	Trin.	67 Green,	Qu.	123 Walton,	Pemb.
12 Gardner,	Joh.	68 Vaughan,	Cai.	124*Waller,	Qu.
13*Carrow,	Trin.	69 Davies,	Trin.	125 Drawbridge,	Qu.
14 J. Wilson,	Trin.	70 Rhodes,	Trin.	126*Nunn,	Jes.
15*Hill,	Clare	71 Rodgers,	Trin.	127 Boyer,	Emm.
16 Whiting,	Chr.	72 Rose,	Joh.	128*Dudley,	Cath.
17 Johnson,	Cath.	73 Buller,	Trin.	129 Feilde,	Pet.
18*Walker,	Tr. H.	74 Colquhoun,	Trin.	130 Blathwayte,	C. C.
19*Barker,	Jes.	75 Roberts,	C. C.	131 Richardson,	Trin.
20*Sunderland,	Trin.	76 Bland,	Cai.	132 Hovenden,	Trin.
21 Farr,	Joh.	77 Bass,	Trin.	133 Downe,	C. C.
22 Skipper,	Emm.	78 Heath,	C. C.	134 Winthrop,	Joh.
23 Dainty,	Cath.	79*Sandys,	Qu.	135 Hervey,	Joh.
24 Davies,	Sid.	80 Beckwith,	Jes.	136 Gaskin,	C. C.
25 Neville,	Trin.	81 Smith,	Chr.	137 Hose,	Qu.
26 Jonas,	Clare	82 Wright,	Pemb.	138 Fitzroy,	Magd.
27 Thorp,	Jes.	83 Crofts,	Cath.	139 Simpson,	Chr.
28 Colley,	Joh.	84 Lockwood,	Magd.	140 D. Cooper,	Trin.
29 Harvey,	Pet.	85 Arnold,	Qu.	141 Langton,	Magd.
30 Morgan,	Joh.	86*Frazer,	Pet.	142 Stocker,	Qu.
31*E. N. Cooper,	Trin.	87*Evans,	Qu.	143*Carrington,	Joh.
32 Evans,	Joh.	88 Gambier,	Trin.	144 Shackelford,	Qu.
33 Weigall,	Qu.	89 Babington,	Joh.	145 Jackson,	Qu.
34 Ramsay,	Clare	90 Black,	Trin.	146 Jackson,	Magd.
35*Lord A. Hervey,	Trin.	91 T. Wilson,	Trin.	147*S. Longhurst,	Qu.
36 Borton,	Cai.	92*Darby,	Pet.	148*Sheild,	Joh.
37 Birnie,	Trin.	93 Bagshawe,	C. C.	149*Wright,	Qu.
38 Whitmore,	Chr.	94 Robinson,	Jes.	150*Tomkins,	Cath.
39*Leah,	Qu.	95 Hall,	Chr.	151 Codrington,	Joh.
40 Corles,	Trin.	96 Hanford,	C. C.	152 Davey,	Cath.
41 Eley,	Pet.	97 Layng,	Sid.	153 Uthwatt,	Joh.
42*Lewis,	Magd.	98 Millett,	C. C.	154 Barnard,	Emm.
43*Rees,	Joh.	99 Hookins,	Tr. H.	155 Cattley,	Qu.
44 Francis,	Joh.	100*Powell,	Trin.	156 Norris,	Qu.
45 Evans,	C. C.	101*Liardett,	Qu.	157*Briggs,	Qu.
46 Greenwood,	Jes.	102*Bealby,	Cath.		
47 Woodward,	Trin.	103 Kirkpatrick,	Pet.		
48 Herbert,	Cai.	104 Fawcett,	Chr.		
49 Hewson,	Joh.	105 Le Gros,	Down	*Atkinson,	Joh.
50*Izon,	Pemb.	106 Fitzgerald,	Trin.	Burton,	Trin.
51 Jackson,	Chr.	107 Straghan,	Cath.	Choppin,	Joh.
52 Freeman,	C. C.	108 Barnes,	Pemb.	Hunter,	Trin.
53 Brown,	Emm.	109*Marsh,	Qu.	*Parkinson,	Jes.
54 Hall,	Clare.	110 Rokeby,	Down	*Paul,	Qu.
55 Duncan,	Trin.	111 Batey,	C. C.	Wade,	Jes.
56 Holroyd,	Chr.	112*Coney,	Clare	*Wharton,	Trin.

ÆGROT.

Buckson,	Trin.	Richardson,	Joh.	Walford,	Trin.
Quayle,	Trin.	Trimmer,	Magd.		

* The gentlemen in brackets were equal.

Previously examined, and now admitted.

Wood,	Qu.	Calvert,	Qu.	Upjohn,	Qu.
Robinson,	Chr.	Reid,	Trin.		

George Thackeray, Esq., Fellow of King's College, was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts at the same time.

CLASSICAL TRIPOS, 1830.

FIRST CLASS.

Ds. Wordsworth,	Trin.	Ds. Merivale,	Joh.	Ds. Tacker,	Pet.
Steel,	Trin.	Wilkinson,	Trin.	Clarke,	Joh.
Burcham,	Trin.	Ld. A. Hervey,	Trin.	Hebert,	Trin.

SECOND CLASS.

Ds. Marsh,	Joh.	Ds. Tate,	Trin.	Ds. Roberts,	Trin.
Watkins,	Emm.	Heath,	Trin.	Armytage,	Joh.
Mann,	Trin.	Dalton,	Pemb.	Baily,	Clare.
Todd,	Trin.	Frere,	Trin.	Coates,	Jes.
Urquhart,	Magd.	Whitley,	Joh.		

THIRD CLASS.

Ds. Thomas,	Joh.	Ds. Reade,	Joh.	Ds. Wood,	Trin.
Myers,	Trin.	Simpson,	Ca. H.		

February 21.

Chas. Rann Kennedy, of Trinity Coll. was elected University Scholar, on the Pitt foundation, vacated by the resignation of his brother, the Rev. B. H. Kennedy, Fellow of St. John's College.

February 14.

Henry Edward Vallency, Scholar of King's College, was admitted a Fellow of that Society.

February 26.

A grace to the following effect passed the Senate:—

To appoint a Syndicate to ascertain what funds the University has at its disposal, and that no proceedings about the library, &c. should take place until the Syndicate had made their report.

To re-appoint a Syndicate to consider of the best means of removing the Botanic Garden; and to report to the Senate before the end of the next term.

March 3.

The Rev. Philip Booth, M.A. of Corpus Christi College, was elected Fellow of the same College, on the foundation of Archbishop Parker.

March 11.

The Rev. Richard Abbott, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, was elected a senior of

that society in the room of the late Rev. J. H. Renouard.

Lord George Thynne, son of the Marquis of Bath, has been admitted of St. Peter's College.

The following will be the subjects of examination in the last week of the Lent Term, 1831:—

1. The Acts of the Apostles.
2. Paley's Evidences of Christianity.
3. The Prometheus of Æschylus.
4. The Fifth Book of the Histories of Tacitus.

COMBINATION PAPER, 1830.

PRIOR COMB.

- | | | |
|------|-----|----------------------|
| Jan. | 3. | Mr. E. Wilson, Cath. |
| | 10. | Mr. Brett, Corp. |
| | 17. | Mr. Fowke, Cai. |
| | 24. | Coll. Regal. |
| | 31. | Coll. Trin. |
| Feb. | 7. | Coll. Joh. |
| | 14. | Mr. Law, Pet. |
| | 21. | Mr. Fry, Regin. |
| | 28. | Mr. Punnett, Clar. |
| Mar. | 7. | Mr. Drake, Emm. |
| | 14. | Coll. Regal. |
| | 21. | Coll. Trin. |
| | 28. | Coll. Joh. |
| Apr. | 4. | Mr. Porter, Chr. |
| | 11. | FEST. PASCH. |
| | 18. | Mr. Backhouse, Clar. |

Apr. 25. Mr. Gore, Emm.
 Mai. 3. Coll. Regal.
 9. Coll. Trin.
 16. Coll. Joh.
 23. Mr. Paley, Pet.
 30. FEST. PENTEC.
 Jun. 6. Mr. Sewell, Sid.
 13. Mr. Foley, Emm.
 20. Coll. Regal.
 27. Coll. Trin.
 Jul. 4. COMM. BENEF.
 11. Coll. Joh.
 18. Mr. Adcock, Pet.
 25. Mr. Birch, Cath.

POSTER. COMB.

Jan. 1. FEST. CIRC. Mr. G. Clive, Joh.
 3. Mr. Thirlwall, Trin.
 6. FEST. EPIPH. Mr. White, Jes.
 10. Mr. Brown, Regin.
 17. Mr. G. C. Wilson, jun. Trin.
 24. Mr. Dugmore, Cai.
 25. CONV. ST. PAUL. Mr. Hopkin-
 son, Clar.
 31. Mr. Harrison, Jes.
 Feb. 2. FEST. PURIF. Mr. Monson, Trin.
 7. Mr. Dewe, Joh.
 14. Mr. Williamson, Clar.
 21. Mr. E. H. G. Williams, Joh.
 24. FEST. S. MATTH. DIES CINE-
 RUM. CONCIO AD CLERUM.
 28. Mr. Todd, Joh.
 Mar. 7. Mr. Gwyther, Trin.
 14. Mr. Thompson, Pemb.
 21. Mr. Jones, Trin.
 25. FEST. { Mr. C. G. Wilkinson, Jo.
 ANNUN. } Mr. D'Arblay, Chr.
 28. Mr. Symonds, Joh.
 Apr. 4. Mr. H. Hatch, Regal.
 9. PASS. DOMINI. Mr. Smith, Regal.
 11. FEST. PASCH. Mr. Pickford, Regin.
 12. Fer. 1ma. Mr. Hallewell, Chr.
 13. Fer. 2da. Mr. Fisher, Trin.
 18. Mr. Gul. H. Roberts, Regal.
 25. Mr. Russell, Joh.
 Mai. 1. FEST. SS. PHIL. et JAC. Mr.
 Cooper, Joh.
 2. Mr. Cape, Clar.
 9. Mr. Richardson, Joh.
 16. Mr. Gul. F. Wilkinson, Corp.
 20. FEST. { Mr. Ash, Chr.
 ASCENS. } Mr. J. Wood, Trin.
 23. Mr. Holroyd, Cath.
 30. FEST. PENTEC. Mr. G. Atkin-
 son, Regin.
 31. Fer. 1ma. Mr. Smith, Pet.
 Jun. 1. Fer. 2da. Mr. Wale, Joh.
 6. Mr. Porter, Cai.
 11. FEST. S. BARN. Mr. Dewe, Regin.
 13. Mr. A. Browne, Joh.

June 20. Mr. C. B. Tayler, Trin.
 24. FEST. NAT. JOH. BAPT. Mr.
 Snalley, Joh.
 27. Mr. Stanley, Joh.
 29. FEST. S. PET. Mr. Thorp, Trin.
 Jul. 4. COMM. BENEFAC.
 11. Mr. Gul. F. Mansel, Trin.
 18. Mr. Boutflower, Joh.
 25. FEST. S. JAC. Mr. Lumb, Joh.

Resp. in Theolog. Oppon.

Mr. Matthew, Trin. { Coll. Trin.
 Coll. Joh.
 Mr. Melvill, Pet.
 Mr. Feachem, Joh. { Mr. Egremont, Cat.
 Mr. Atkinson, Sid.
 Mr. Ramsay, Jes.
 Mr. Otter, Jes. . . . { Coll. Regal.
 Coll. Trin.
 Coll. Joh.
 Mr. Lucas, Cai. . . . { Mr. A. Veasey, Pet.
 Mr. Turney, Pemb.
 Mr. Hankinson, Cor.
 Mr. Hankinson, Trin. { Mr. Harrison, Jes.
 Coll. Regal.
 Coll. Trin.
 Mr. Hurst, Clar. . . . { Coll. Joh.
 Mr. Johnston, Mag.
 Mr. Evans, Pemb.
 Mr. Drake, Joh. . . . { Mr. Blake, Cor. Ch.
 Mr. Porter, Cai.
 Coll. Regal.
 Mr. Morris, Joh. . . { Coll. Trin.
 Coll. Joh.
 Mr. Perkins, Pet.
 Mr. Oakes, Trin. . . { Mr. Durham, Cath.
 Mr. Gooch, Cor. Ch.
 Mr. Brougham, Jes.
 Mr. Brandling, Joh. { Coll. Regal.
 Coll. Trin.
 Coll. Joh.

Resp. in Jur. Civ. Oppon.

Mr. Clarkson, Jes. { Mr. Dugmore, Cai.
 Mr. Doughty, Cai.

Resp. in Medic. Oppon.

Mr. Mair, Jes. . . . { Mr. Stockdale, Pemb.
 Mr. White, Emm.

PRIZES.

CHANCELLOR'S MEDALLISTS.

[For the two best Proficients in Classi-
 cal learning among the commencing Ba-
 chelors of Arts]

Adjudged to
 Christopher Wordsworth, } Trin. Coll.
 Thomas Henry Steel, }

DR. SMITH'S PRIZES.

[Two annual Prizes, of £25 each, to two commencing Bachelors of Arts, the best Proficients in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.]

Adjudged to

Mr. Steventon, Corpus Christi College,
Mr. Heaviside, Sidney College,
(Third and Second Wranglers.)

NORRISIAN PRIZE.

[A Prize of £12 to the Author of the best Prose Essay on a Sacred Subject.]

Subject:—

"The doctrine of Types, and its influence on the interpretation of the New Testament."

Adjudged to

William Selwyn, B.A. Fellow of St. John's College.

HULSEAN PRIZE.

[A Prize of £40 to any Member of the University, under the degree or standing of M.A., who composed the best Dissertation in the English language, on the Evidences in general, or on the Prophecies or Miracles in particular, or on any other particular argument, whether the same be direct or collateral proof of the Christian Religion, in order to evince its truth and excellence.]

Subject:—

"What was the extent of the knowledge which the Jews had of a future state, at the time of our Saviour's appearance."

Adjudged to

Thomas Myers, Scholar of Trinity Coll.

The Vice-Chancellor has given notice, that the Annual Hulsean Prize, in conse-

quence of the incumbrances on the late Mr. Hulse's estate being now removed, will in future be not less than £100.

The following is the subject for the present year:—

"On the Futility of Attempts to represent the Miracles recorded in the Scripture, as Effects produced in the ordinary course of Nature."

The Dissertations must be sent in on or before the 30th of October.

MEMBERS' PRIZES.

The Vice-Chancellor has also given notice, that the Members' Prizes to two Bachelors of Arts, and two Undergraduates, for the encouragement of Latin Prose composition, will this year be 30 guineas each, should the exercises of the candidates appear to possess superior merit.

The subjects of the present year are:—

For the Bachelors:

"Quantum momenti, ad studium rei Theologicæ promovendum, habeat literarum humaniorum cultus?"

For the Undergraduates:

"Quæ sit forma Πολιτειας ad Græciæ re-nascentis statum optimè accommodata?"

These exercises are to be sent in on or before the 30th of April.

SEATONIAN PRIZE.

It is likewise intended that a second Seatonian Prize of £40 shall this year be awarded, should any Poem be considered worthy of a second prize.

Subject for the present year:—

"The Ascent of Elijah."

These Poems must be sent to the Vice-Chancellor on or before the 29th of September.

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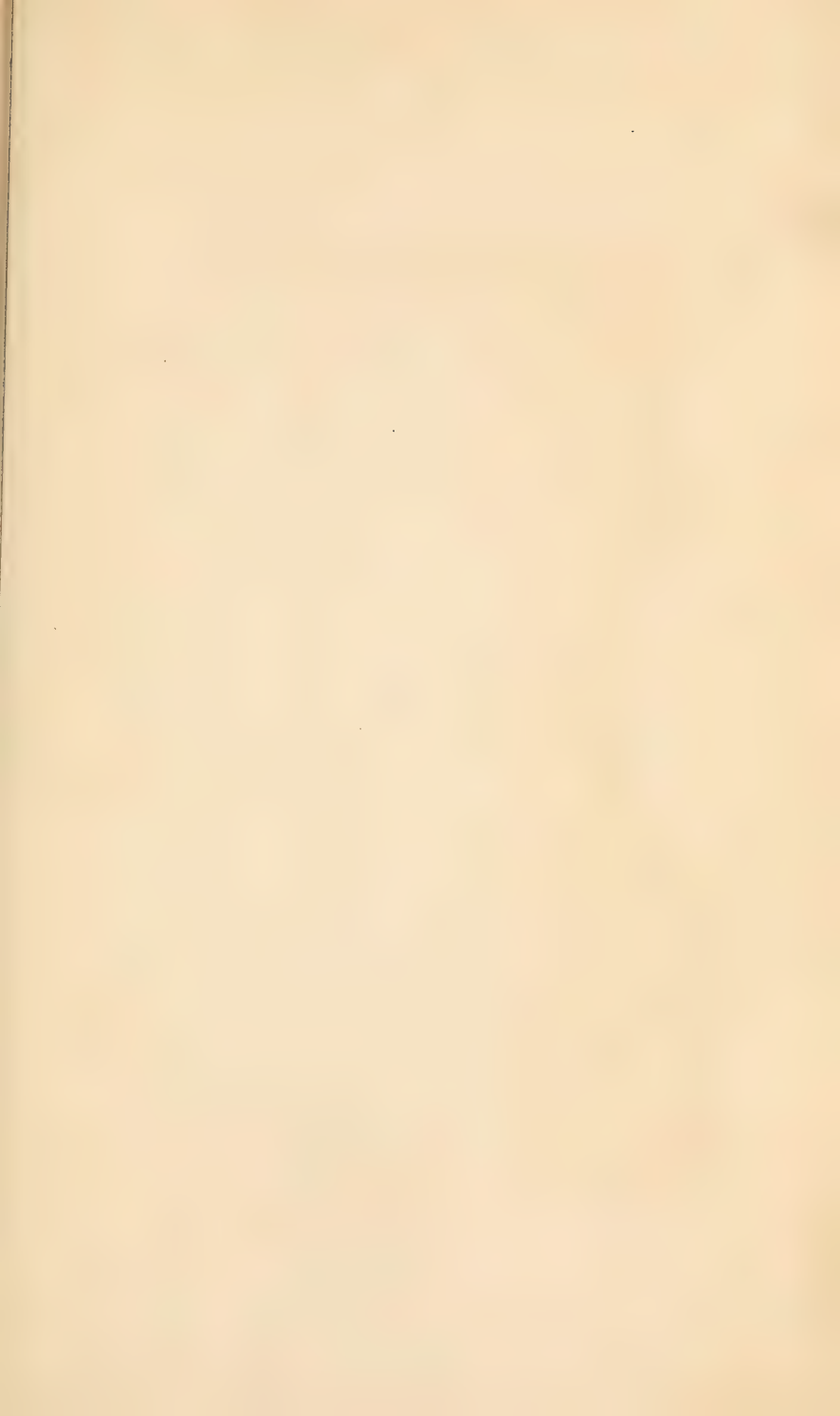
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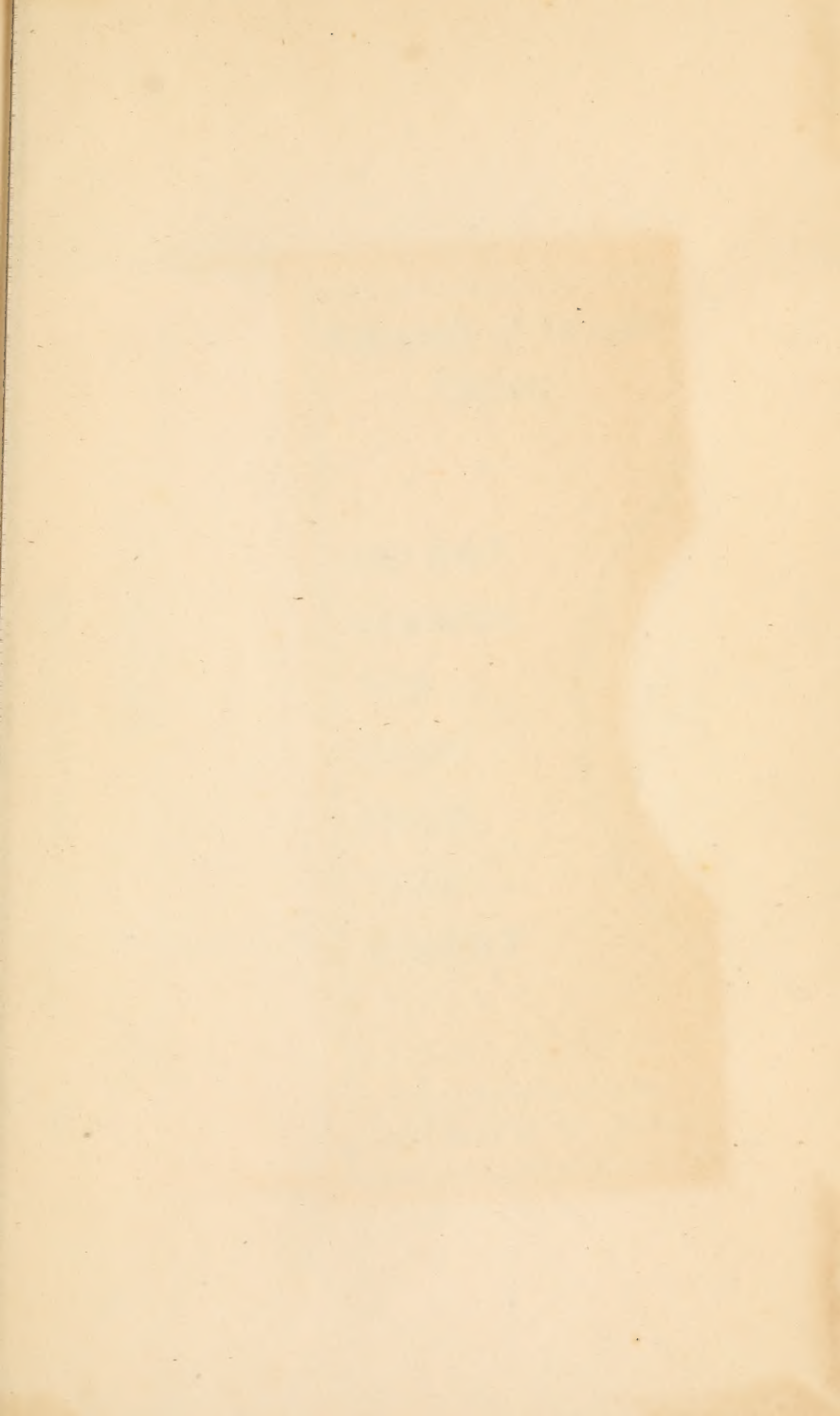
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